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Volume II

IROQUOIS WARS I

**Extracts from the *Jesuit Relations* and
primary sources from 1535 to 1650**

**Anthony P. Schiavo, Jr.
and Claudio R. Salvucci, eds.**

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73 vols. Cleveland: Burrows Brothers.

and

Samuel de Champlain. 1878–1882. *Voyages of Samuel de Champlain.* Edmund F. Slafter, ed. 3 vols. Boston: Publications of the Prince Society.

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Samuel de Champlain. 1933. *The Works of Samuel de Champlain.* H. P. Biggar, ed. 6 vols. Toronto: The Champlain Society.

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Gabriel Sagard. 1939. *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons.* George M. Wrong, ed. Toronto: The Champlain Society.

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Introduction

When French explorers first set foot in Canada in the mid-16th century, they were well aware of the fantastic tales of Spanish conquistadors who, mere decades before, had overthrown vast empires to the south seemingly with a handful of men and arms. By comparison, the valley of the Saint Lawrence and the surrounding regions could boast no sophisticated kingdoms to match those of the Aztecs or Incas. Indeed, the inhabitants of these lands were primitive with little to offer but the pelts of the beaver, bear, moose, and elk. Yet the land was fertile and the “savages” seemed for the most part hospitable and perhaps docile enough to accept the Catholic faith. What had been lost to the Church in Old World as a result of the Reformation could perhaps be regained in the New. With such hopes, the first colonies were erected in New France. Little could these early pioneers imagine that their fledgling settlements would become almost immediately embroiled in a series of bloody and draining wars lasting nearly 100 years with a ferocious, expansionist power known as the Iroquois Confederacy.

The conflicts detailed in the *Iroquois Wars* volumes are among the least studied and most obscure of all North American wars. Also called the “Beaver Wars,” they involve the nations of the Iroquois Confederacy, who fought continuous wars with practically all of their neighbors. Inflamed by ancient blood-feuds that theoretically extended far into the hidden past, empowered by their political unity, and emboldened by their newly acquired Dutch firearms, the Five Nations of the Iroquois Confederacy fought wide-ranging campaigns throughout North America east of the Mississippi. In the process, they systematically destroyed, displaced, or absorbed dozens of their ancestral enemies, leaving large swaths of eastern Canada, the Ohio valley, and the American Northwest territories virtually uninhabited.

The purpose of the *Iroquois Wars* is to present a history of these conflicts built completely from original source material. The editors hope that these fascinating extracts as presented in their raw (albeit translated) form, will be of great use to researchers, encourage future scholarship, and generate interest in this intriguing era among students.

Sources

Much of the information presented in the *Iroquois Wars* of necessity comes from the annual reports of the missionaries of the Society of Jesus in New France known collectively as *The Jesuit Relations*. The classic 73-volume edition edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites (1896–1901) provides a panoramic view of every aspect of life in New France from 1609 into the 18th century, presented in the original language (French, Latin, or Italian) as well as in English translation. Penned by Jesuits who aside from being clerics were scholars, keen observers, intimates of the Indians, and in some cases, saints of the Catholic Church, the *Relations* are a veritable treasure house of valuable his-

torical data. Quite simply, they are the best source of historical information on this time period.

For the *Iroquois Wars*, the editors have sifted through the *Relations* in order to extract those passages pertaining to the various conflicts between the Iroquois and their neighbors. Passages dealing with peripheral issues such as the direct and indirect causes of the wars, strategy and tactics, weapons and armor, treatment of prisoners, construction of defensive works, war rituals, peace negotiations, and alliances between the tribal powers and the European colonists are also included.

Supplementing the material from the *Jesuit Relations* are extensive extracts from the writings of Samuel de Champlain and Rev. Gabriel Sagard. These passages fill out the early period of French colonization from 1605 through 1632 where coverage in Thwaites' *Jesuit Relations* is relatively sparse. Champlain's comments are of great value as they provide the first detailed accounts of warfare as carried on among the Eastern Woodland tribes. Champlain was a first hand observer of and participant in several actions with the Iroquois. He accompanied Algonquin and Huron war parties against an Iroquois tribe—most likely the Mohawks—in 1609, participated in the reduction of a fortified Iroquois raiding party in 1610, and assisted the Hurons in an abortive attack on a town, possibly in Iroquoia, in 1615. Drawing on his European-style military experience, Champlain offers keen insights into native strategy, tactics, fortification, siegecraft, weaponry, peacemaking, and the treatment of the wounded and enemy prisoners.

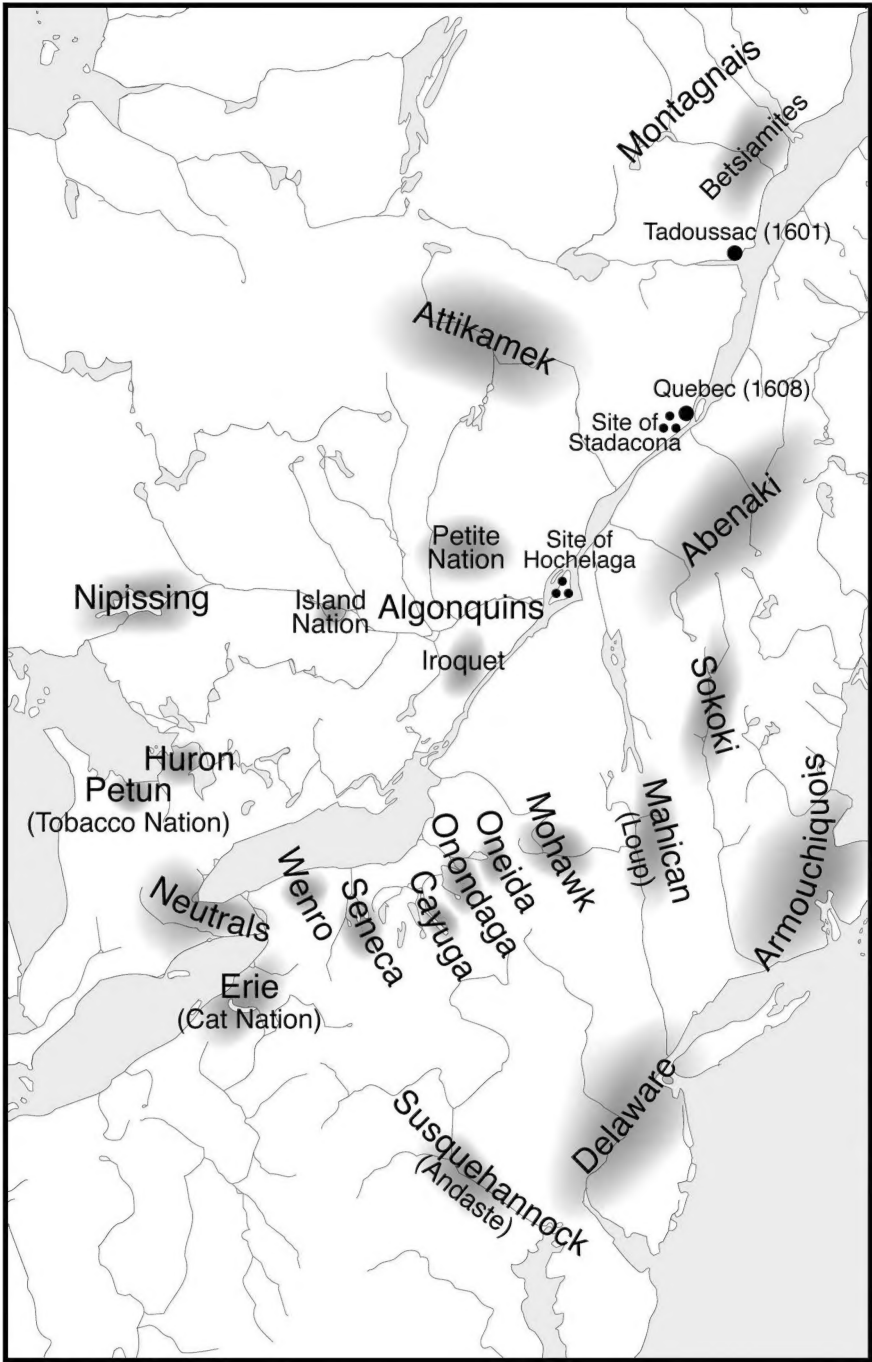
The passages taken from Rev. Gabriel Sagard's *The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons* offer some of the best first-hand observations of the military strength and customs of the Hurons before the arrival of the Jesuits in the first quarter of the 17th century. As one of the first literate Frenchmen to live among the Hurons and master their language, Sagard describes their various war customs and conflicts with the Iroquois, though with perhaps more credulity than the worldly Champlain.

A few short but relevant passages dealing with the 16th century voyages of Jacques Cartier are also included. These are taken from Richard Hakluyt's English translation of *A Short and Briefe Narration of the Navigation Made by Order of the King of France to the Islands of Canada, Hochelaga, Saguenay, and Divers Others Which are Now Called New France, with the Particular Customes and Maners of the Inhabitants Therein: The Second Voyage of Jacques Cartier*.

Together, the extracts present the early years of the Iroquois wars in all their glory, ferocity, horror, and ultimately desolation.

Brief History

When Champlain planted his standard at Quebec in July 1608, his fledgling colony was surrounded by a diverse assemblage of tribal groups and nations. To the west was the great Huron confederacy and similar sedentary



Map 1: The approximate locations of the various tribes in 1608.

groupings of Iroquoian-speaking nations living in palisaded villages. To the south, across the St. Lawrence River, were the related five nations of the Iroquois League, who occupied much of present-day central New York. Surrounding all these to the north, east, and far to the west were the various Algonquian-speaking nations—among them the Montagnais, Attikamek, Betsiamites, Abenaki, Souriquois, Mahican, Petite Nation, Island Nation, Iroquet, Nipissing, and Ottawa.

Among these tribes, there was very little that could be called peace. Within a year, the French newcomers were integrated into the native system of alliances and intertribal warfare that had embroiled the region well into the indistinct past. “[I]t must be understood that there is not a single tribe living in peace, excepting the Nation Neutre,” wrote Champlain in 1618 (Champlain [Slafter], 3:216). He was ultimately wrong even regarding the Neutrals, who carried out devastating large-scale raids against their traditional enemy, the Fire Nation (JR, 21:195; JR, 27:25). The advent of European iron implements, weaponry, and disease only aggravated this condition and helped usher in a century of blood and fire that would forever change the demographic map of eastern North America.

The Iroquois

The term “Iroquois” as it was used by the French settlers, denoted the five nations of the Iroquois Confederacy which were arranged in the following order east to west across present-day New York state: Mohawk, Oneida, Onondaga, Cayuga, and Seneca. These five nations were all sedentary, living in both fortified and unfortified villages and possessing rudimentary agricultural skills. Known collectively as the “People of the Longhouse,” their towns were made up of large rectangular wooden shelters that could house several families under one roof. The Iroquois nations varied in size, strength and political weight. The Mohawks and the Senecas were the most populous and as they occupied the “eastern and western doors” of the confederacy, were the most often engaged in war with their neighbors. The Onondagas, from whom Hiawatha and Atotarho, the legendary founders of the confederacy, were sprung, were the “fire keepers” or hosts of the great councils and leading chiefs (Tooker 1978, 422). All of these nations exist today and their languages are still to be heard in both the United States and Canada—a testament to the strength, tenacity, and perseverance of their forebearers.

Archaeological research gives an approximate date of A.D. 800 for the earliest Iroquois settlement in the central New York area (Tuck 1978: 322). Though it is impossible to pinpoint an exact date, it is commonly thought that the Iroquois League or confederacy came into being somewhere between A.D. 1400 and 1600. Iroquois tradition maintains that the League was in effect by the time the first permanent settlements of Europeans were founded in New France (Tooker 1978: 419). Horatio Hale, writing in 1883, fixed the date at somewhere in the mid 1400s. More recent scholarship has arrived at a proba-

ble timeframe for the foundation of the confederacy of between A.D. 1570 and 1600 (Tooker 1978: 421).

The legendary founding of the confederacy has been dealt with numerous times, perhaps most notably by Hale (1883) and Morgan (1901). According to the legend, as explicated by Hale, Hiawatha developed a plan to end forever the wars that plagued the Iroquois, with the ultimate goal of abolishing war all together (1883:21–22). To accomplish this, a system was set up whereby chiefs from each of the five nations would hold council before any action was taken. Decisions were to be reached unanimously and if a consensus could not be reached, the issue was set aside leaving each nation at liberty to do as it saw fit. In order to curtail the blood-feud, a system of wampum exchange was devised. Wampum belts or strands were made from hundreds or thousands of beads hewn from various types of sea shells. Wampum became a type of wergeld whereby the family of an individual killed by someone from a different clan could be appeased without further bloodshed. A gift of wampum, accompanied by conciliatory words and gestures, was a covenant whereby the aggrieved party's wrath and sorrow was acknowledged and placated. Several explanations and examples of the wampum ceremony involving Iroquois, Hurons, and various Algonquin tribes may be found in the present volume (i.e., JR, 10:215; JR, 10:223; JR, 21:51; JR, 22:51; JR, 27:281).

Though officially allied, each of the five nations of Iroquois continued to pursue its own interests (Tooker 1978: 430). As the French discovered much to their chagrin, making peace with one member of the confederacy did not necessarily mean peace with all five nations. Indeed, those Iroquois nations not bound by such peace treaties often took the opportunity to engage in warfare with the non-Iroquois party—sometimes even with the assistance of warriors from the Iroquois nation with whom the peace had ostensibly been forged. For example, after the Hurons, French, and Algonquins made peace with the Mohawks in 1645, the Algonquins of the Island were raided by a party of Oneidas. These were in turn defeated by warriors of the Iroquet Algonquins, whereupon it was discovered that three members of the Oneida war party were in fact Mohawks (JR, 28:225).

The Iroquois were, on the whole, masterful negotiators, exceptional military strategists, and fierce fighters. The present volume contains numerous examples that bear generous witness to all three of these points. Indeed, making war was one of their primary occupations. Between the years 1603 and 1701, they were involved in 465 recorded hostile encounters with both European and Indian enemies and were the initiators in more than three-quarters of these conflicts (Brandao, 1997: 53). Their ferocity in battle, stealth in ambush, and cruelty toward prisoners made the name "Iroquois" the terror of their Indian adversaries and the bane of French efforts to colonize and evangelize the interior of North America. Yet for all their legendary prowess with the tomahawk and the arquebus, the Iroquois could be magnanimous to the peoples they subjugated. Wholesale adoptions of the remnants of conquered

tribes were not unknown. However, the usual fate of war captives during the period covered in the present volume was torture and execution for the men, slavery or adoption for the women and children. In this way, the Iroquois were able to add to their numbers and maintain their fighting strength during a time of continuous warfare and epidemic disease (Starna & Watkins, 1991: 38).

Thus, it was a combination of the internal cohesion and protected flanks afforded by the confederacy along with skillful diplomacy, steady access to European trade goods and weapons, and tenacity in warfare that helped the Iroquois expand and increase their power and influence at a time when rival tribes and nations were collapsing.

The Hurons, Neutrals, Susquehannocks, and Eries

Closely related linguistically to the nations of the Iroquois Confederacy were several populous and warlike confederated nations that bordered them to the west and south. Foremost among these in this present volume are the Hurons. From the first, the Hurons were allies and trading partners of the French colonists. We have a thorough record of the language, activities, traditions, and societal structure of this now extinct nation thanks to the observant eyes and ready quills of the Recollect and Jesuit fathers who went out in force to evangelize them. Some of these clerics, like Fr. Jean Brébeuf, became trusted advisors of the Hurons, even going so far as to suggest defensive schemes and alliances (JR, 10:235). Though their relationship was often strained by mutual suspicion, intrigue, and religious tensions, the Hurons and French, together with their Montagnais and Algonquin allies, maintained a united though increasingly weak front against the Iroquois until 1649 when the Hurons were catastrophically defeated.

The Huron confederacy was similar in many respects to that of the Iroquois. It was made up of five tribes—the Attignaouantan or Bear, the Attiguenongha or Cord, the Arendarhonon or Rock, the Tohontahenrat or Deer, and the Ataronchronon or Bog. Of these, the most important were the Bear and the Cord (Steckley, 1997). Another Iroquoian-speaking tribe, the Petun or Tobacco Nation, were also occasional allies of the Hurons, although the *Jesuit Relations* makes clear that the Petun and Hurons had occasionally waged war on each other in the past (JR, 20:43). In 1638, an Iroquoian-speaking refugee tribe known as the Wenro arrived in Huronia to escape the depredations of the Iroquois and became part of the confederacy (JR, 17:27). The Andaste or Susquehannocks, who lived south of the Iroquois in present-day Pennsylvania, were also occasional allies of the Hurons against their common Iroquois enemies.

To the west of the Iroquois lived the powerful Neutral confederacy. Since they were destroyed and scattered before Europeans had made solid contact, comparatively little is known about them. They were termed “Neutrals” because of their refusal to take sides in the conflict between the Iroquois and the Hurons. Instead, they fought perennial wars against an Algonquian-speak-

ing enemy known as the Assistachronons, or Fire Nation (JR, 21:195). All accounts indicate that the Neutrals were similar in military strength to the Iroquois and Hurons, being able to field up to 4,000 fighting men at the height of their power (JR, 21:191).

To the south and west lived the shadowy Eries or Nation of the Cat—another Iroquoian-speaking tribe about whom very little is known.

All told, the Hurons probably numbered from 30–40,000 in the early 1630s. When the French missionaries arrived, they unwittingly carried with them European diseases to which the Hurons had never been exposed. Epidemics broke out almost immediately, carrying off more than half the Hurons by 1640. By 1642, Huron society was reeling under the twin bludgeons of disease and endemic war. Huron war parties were routed from Iroquoia, while Iroquois bands “have everywhere and at almost all seasons of the Year committed massacres which are all the more to be dreaded since no one feels safe from them. Even women, and children at the breast, are not in security within sight of the palisades of their own Villages” (JR, 22:307). Worse, Iroquois raiding parties now armed with Dutch arquebuses blocked the Huron trade routes to the French, effectively cutting off the Hurons’ only means of acquiring vital weapons and other goods of European manufacture. It took another seven years for the Iroquois to completely overthrow the Hurons. When they finally succeeded, it was with a ferocity rarely seen in the annals of human history. The remnants of the Huron nations scattered far and wide, only to be pursued by their insatiable ancient enemies.

The Hurons had been an effective check against the power of the Iroquois. Once that obstacle was removed, the Iroquois began settling scores with their other neighbors. In 1647 they began attacking the Neutrals and by 1656, the Neutrals were annihilated. The Petun were attacked and scattered in the early 1650s to later regroup with other remnants to form the Wyandots. By 1660, the Erie had been wiped out after a protracted conflict. The Susquehannocks fought on against the Iroquois until their final defeat in the mid-1670s.

The Montagnais and Algonquins

To the north of the Iroquois-speaking confederacies lived nomadic bands of Algonquian-speaking tribes. Of primary concern to this volume are those tribes that existed near the French settlements at Quebec, Sillery, Three Rivers, and Tadoussac, as well as those who lived astride the Ottawa River. For the most part, these bands lacked both the political cohesion of their Iroquoian neighbors and a clearly defined territorial identity—preferring instead to move frequently and range over wide areas as the seasons and conditions dictated. Unlike their sedentary neighbors to the south, they depended primarily on hunting, fishing, gathering, and trade to sustain them. Based on the season, they subsisted on various fruits, berries, and nuts, often supple-

menting their diet with all manner of fish, fowl, small, and large game. While some of these nations attempted to raise corn, beans, and squash, the growing season was generally too short for anything but the most marginal agriculture (Day & Trigger, 1978). Instead of the long-houses and semi-permanent towns of the Iroquois, they set up impromptu villages made up of circular or barrel-vaulted lodges covered with birch bark (Rogers & Leacock, 1981). Though their political disunity and lack of European weapons often put them at the mercy of the Iroquois, they were known to be excellent warriors—at least one historian ranking them above the Iroquois themselves in this regard (Perrot, 1864: 109–110).

The wandering and intermingling of these tribes causes an understandable amount of confusion among both the primary source authors as well as modern scholars. Wherever there is reasonable certainty, the editors of the present volume have attempted clarification.

From the earliest days of permanent colonization, the Montagnais were listed among the foremost French allies. Not coincidentally, the Montagnais are also listed in the earliest sources as among those tribes maintaining a state of “perpetual warfare” with the Iroquois (Champlain [Slafter], 2:76; JR, 2:69). Champlain reports in 1608 that the Montagnais live “in great dread of their enemies, scarcely ever sleeping in repose in whatever place they may be.” It is therefore not surprising that we see the Montagnais accompanying Champlain and the Hurons in their expedition into Iroquoia in 1609 (Champlain [Slafter], 2:200). Again in 1610, we see 60 Montagnais warriors joining with Champlain, the Hurons, and Algonquins to destroy a fortified Iroquois raiding party (Champlain [Slafter], 2:234). The Montagnais were also quick to make use of their proximity to the French settlements to acquire iron sword-blades of European manufacture (Sagard, 155). While conferring the advantages of easy trade and some measure of military protection, this increasing closeness to the French utterly altered much of the Montagnais lifestyle within a generation, as a tribal captain explained to Montmagny, Champlain’s successor, in 1637:

“We have,” said he, “two powerful enemies who are destroying us,—one is ignorance of God, which is killing our souls; the other is the Hiroquois, who are slaughtering our bodies; they force us to be wanderers. We are like seeds which are sown in divers places, or rather like grains of dust scattered by the wind,—some are buried in one place, some in another. The country is failing us; there is now scarcely any more game in the neighborhood of the French. Unless we reap something from the earth, we are going to ruin” (JR, 12:161).

Such dire straits in addition to frequent epidemics of smallpox, tuberculosis, and other European diseases, weakened the Montagnais to such a point that they could no longer resist the Iroquois and their other traditional enemies without the help of the French. Inter-marriage with the French settlers became commonplace and many Montagnais became devout Christians under the auspices of the French missionaries.

The name “Algonquins” as it is most often used in this volume refers specifically to the Algonquian-speaking tribes that lived along the Ottawa River during the first half of the 17th century. They are identified in the sources both collectively as Algonquins and according to the names of their individual bands which causes a great deal of confusion. Those tribes most prominently mentioned in this volume are the Petite Nation, the Island Nation or Nation de l’Isle, and the Iroquet. As trade along the St. Lawrence became prohibitively dangerous during the first half of the 1600s thanks to unceasing Iroquois raiding, the Ottawa River became the main alternate route between the French colonies and the Hurons. The Algonquins therefore found themselves in the enviable but tenuous position of middlemen (Day & Trigger, 1978: 793).

By the 1620s, however, the French had made more solid and direct contact with the Hurons farther up the Ottawa and were encouraging them to trade directly with the French colonies on the St. Lawrence. The Algonquins, especially those of the Island Nation, resented this sundering of their monopoly:

These people, in order to monopolize the profit of the trade, prefer that the Hurons should not go down the river to trade their peltries with the French, desiring themselves to collect the merchandise of the neighboring tribes and carry it to the French (JR, 6:19).

It was probably resentment over the French efforts to trade directly with the Hurons that caused the Algonquins to attempt to create enmity between them. Though traditionally allied to the Hurons, Montagnais, and later the French, the Algonquins lost no opportunity to malign the Hurons to the French and vice-versa. Numerous examples of the frequent intrigues that hampered the alliance may be found scattered throughout the present volume. Petty quarrels among the Algonquins, Hurons, and Montagnais brought them to the verge of open war on several occasions. In 1616, Champlain records his apparently successful effort to end Huron attacks against the Iroquet which had stemmed from a dispute involving the disposition of an enemy prisoner (Champlain [Slafter], 3:149–156). On another occasion in 1636, a Montagnais captain was forced to seek the protection of Jesuit Father le Jeune from the Algonquins as the result of a rumor that he had conspired with the Iroquois (JR, 9:245). Another rumor that gained currency among the Hurons—that the disease running rampant among them was the result of a curse uttered by Champlain on his deathbed—seemed to originate from the Island Nation (JR, 12:245–249). Indeed, it was often the case that persistent dread of the Iroquois and a willingness to combine for war were the only arguments that kept this fragile alliance intact.

However, by the 1640s, the Algonquins were regularly getting the worst of their encounters with the Iroquois. Endless Iroquois raiding, famine, and disease decimated the populations of both the Algonquins and the Montagnais, compelling them to seek ever closer ties to the French. By 1650, an enormous demographic change had taken place in lower Canada. The Hurons,

Algonquins, and Montagnais—the traditional enemies of the Iroquois—had all been invaded, scattered, and almost completely annihilated. Those that could sought uncertain succor near the French colonies. Other remnants moved north and west, only to find that no matter how far afield they retreated, the Iroquois war parties yet followed them.

For the Iroquois themselves, the destruction of their ancient foes proved only the beginning of their conquests. Over the next 40 years, they would strike with equal fury the Neutrals, Eries, Susquehannocks, Mahicans, Illinois, and numerous other nations from Hudson Bay to the Ohio River Valley and even as far as the Mississippi. They were a continuous worry for the growing European colonies, and as Francis Parkman put it, “remained for more than half a century, a terror and a scourge to the afflicted colonists of New France” (Parkman, 1963[1867]: 549). Primary source extracts dealing with conflicts occurring after 1650 will appear in future volumes of the *Iroquois Wars* series.

Origins of the Iroquois Wars

Though it is impossible to declare a firm commencement date for the Iroquois Wars, scholars have nonetheless attempted to arrive at approximate time frames using oral tradition, archaeology, and early primary source material. Similarly, various causes and aggravating factors for the wars have been suggested, rejected, and revised by philologists, historians, and social scientists.

Scholars of the 19th century tended to ascribe the seemingly constant state of war among the nations in northeastern North America to some indistinct, innate cultural or racial predisposition. As a representative of this, Parkman described the Iroquois mind as “hopelessly stagnant. . . . His intractable spirit of independence, and pride which forbids him to be an imitator, reinforce but too strongly that savage lethargy of mind from which it is so hard to rouse him” (Parkman, 1963 [1867]: 87). Further on, he maintains that the organization and intelligence of the Iroquois “were merely the instruments of a blind frenzy, which impelled them to destroy those whom they might have made their allies in a common cause” (Parkman, 1963 [1867]: 538).

Historians of the 20th century tended to reject such notions and instead concentrated on economic explanations. George T. Hunt is recognized as the best-known proponent of the theory that blames increasing economic competition—as introduced by the European settlers via the fur trade—for starting and inflaming the wars. Hunt writes:

So quickly did such hostilities arise after the entry of the European, and so fiercely did they continue, that observers were prone to consider war as the usual intertribal relationship, not knowing how they themselves had transformed these relations when they appeared with the precious tools and weapons (1940: 19).

Based on the evidence he presents, Hunt concludes that

In the beginning, intertribal rivalries were not keen, and intertribal war was a purely private and social enterprise. But before long the European trade was to create new rivalries, and whet old ones to the point where the issue became one of survival. When that occurred, intertribal relations assumed an entirely different aspect, and in 1626 the long and bloody wars of the Iroquois began somewhere west of Fort Orange (1940: 22).

This theory has led some to apply the misleading appellation “Beaver Wars” to the various conflicts involving the Iroquois and other eastern woodland tribes in the 17th century.

More recent scholarship has advanced the idea that the fur trade was not the primary cause for the Iroquois Wars and that various cultural traits such as mourning, revenge, and the blood-feud likely played greater roles (Richter, 1983; Brandao, 1997; Keener, 1999: 780). In his painstakingly researched book, *Your Fyre Shall Burn No More: Iroquois Policy towards New France and its Native Allies to 1701*, Jose Brandao is particularly critical of the economic theory:

Any monocausal explanation should be suspect, and this one is no exception. The Beaver Wars interpretation is an economically reductionist and simplistic explanation that downplays both Iroquois cultural resilience and other important goals of seventeenth-century Iroquois warfare. A closer look at the central tenets of this economic interpretation reveals several reasons for questioning its validity; the most important is that there is little or no evidence to support it (1997:45).

Indeed, archaeological data and a careful perusal of the earliest sources indicate that intertribal strife and endemic warfare had been facts of life in the eastern woodlands and St. Lawrence valley even before the advent of European settlement and the introduction of the fur trade. And in several known cases, the issue was already one of survival before the Europeans had arrived in force.

The advent of the fur trade and the introduction of European weapons certainly played a role in the Iroquois Wars. But the role was much more a case of shifting the balance of power within an already volatile system than the genesis of large-scale conflict in an otherwise largely peaceful environment. Archaeology has shown that circa A.D. 1000, northern Iroquoian settlements shifted from exposed riverside villages to compact towns situated on hilltops, indicating a reaction to external threats (Tuck, 1978: 322). As time went on, the fortifications of these towns grew more intricate. By 1500, most Iroquoian villages sported a double-walled palisade while several possessed triple- and even quadruple-walls (Keener, 1999: 781–782). That these innovations were made to combat growing external threats seems beyond question. Archaeology also demonstrates the presence of torture and cannibalism in the prehistoric period—two hallmarks of the wars in the eastern woodlands that were certainly not introduced by Europeans (Abler, 1992: 153).

Several of the extracts presented in the early primary sources further demonstrate the pre-existence of the system of intertribal warfare and destruction very clearly. One example from the *Jesuit Relations*, recounts a Mohawk oral tradition describing a series of draining wars against the Algonquins to the north and the Susquehannocks to the south in the late 16th century that left the Mohawks on the verge of destruction. It was only the arrival of the Dutch in 1609 and their willingness to bestow firearms upon the Mohawks in exchange for beaver pelts that allowed them to successfully turn the tide (JR, 45:203).

Further evidence of this continuous pattern of raiding, blood-feud, and warfare before the advent of European colonization may be drawn from the observations of Jacques Cartier recorded during his voyages of 1535–1541. Cartier was the first European explorer to penetrate the St. Lawrence valley and leave a written record of his findings. He recorded vocabularies of the inhabitants of Stadacona, an unfortified town occupying the site of present-day Quebec City and Hochelaga, a larger palisaded town on the Island of Montreal, which indicate that both groups spoke an Iroquoian language, even if they were not directly related to the Iroquois nations in central New York (Salvucci, 1999: 4). While visiting Hochelaga on his second voyage, Cartier is told that silver and copper may be had in the territory occupied by the Agojudas or “evill people, who goe all armed even to their finger ends.... They gave us to understande that those Agouionda doe continually warre one against another” (Hakluyt 1600 [1889]: 123). Later, he is shown by the captain of Stadacona, a certain Donnacona, the skins of five Toudamani, “a people dwelling toward the South, who continually doe warre against them” (Hakluyt 1600 [1889]: 125). Cartier is further informed that these same Toudamani were responsible for the massacre of 200 Stadaconans two years prior to his arrival. Though the identities of both the Toudamani and the Agojudas are unknown, it is clear that regular warfare was taking place at this early date and there is no indication that these raids and counter-thrusts were in any way out of the ordinary or a recent innovation.

The mysterious disappearance of Hochelaga and Stadacona provides further evidence of continuous large-scale intertribal war in the region. These St. Lawrence Iroquoian towns seemed well established when early French attempts at colonization ended in failure and were discontinued after 1543. By the time Champlain arrived some 60 years later to renew the effort in strength, no trace of Stadacona or Hochelaga remained. As with most issues involving prehistoric or early-contact North America, the fate of the St. Lawrence Iroquoians is an open question that has spawned innumerable theories. Writing in 1618, Lescarbot maintained that 8,000 Iroquois warriors destroyed Hochelaga and the Algonquin tribes that lived along the St. Lawrence “some time ago” (Lescarbot, 3:267). During an initial survey of the Island of Montreal in 1641, several chiefs claimed to be of the nation that had formerly occupied the place. Standing at the summit overlooking the island, they pointed out where villages had formerly stood, “filled with great numbers of

savages.” Another aged man claimed that his grandfather had tilled the soil of the island. These unidentified individuals blamed the Hurons for the expulsion of their forefathers, some of whom fled to the Abenakis, others to the Iroquois, and still others to the Hurons themselves (JR, 22:215). On another occasion, an 80-year-old warrior claimed that his mother told him that when he was young, the Hurons drove their people from the island (JR, 29:173).

Thus, when Champlain first stepped ashore in Canada, it was not as a destroyer of peace and the harbinger of a new era of war and destruction. Rather, he and the French were drafted almost immediately into a complex intertribal system of alliance, trade, blood feud, and warfare that long predated any serious establishment of European colonies. “Such is the scourge that depopulates all these countries; for their wars are but wars of extermination,” wrote Father Lalemant in 1643, describing the destruction and death wrought by an expedition of the Neutrals upon their enemies, the Fire Nation (JR, 27:25). It should be noted that both of these nations had to that date almost no contact with Europeans.

Contrary to popular mythology, the ultimate goal of warfare among the eastern woodland tribes was not simply beaver skins and trading rights but the utter defeat of the enemy (Keener, 1999: 788). Trade was a means to that end, not an end in itself.

Changes in Weaponry, Strategy, and Defensive Works

It is undeniable that European entry into the eastern woodlands alliance system swung the balance of power and forever changed how warfare was conducted among the eastern woodland tribes, and the extracts presented in *Iroquois Wars I* document these changes and adaptations well. Prior to Champlain’s first expedition into Iroquoia in 1609, the primary weapons of the eastern woodlands warrior were the bow, ball-headed war club, and knife. Many also wore a type of wooden body armor that protected them from most missile weapons and carried shields. Sagard describes their manufacture of armaments as follows:

They make also arrows with the knife, very straight and long, and when they have no knives they use sharp-edged stones; they fledge them with the feathers from the tails and wings of eagles, because these are very strong and carry well in the air, and at the point with strong fish-glue they attach sharp-pointed stones or bones, or iron heads obtained in trade from the French. They also make wooden clubs for warfare, and shields which cover almost the whole body, and with animals’ guts they make bow-strings . . . (Sagard, 1939 [1632]: 98).

According to Champlain’s descriptions, when large war parties clashed the standard mode of attack before the advent of European weapons was the massed formation. The opposing sides first loosed their arrows before advancing to hand-to-hand combat. However, the Iroquois’ first major encounter with European weaponry must have been a great wake-up call. With one shot from

his arquebus loaded with four balls, Champlain killed two Iroquois captains and wounded a third:

When our side saw this shot so favorable for them, they began to raise such loud cries that one could not have heard it thunder. Meanwhile, the arrows flew on both sides. The Iroquois were greatly astonished that two men had been so quickly killed, although they were equipped with armor woven from cotton thread, and with wood which was proof against their arrows. This caused great alarm among them. As I was loading again, one of my companions fired a shot from the woods, which astonished them anew to such a degree that, seeing their chiefs dead, they lost courage, and took to flight, abandoning their camp and fort, and fleeing into the woods, whither I pursued them, killing still more of them . . . (Champlain, 1878 [1632] 2:222).

It was fortunate for the Iroquois that this same year, Henry Hudson had ascended the river that now bears his name and a trading relationship was soon established between the Mohawks and the Dutch. By 1615, the Dutch were actively supplying the Mohawks and assisting them in their wars (Champlain, [Slafter] 3:122–123). Over the course of the next 20 years, both the Dutch and the Mohawks solidified their positions—the Mohawks waging a hard-fought battle against the Mahicans to gain easier access to the Dutch post at Fort Orange (Fenton & Tooker, 1978). Based on their early encounters, it is perhaps not surprising that the Mohawks developed a “strange longing” for arquebuses (JR, 21:53). By 1641, the Mohawks alone were able to field “thirty-six arquebusiers, as skillful as the French,” among a war party of 500 that approached New France, ostensibly to treat for peace (JR, 21:37). French estimates in 1642 pegged the number of Dutch-acquired arquebuses available to the Mohawks at 300, and the possession of such weapons allowed the Mohawks to out-class their traditional enemies:

These are the ones who make incursions upon our Algonquins and Montagnais, and watch the Hurons at all places along the River,—slaughtering them, burning them, and carrying off their Peltry, which they go and sell to the Dutch, in order to have powder and Arquebuses, and then to ravage everything and become masters everywhere . . . (JR, 24:271).

Thus, it is again made clear that the Iroquois quest for beaver skins was only a symptom of their greater “strange longing” for arquebuses.

In contrast to the Dutch, the French maintained a policy that precluded the trade in arquebuses, even with their allies the Hurons, Montagnais, and Algonquins. Though theoretically of “one people” with these nations, the French had an overriding fear of their neighbors—and not completely without cause. “[W]e have always been afraid to arm the Savages too much,” Fr. Vimont wrote in 1643. “Would to God that the Hollanders had done the same...” (JR, 24:291). Considering such pelts were not exchangeable for arquebuses at the French trading posts, it is perhaps for this reason that, in the early years at least, the nations allied to the French thought it dishonorable and

unmanly to despoil the enemy of his beaver skins. On one occasion, some French traders who would not hurry off to battle with the Iroquois were said to be “women-hearted and that all they could do was make war upon their peltry” (Champlain [Slafter], 2:239). After the battle was concluded, these same traders showed up to plunder the slain Iroquois of their beaver robes and were promptly derided, “for the others did not engage in such low business” (Champlain [Slafter], 2:243).

However by 1640, the French were eager to check the ravages of the Iroquois and had begun to arm their allies in a limited way. Rather than trading them for beaver skins, the French used the allure of the arquebus to encourage their allies to take up Catholicism. Several examples of this may be found in the present volume including the following reaction of the Huron Charles Sondatsaa, who was given an arquebus on the occasion of his baptism:

Charles Sondatsaa responded: “*Onontio, great Mountain*” (it is thus that the Hurons and the Hiroquois call Monsieur our Governor, because his name is de Montmagny), . . . This gun which you have added will make a great talk in our country,—it will show the regard that you have for believers; this affair is important, your power will touch many, and your present will never be forgotten” (JR, 20:221–223).

Obviously, French wariness regarding the trade of arquebuses extended especially to the Iroquois. On one occasion, an Iroquois war party some 500 strong came to Three Rivers to treat for peace. One of the presents they sought to seal the pact was a gift of 30 French arquebuses. Not surprisingly, Montmagny balked at such an idea:

The next morning, Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny had a canoe equipped with a flag, in order to invite the [*Iroquois] Captains to a parley; they despised the canoe, the flag, and the herald. They assailed us with jeers and barbaric yells; they reproached us that Onontio had not given them arquebuses to eat—this is their way of speaking, to say that he did not make them a present of these; they erected above their fort, as a flag denoting war, a scalp which they had taken from some Algonquin; they shot arrows at our shallops. All these acts of insolence made Monsieur the Governor resolve to give them arquebuses to eat, but not in the way that they asked . . . (JR, 21:61).

As a result of the proliferation of arquebuses, iron implements, and other innovations, traditional village fortifications were put to the test and often found wanting. The typical fortified village was surrounded by a double, triple, or quadruple palisade wall. These walls were well constructed of upright wooden posts up to 35 feet in height and possessed numerous devices for defeating a siege. Champlain provides an excellent description of the fort that confronted him and his Huron allies on their raid in 1615:

[T]heir village was enclosed by four good palisades, which were made of great pieces of wood interlaced with each other, with an opening of not more

than half a foot between two, and which were thirty feet high, with galleries after the manner of a parapet, which they had furnished with double pieces of wood that was proof against our arquebus shots. Moreover it was near a pond where the water was abundant, and was well supplied with gutters, placed between each pair of palisades, to throw out water, which they had also under cover inside, in order to extinguish fire. (Champlain [Slafter], 3:131)

Interestingly enough, though Champlain employed the use of European weapons and tactics—including the construction of a siege tower—his inability to curb the desire of his Huron allies to attack in their traditional fashion doomed the enterprise to failure. However, this was only a minor setback in the eventual complete triumph of European-style arms over native fortifications.

Though they were hesitant to bestow guns upon their native allies, the French did provide other weapons of European manufacture as well as military advice and expertise. In addition to providing iron arrowheads, hatchets, swords, and securing a handful of French soldiers with guns for the protection of villages, the Jesuits among the Hurons advised their hosts on ways to make their fortifications more effective. Writing in 1636, Fr. Brebeuf explains:

We have told them also that henceforth they should make their forts square, and arrange their stakes in straight lines; and that, by means of four little towers at the four corners, four Frenchmen might easily with their arquebuses or muskets defend a whole village (JR, 10:53).

Not long after, many of the sedentary eastern woodland tribes began using European-style fortifications to defend their villages. The most famous of these, perhaps, was the main village of the Susquehannocks, which by the 1660s featured two European-style square bastions equipped with cannons (Keener, 1999: 786).

However, in the case of the Hurons, the Iroquois were able to overcome any innovations in village defense with a deadly combination of musketry, craft, luck, weight of numbers, and low enemy morale. During their raids of 1648 and 1649 into Huronia, the Iroquois destroyed no less than four Huron fortified villages. Encouraged by the success of this campaign, the Iroquois were emboldened to attack their other neighbors—the Neutrals and Eries—over the course of the next decade. It is during their campaign against the Eries, (covered in *Iroquois Wars II*) where the adaptability of the Iroquois warriors is demonstrated most clearly. Faced with a well-armed, well-fortified, and vigorous enemy, the Iroquois used counter-palisades, carried canoes as shields, and built mantlets, or heavy shields made of thick pieces of wood lashed together. These allowed them to get close to the Erie palisades under some measure of protection (Keener, 1999: 792).

Captivity, Torture, Cannibalism, and the Arrival of Christianity

The most shocking material in this volume relates to the ubiquity of torture and cannibalism when dealing with prisoners taken in battle or on vengeance

raids. That the French were appalled by such behavior is not surprising, though Parkman and others pointed out correctly that the regicide Ravallac was tortured in a similar fashion in France for his assassination of King Henry IV in 1610 (Parkman, 1983 [1865]: 259). However, what particularly galled the French was the very ungentlemanly notion of wreaking such hideous tortures upon surrendered enemy combatants and in some cases upon women, children, and the elderly (JR, 22:24). While this subject is often glossed over, it is at the very heart of what fueled the blood-feuds, which in turn kept much of the North American continent in a perpetual state of war.

First, it must be recognized that the taking of captives was a primary war aim of all the tribes and nations that took part in these wars (Starna & Watkins, 1991: 38). Returning to a village bearing prisoners or scalps was the ultimate testament to a warrior's prowess (Brandao, 1997: 39). Evidence of this preoccupation with capture and the satisfaction derived from the torture of prisoners is abundant in the contemporary sources (Lescarbot, 1914 [1618], 271; JR, 8:23; JR, 29:149; JR, 32:165; etc.). Examples of this behavior and blow-by-blow descriptions of the slow executions of prisoners are so prevalent in the early sources that it would be redundant to give a summary of the methods used in this introduction. In this respect, the extracts contained in this present volume speak for themselves.

The purpose of the excruciating torture of captives seems to have been at least two-fold. First, it allowed the tribe to vent its wrath upon one or several of the enemy and thus quench in some way the insatiable thirst for vengeance (Brandao, 1997: 39). Second, it served as a deterrent—an attempt to instill in the enemy a supreme fear of engaging in counter-raids lest they be captured and tortured (JR, 19:81). However, this aim often backfired when a captive proved courageous and unflinching. The supreme example of courage was to deride one's captors to their faces under torture. On one occasion, when an Iroquois chief captured by the Montagnais was informed that he would be killed, he replied, "Good, I am very much pleased; I have taken a great many of the Montagnards, my friends will take still more of them, and they will avenge my death" (JR, 5:45ff.). Indeed, it was considered a particularly ill omen if a prisoner did not cry out under torture (JR, 17:105; JR, 22:263). The use of torture upon war captives may have also served certain metaphysical or religious purposes that are not well understood (Brandao, 1997: 40).

It is also interesting to comment briefly upon the psychological dimensions of the ritualized torture inflicted upon captives. A good example of this may be seen in a detailed narrative in the *Relation of 1637*, recorded by Fr. Le Mercier, an eye witness to the event (JR, 13:37ff.). On this occasion, a 50-year-old Iroquois man, who was given the baptismal name Joseph, is put through incredible torments by his Huron captors. What is perhaps most shocking is the "bait and switch" routine that is inflicted upon the victim. When he is brought into the Huron village, he is dressed in a beaver cloak, feasted, and treated with great tenderness by his captors. "To see the treatment

they accorded him, you might have thought he was the brother and relative of all those who were talking to him.” And indeed, part of such rituals involved the presentation of the captive to a grieving family as a replacement for a member previously killed (Starna & Watkins, 1991: 37). However, the prisoner’s hands had already been horribly mutilated by his captors. Such mutilation of the hands by bites, cuts, and fire was very common and was used to render a captive helpless to escape, unable to bear weapons, and possibly as a visible mark of servitude (JR, 50:37; Sagard, 161; Starna & Watkins, 1991: 44). The prisoner is told by a captain of the village that he should put himself at ease—“behold thyself now among thy kindred and friends.” Yet all involved knew that this was little more than play-acting. The Iroquois had been put under the protection of a Huron captain named Saouandaouascouay who completed the drama by addressing to the captive the following speech:

“My nephew, thou must know that when I first received news that thou wert at my disposal, I was wonderfully pleased, fancying that he whom I lost in war had been, as it were, brought back to life, and was returning to his country. At the same time I resolved to give thee thy life; I was already thinking of preparing thee a place in my cabin, and thought that thou wouldst pass the rest of thy days pleasantly with me. But now that I see thee in this condition, thy fingers gone and thy hands half rotten, I change my mind, and I am sure that thou thyself wouldst now regret to live longer. I shall do thee a greater kindness to tell thee that thou must prepare to die; is it not so? ... Come then, my nephew, be of good courage; prepare thyself for this evening, and do not allow thyself to be cast down through fear of the tortures.” Thereupon Joseph asked him, with a firm and confident mien, what would be the nature of his torment. To this Saouandaouscouay replied that he would die by fire. “That is well,” said Joseph, “that is well.” (JR, 13:53–55)

And so it happens. The vivid description of the torture practiced upon this captive is an excellent demonstration of how familiar such scenes must have been to the Hurons. Indeed, they had a whole sequence of ironic compliments, false compassion, mockery, and derision that they heaped upon the captive as they tortured him. But the revenge factor was firmly planted in the minds of those applying the firebrands and red-hot hatchets, as they insinuated that the prisoner himself had taken part in similar tortures of Hurons in the past: “[W]ert thou not very cruel to prisoners; now just tell us, didst thou not enjoy burning them? Thou didst not think thou wert to be treated in the same way, but perhaps thou didst think thou hadst killed all the Hurons?”

Cannibalism was also practiced upon those captured in combat. Gruesome descriptions of such behavior are found throughout this volume and it is clear that such behavior was not uncommon among the tribes of the eastern woodlands. This is well demonstrated by one particular fellow who, upon the arrival of an Iroquois captive, said with gusto to Frs. Buteux and le Jeune, “I shall really eat some Hiroquois” (JR, 8:25). But perhaps the most appalling of all such incidents recorded in the present volume involves the roasting and

eating of children before the eyes of their mothers by an Iroquois war party (JR, 22:255–257). It often seemed that the rival nations were keen to outdo each other when it came to acts of extreme cruelty.

Lescarbot indicated that the ultimate source of this revolting behavior was an overwhelming desire for revenge. “They make war as did Alexander the Great, that they may say ‘I have beaten you’; or else for revenge, in remembrance of some injury received, which is the greatest vice I find in them, because they never forget injuries . . .” (1914 [1618]: 263–264). Champlain tells us that when a wrong was committed, the entire nation of the wrongdoer was held as guilty and subject to attack by the nation against whom the wrong had been committed (1878 [1632], 3:148). He further understood that if one did not take revenge when a wrong had been done, he could have no security in the country: “For I have noticed in these nations that, unless you resent offenses committed against you, and made it clear that you think more of the lives of men than of wealth and trade, they will some day come and try to cut your throat” (1933 [1632], 5:312).

Sagard relates that revenge was so ingrained in Huron society that the normal response when someone sneezed was to invoke death and abuse upon the Iroquois and all the enemies of the Hurons (1939 [1632]: 86). In contrast, Sagard also tells us that intratribal wrongdoing among the Hurons was rare and was most often dealt with by means of presents—i.e. the wampum ceremony. However:

[I]f the offence is committed against one of another nation, then undoubtedly war is declared between the two nations, unless the one to which the culprit belongs buys itself off by large presents, which it gets and exacts from its people for the aggrieved party. And thus it happens most frequently that for the fault of one man alone, two entire tribes make war very cruelly upon one another . . . (1939 [1632], p. 163–164).

Thus, it seems that this never-ending thirst for revenge—the blood feud—was at the heart of the Iroquois Wars. Interestingly enough, the introduction of Christianity among the Hurons, Montagnais, and Algonquins had a great impact upon the notion of revenge, and the practice of torture in particular. This is, perhaps, not surprising given the centrality of forgiveness and mercy within Christian doctrine, if not always in practice. The following passage demonstrates the conundrum faced by Algonquin converts to Christianity while on the warpath against the Iroquois:

Our good Neophytes, pursuing their design, secretly discovered a band of Hyroquois about equal to their own forces. They stopped short, and consulted together whether they should take them alive or put them to death, in case God gave them the victory. On the one hand, the glory of bringing back prisoners alive dazzled their minds; for the sweetest pleasure that a Savage can enjoy is to drag his enemy after him, bound and fettered, to make a joyful and triumphant exhibition of him in his own country. On the other hand, these good Neophytes were very doubtful whether they could stay the anger

and fury of their countrymen which would be vented on these victims of death, and decided that it would be better to kill them at once than to earn renown as valiant men at the expense of the diabolical cruelty that the prisoners would be made to suffer (JR, 22:53–55).

The increasing hold of the Christian religion among the nations allied to the French is a theme that underpins the extracts presented in this volume. At first, the Jesuit demands that torture and cannibalism—two practices that were utterly anathema to Christian morals—be curtailed were met with rebuffs: “When they are told that these cruelties are horrible and unworthy of a man, they answer you: ‘Thou hast no courage in allowing thine enemies to live; when the Hiroquois capture us, they do still worse; this is why we treat them as cruelly as we can’” (JR, 5:53).

When Christianity began to take a stronger hold, rifts were created within all of these tribes between those who converted and those who remained attached to the old ways. These divisions certainly weakened the fighting spirit of these nations, who were already only loosely allied against the Iroquois. Christian converts were often considered cowards for not taking part in the traditional war rituals, and many such converts were keen to reconcile Christianity with the warpath. Paul Tesswehat, a convert from the Iroquet Algonquins, did so in the following way, as recorded by Fr. Vimont: “‘May I go to the war against the Iroquois?’ he asked me. ‘Yes,’ we said. ‘And if I captured some one of them, and they wished to torture him, what would I do,—would I take part therein?’—No,’ said he, of his own accord; ‘I would kill him on the spot’” (JR, 24:249).

The espousal of the Christian religion by a significant number of Hurons, Montagnais, and Algonquins clearly caused a shift in the war aims and goals of these tribes and had an impact upon the unity and effectiveness of their war parties in the field. Whether the advent of Christianity played a decisive role is as yet a matter of scholarly conjecture.

Using this Volume

About the Extracts

The extracts selected for this volume are all taken from French primary sources up through the year 1650. The companion volume, *Iroquois Wars II*, covers the period from 1651 through 1675, using extracts exclusively from the *Jesuit Relations*. Future volumes covering the years after 1675 and utilizing French sources in addition to the *Relations* are also planned. The sheer mass of material available if English and Dutch sources had also been included would have made these volumes nearly as unwieldy as the 73-volume *Jesuit Relations* themselves. While acknowledging this limitation, it is the intent of the editors to compile future companion volumes to this series that tell the story using such contemporary English and Dutch sources as are available.

Several classes of quotations have been extracted from the primary sources to compile this volume: 1) passages that make reference to any sort of warfare or combat between the Iroquois and their allies and any other nation; 2) passages dealing with discussions of the military situation, war readiness, rumors of war, or forging of peace taking place within Iroquoia, Huronia, or among the Algonquin or Montagnais tribes; 3) passages which detail the treatment of captives taken in battle; 4) passages which discuss traditional war rituals of the various tribes; 5) French and Jesuit accounts of the military efforts of other European powers in the theater and efforts to secure military assistance from France; and 6) passages dealing with how certain outside factors such as famine, disease, intrigue, and religion affected the war readiness, solidarity, and morale of various tribes and confederacies.

The extracts are arranged in rough chronological order, beginning with Hakluyt's English translation of Cartier's observations and proceeding to the destruction of the Hurons in 1650 as recounted by the Jesuit fathers. A chronological scheme was chosen to give the reader a better understanding of the sequence of events which can often be confusing given the multiple writers of the *Relations* and their tendency to jump back and forth between missions, locations, and anecdotes. To further assist the reader in this regard, a detailed chronology of events has been provided in the appendices. As a rule, explanatory footnotes from the various sources have not been included, except when these provide important and related data that does not occur in the text. Wherever possible, the editors have added supplemental notations for context—these are given in square brackets after an asterisk [*] to differentiate them from internal notations made by the original translators and editors.

A few slight formatting changes have been made to the texts in this volume. Italic type and text appearing in Latin in the original has been retained. The often idiosyncratic spellings particularly of place-names (e.g. Kebek for Quebec), and the non-standard use of capital and lower case letters within sentences are consistent with the time period and have been left as they appear in the originals.

The variation in the names of the native tribes and nations has been a continual headache for scholars, let alone the general reader. Wherever possible, the editors have tried to clarify tribal identifications that may be less familiar. For further assistance, a thorough synonymy has been provided in the appendices.

Throughout this volume, those extracts originating from the Thwaites edition of the *Jesuit Relations* are identified by the letters "JR." Such citations will also contain volume and page numbers (e.g., JR, 5:245). The other sources are identified simply by the original author's name, a volume number if applicable, and a page reference. The editions of Hakluyt, Champlain, and Sagard which were used to compile these extracts may be found in the bibliography section at the end of this introduction. In the case of those extracts originating in the writings of Champlain, two translations have been utilized.

These are differentiated by the use of the editor's name within each extract citation (e.g., Champlain [Biggar], 5:215).

In the body of the text, the extracts are arranged beneath a heading indicating their original source:

<i>author</i>	<i>year</i>	<i>title of the original source</i>
Father Pierre Biard. 1616. Relation of New France, of its lands, nature of the country, and of its inhabitants.		

To further avoid confusion and aid in referencing, each individual extract begins with a line identifying the source, a beginning page number for the extract, and a short summary supplied by the editors. For example:

<i>Source</i>	<i>Volume #</i>	<i>Page #</i>	<i>Summary</i>	<i>Extract text</i>
JR, 28:93 [<i>*A Huron convert is killed by the Iroquois.</i>]				

A young man—a Catechumen, who could not obtain Baptism from us because we did not see clearly enough into his Faith—resolved to go to war with some Christians....I know not what pressed this young Neophyte so strongly; but, for over seventy days, he kept asking for Baptism from the oldest of our Christians, with such fervor in his requests that finally he was promised that he should be baptized on the Sunday....

In a few of the passages, it is well to keep in mind that the English versions here are all translations from originals in French, Latin or Italian. If the meaning of a particular passage seems unclear, the editors have attempted to make it as easy as possible for the researcher to refer back to the original source, all of which are readily available in their original language at Early Canadiana Online (<http://www.canadiana.org/>), the Champlain Society web site (<http://www.champlainsociety.ca>), and other similar locations on the internet.

It might seem in some extracts that more was here preserved than strictly pertained to military matters. Wherever possible, the editors have removed extended sections that are not relevant to the subject at hand. When these removals occur within a particular extract, they are always marked with an ellipsis (...). In many cases, the editors have chosen to retain some extraneous material that may aid in understanding the context of the extract.

To further aid the comprehension of this mass of material, the editors have included several maps and figures. The figures are those which accom-

panied the original publication of Champlain's works, and while they were obviously executed by someone not on the scene, they nonetheless convey a reasonable summary of the action in question. Brief biographies of some of the principle individuals appearing in this volume are also included in the appendices.

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Section One

“A people dwelling toward the South, who continually doe warre against them”

Early Records of War in the Eastern Woodlands and Saint Lawrence Valley

1535–1631

The extracts in this section range from a few vague references taken from Cartier's visit to Hochelaga in 1535, to Champlain's detailed narratives of his three expeditions in company with Huron and Algonquin war parties. While covering nearly 100 years, it should be remembered that for about 60 years after 1543, the French colonization effort was abandoned, only to be reinvigorated in the early 17th century with the foundation of Quebec in 1608.

While the French were struggling to establish themselves, the Iroquois, Algonquins, Hurons, Montagnais, and other nations continued to engage in perennial warfare. No sooner had Champlain arrived in the valley of the Saint Lawrence than he was recruited by the Hurons, Montagnais, and Algonquins to accompany them on an expedition against the Iroquois in 1609. This raid was so successful, that the allied tribes continued to request French assistance against the Iroquois on an annual basis. In 1615, Champlain accompanied a large Huron war party against a fortified town that likely belonged to one of the Iroquois nations. This expedition ended in failure and injury for Champlain and soured him on the idea of further joint raids.

By 1624, the Mohawks had made peace with the Hurons, Algonquins, Montagnais, and French and taken up a war against the Mahicans who stood between them and unfettered access to the new Dutch trading post at Fort Orange. By 1628, the Mohawks had defeated the Mahicans. As the end stages of this war played out, the Mahicans attempted to persuade the Montagnais and Algonquins to intervene on their behalf and attack the Iroquois. Aggravated by Algonquin and Montagnais belligerence, the Iroquois were again raiding settlements and ambushing canoe traffic along the St. Lawrence by early 1627. However, the increasingly dire situation of the French as a result of the interception of their supply fleet by the English made them powerless to assist their native allies. By the late 1620s, the French colonies along the St. Lawrence and in Acadia were raided, captured, and burned by the English under Admiral David Kirke—Quebec itself falling in 1629.

Jacques Cartier. 1535. Taken from the Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation compiled and translated by Richard Hakluyt, 1600.

Hakluyt, 119 [**A description of the fortifications of Hochelaga, a town on the future site of Montreal.*]

In the midst of those fields is the citie of Hochelaga, placed nere, and as it were joyned to a great mountaine that is tilled round about, very fertill, on the top of which you may see very farre, we named it Mount Roiall. The citie of Hochelaga is round, compassed about with timber, with three course of Rampires, one within another framed like a sharpe Spire, but laide acrossse above. The middlemost of them is made and built, as a direct line, but perpendicular. The Rampires are framed and fashioned with peeces of timber, layd along the ground, very well and cunningly joyned together after their fashion. This enclosure is in height about two rods. It hath but one gate or entrie thereat, which is shut with piles, stakes, and barres. Over it, and also in many places of the wall, there be places to runne along, and ladders to get up, all full of stones, for the defence of it.

Hakluyt, 123 [**The Agojuda—enemies of the Hochelagans.*]

And in the middest of those fieldes we saw the river further up a great way then where we had left our boates, where was the greatest and the swiftest fall of water that anywhere hath been seene, and as great, wide, and large as our sight might discern, going South-west along three faire and round mountains that wee sawe, as we judged about fifteene leagues from us....Moreover, they showed us with signs that the said three fals being past, a man might sayle the space of three monethes more alongst that River, which (even as the other) commeth from the West, we thought it to be the river that runneth through the Countrey of Saguenay: and without any signe or question mooved or asked of them, they took the chayne of our Captaines whistle, which was of silver, and the dagger-haft of one of our fellow Mariners, hanging on his side being of yellow copper guilt, and shewed us that such stuffe came from the said River, and that there be Agouionda [**Agojuda*], that is as much to say, as evill people, who goe all armed even to their finger ends. Also, they shewed us the manner of making their armour: they are made of cordes and wood, finely and cunningly wrought together. They gave us also to understand that those Agouionda doe continually ware one against another, but because we did not understand them well, we could not perceive how farre it was to that Countrey.

Hakluyt, 125 [**Cartier speaks to Donnacona, captain of the Stadaconans, and hears tell of their enemies, the Toudamani.*]

Then they shewed us the skins of five mens heads spread upon boards as we do use for parchment: Donnacona told us that they were the skins of Toudamani, a people dwelling toward the South, who continually doe warre

against them. Moreover they told us, that it was two yeeres past that those Toudamans came to assault them, yea even into the said river, in an Iland that before, as they were going a warfaring in Hognedo, with 200 persons, men, women, and children, who being all asleepe in a Fort that they had made, they were assaulted by the said Toudamans, who put fire round the Fort, and as they would have come out if it to save themselves, they were all slaine, only five excepted, who escaped. For which losse they yet sorrowed, shewing with signes, that one day they would be revenged.

Samuel de Champlain. 1613. The Voyages of Samuel de Champlain.

Champlain [Slafter], 2:76 [**Champlain in Massachusetts Bay in 1605 mentions that the Montagnais are at war with the Iroquois.*]

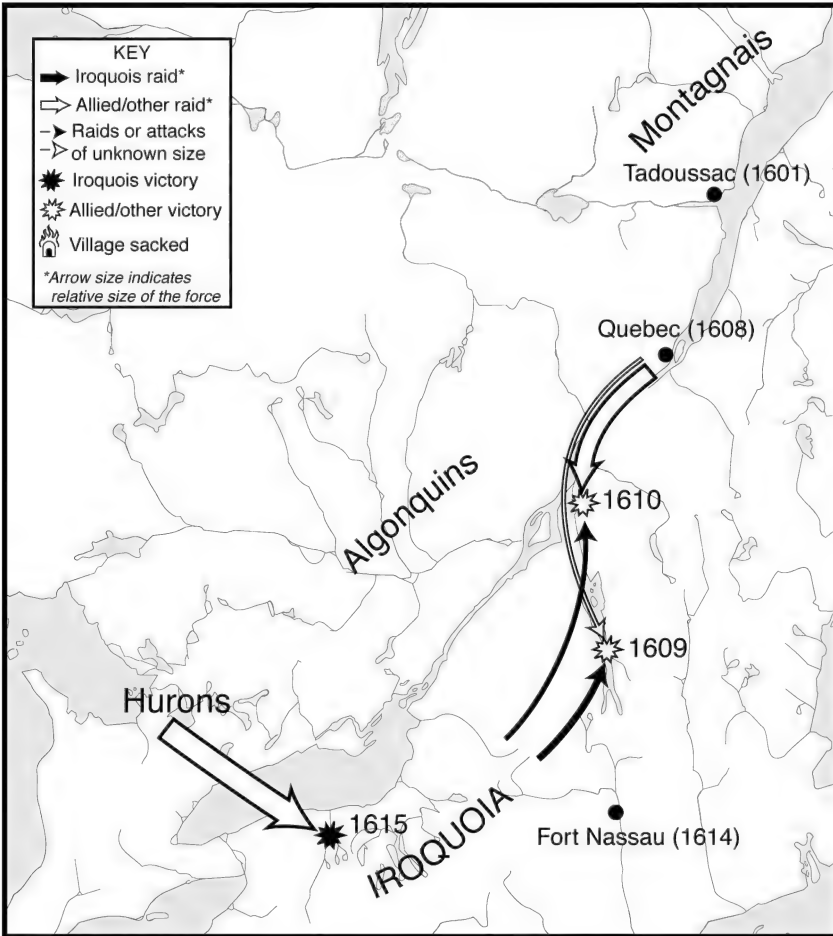
There is, moreover, in this bay a very broad river, which we named River du Guast. It stretches, as it seemed to me, towards the Iroquois, a nation in open warfare with the Montagnais, who live on the great river St. Lawrence.

Champlain [Slafter], 2:192 [**Champlain at Quebec in 1608 mentions the Montagnais' fear of the Iroquois.*]

All the time they were with us, which was the most secure place for them, they did not cease to fear their enemies to such an extent that they often at night became alarmed while dreaming, and sent their wives and children to our fort, the gates of which I had opened to them, allowing the men to remain about the fort, but not permitting them to enter, for their persons were thus as much in security as if they had been inside. I also had five or six of our men go out to reassure them, and to go and ascertain whether they could see any thing in the woods, in order to quiet them. They are very timid and in great dread of their enemies, scarcely ever sleeping in repose in whatever place they may be, although I constantly reassured them, so far as I could, urging them to do as we did; namely, that they should have a portion watch while the others slept, that each one should have his arms in readiness like him who was keeping watch, and that they should not regard dreams as the actual truth to be relied upon, since they are mostly only false, to which I also added other words on the same subject. But these remonstrances were of little avail with them, and they said that we knew better.

Champlain [Slafter], 2:201 [**Champlain's first expedition against the Iroquois, July 1609.*]

Pursuing our route, I met some two or three hundred savages, who were encamped in huts near a little island called St. Eloi a league and a half distant from St. Mary. We made a reconnaissance, and found that they were tribes of savages, called Ochateguins [**Hurons*] and Algonquins, on their way to Quebec, to assist us in exploring the territory of the Iroquois, with whom they are in deadly hostility, sparing nothing belonging to their enemies.



Map 2: Huron-Algonquin-Montagnais raids in combination with Champlain, 1609–1615. The Huron attack of 1615 was on a people known as the “Entouhonorons” who may or may not have been part of the Iroquois.

After reconnoitering, I went on shore to see them, and inquired who their chief was. They told me there were two, one named Yroquet, and the other Ochasteguain, whom they pointed out to me. I went to their cabin, where they gave me a cordial reception, as is their custom.

I proceeded to inform them of the object of my voyage, with which they were greatly pleased. After some talk, I withdrew. Some time after, they came to my shallop, and presented me with some peltry, exhibiting many tokens of pleasure. Then they returned to the shore.

The next day, the two chiefs came to see me, when they remained some time without saying a word, meditating and smoking all the while. After due reflection, they began to harangue in a loud voice all their companions who were on the bank of the river, with their arms in their hands, and listening very

attentively to what their chiefs said to them, which was as follows: that nearly ten moons ago, according to their mode of reckoning, the son of Yroquet had seen me, and that I had given him a good reception, and declared that Pont Gravé and I desired to assist them against their enemies, with whom they had for a long time been at warfare, on account of many cruel acts committed by them against their tribe, under color of friendship; that, having ever since longed for vengeance, they had solicited all the savages, whom I saw on the bank of the river, to come and make an alliance with us, and that their never having seen Christians also impelled them to come and visit us; that I should do with them and their companions as I wished; that they had no children with them, but men versed in war and full of courage, acquainted with the country and rivers in the land of the Iroquois; that now they entreated me to return to our settlement, that they might see our houses and that, after three days, we should all together come back to engage in the war; that, as a token of firm friendship and joy, I should have muskets and arquebuses fired, at which they would be greatly pleased. This I did when they uttered great cries of astonishment, especially those who had never heard or seen the like.

After hearing them, I replied that, if they desired, I should be very glad to return to our settlement, to gratify them still more; and that they might conclude that I had no other purpose but arms, and not merchandise for barter, as they had been given to understand; and that my only desire was to fulfill that what I had promised them; and that if I had known of any who had made evil reports to them, I should regard them as enemies more than they did themselves. They told me that they believed nothing of them, and that they never had heard any one speak thus. But the contrary was the case; for there were some savages who told it to ours. I contented myself with waiting for an opportunity to show them in fact something more than they could have expected from me.

The next day, we set out all together for our settlement, where they enjoyed themselves some five or six days, which were spent in dances and festivities on account of their eagerness for us to engage in the war.

Pont Gravé came forthwith from Tadoussac with two little barques full of men, in compliance with a letter, in which I begged him to come as speedily as possible.

The savages seeing him arrive rejoiced more than ever, inasmuch as I told them that he had given some of his men to assist them, and that perhaps we should go together.

On the 28th of the month [*June] we equipped some barques for assisting the savages. Pont Gravé embarked on one and I on the other, when we all set out together. The first of June, we arrived at St. Croix, distant about fifteen leagues from Quebec, where Pont Gravé and I concluded that, for certain reasons, I should go with the savages, and he to our settlement and to Tadoussac. This resolution being taken, I embarked in my shallop all that was necessary, together with Des Marais and La Route, our pilot, and nine men.

I set out from St. Croix on the 3rd of June [*actually July] with all the savages. We passed Trois Rivières, a very beautiful country, covered with a growth of fine trees....

Thence we continued our course to the entrance of Lake St. Peter, where the country is exceedingly pleasant and level, and crossed the lake, in two, three, and four fathoms of water, which is some eight leagues long and four wide....After crossing the lake, we passed a large number of islands of various sizes....Here there sprang up among them some difference of opinion on the subject of the war, so that a portion only determined to go with me, while the others returned to their country with their wives and the merchandise which they had obtained by barter....

Setting out from the mouth of this river,...we arrived at a place in latitude 45°, and twenty-two or twenty-three leagues from the Trois Rivières. All this river from its mouth to the first fall, a distance of fifteen leagues, is very smooth, and bordered with woods, like all the other places before named, and of the same sorts. There are nine or ten fine islands before reaching the fall of the Iroquois....

Having returned, and seeing the slight prospect there was of passing the fall with our shallop, I was much troubled....After duly thinking over the matter, I determined to go and fulfill my promise, and carry out my desire....

I proceeded forthwith to have a conference with the captains of the savages, and gave them to understand that they had told me the opposite of what my observations found to be the case at the fall; namely, that it was impossible to pass it with the shallop, but that this would not prevent me from assisting them as I had promised. This communication troubled them greatly; and they desired to change their determination, but I urged them not to do so, telling them that they ought to carry out their first plan, and that I, with two others, would go to the war with them in their canoes, in order to show them that, as for me, I would not break my word given to them, although alone; but that I was unwilling then to oblige any one of my companions to embark, and would only take with me those who had the inclination to go, of whom I had found two.

After we had passed the fall which was attended with difficulty, all the savages who had gone by land over a good path and level country, although there are a great many trees, re-embarked in their canoes. My men went also by land; but I went in a canoe. The savages made a review of all their followers, finding that there were twenty-four canoes, with sixty men....Proceeding about three leagues farther on, we made a halt, in order to rest the coming night.

They all at once set to work, some to cut wood, and others to obtain the bark of trees for covering their cabins, for the sake of sheltering themselves, others to fell large trees for constructing a barricade on the river-bank around their cabins, which they do so quickly that in less than two hours so much is accomplished that five hundred of their enemies would find it very difficult to dislodge them without killing large numbers. They make no barricade on the

river-bank, where their canoes are drawn up, in order that they may be able to embark, if occasion requires. After they were established in their cabins, they despatched three canoes, with nine good men, according to their custom in all their encampments, to reconnoitre for a distance of two or three leagues, to see if they can perceive any thing, after which they return. They rest the entire night, depending upon the observation of these scouts, which is a very bad custom among them; for they are sometimes while sleeping surprised by their enemies, who slaughter them before they have time to get up and prepare for defence. Noticing this, I remonstrated with them on the mistake they made, and told them that they ought to keep watch, as they had seen us do every night, and have men on the lookout, in order to listen and see whether they perceived any thing, and that they should not live in such a manner like beasts. They replied that they could not keep watch, and that they worked enough in the day-time in the chase, since, when engaged in war, they divide their troops into three parts: namely, a part for hunting scattered in several places; another to constitute the main body of their army, which is always under arms, and the third to act as *avant-coureurs*, to look out along the rivers, and observe whether they can see any mark or signal showing where their enemies or friends have passed. This they ascertain by certain marks which the chiefs of different tribes make known to each other; but, these not continuing always the same, they inform themselves from time to time of changes, by which means they ascertain whether they are enemies or friends who have passed. The hunters never hunt in advance of the main body, or *avant-coureurs* as not to excite alarm or produce disorder, but in the rear and in the direction from which they do not anticipate their enemy. Thus they advance until they are within two or three-days' march as their enemies, when they proceed by night stealthily and all in a body, except the *van-coureurs*. By day, they withdraw into the interior of the woods, where they rest, without straying off, neither making any noise nor any fire, even for the sake of cooking, so as not to be noticed in case their enemies should by accident pass by. They make no fire, except in smoking, which amounts to almost nothing. They eat baked Indian meal, which they soak in water, when it becomes a kind of porridge. They provide themselves with such meal to meet their wants, when they are near the enemy, or when retreating after a charge, in which case they are not inclined to hunt, retreating immediately.

In all their encampments, they have their Pilotois, or Ostemoy, a class of persons who play the part of soothsayers, in whom these people have faith. One of these builds a cabin, surrounds it with small pieces of wood, and covers it with his robe: after it is built, he places himself inside, so as not to be seen at all, when he seizes and shakes one of the polls of his cabin, muttering some words between his teeth, by which he says he invokes the devil, who appears to him in the form of a stone and tells him whether they will meet their enemies and kill many of them.... These rogues counterfeit also their voice, so that it is heavy and clear, and speak in a language unknown to the other savages.

And, when they represent it as broken, the savages think that the devil is speaking, and telling them what is to happen in their war and what they must do.

Now, after ascertaining from their soothsayers what is to be their fortune, the chiefs take sticks a foot long, and as many as there are soldiers. They take others, somewhat larger, to indicate the chiefs. Then they go into the wood, and seek out a level place, five or six feet square, where the chief, as sergeant-major, puts all the sticks in such order as seems to him best. Then he calls all his companions, who come all armed; and he indicates to them the rank and order they are to observe in battle with their enemies. All the savages watch carefully this proceeding, observing attentively the outline which their chief has made with the sticks. Then they go away, and set to placing themselves in such order as the sticks were in, when they mingle with each other, and return again to their proper order, which manœuver they repeat two or three times, and at all their encampments, without needing a sergeant to keep them in the proper order, which they are able to keep accurately without any confusion. This is their rule in war.

We set out on the next day, continuing our course in the river as far as the entrance of the lake [*Lake Champlain]....

The next day we entered the lake, which is of great extent, say eighty or a hundred leagues long, where I saw four fine islands, ten, twelve, and fifteen leagues long, which were formerly inhabited by the savages, like the River of the Iroquois; but they have been abandoned since the wars of the savages with one another prevail....

Continuing our course over this lake on the western side, I noticed, while observing the country, some very high mountains on the eastern side, on the top of which there was snow [*the Green Mountains. Slafter's footnote indicates that Champlain probably mistook the white limestone of the mountains for snow, which would not be evident in July.] I made inquiry of the savages whether these localities were inhabited, when they told me that the Iroquois dwelt there, and that there were beautiful valleys in these places, with plains productive in grain, such as I had eaten in this country, together with many kinds of fruit without limit. They said also that the lake extended near mountains some twenty-five leagues distant from us, as I judge. I saw, on the south, other mountains, no less high than the first, but without any snow [*the Adirondack Mountains]. The savages told me that these mountains were thickly settled, and that it was there we were to find their enemies; but that it was necessary to pass a fall in order to go there (which I afterwards saw), when we should enter another lake, nine or ten leagues long. After reaching the end of the lake, we should have to go, they said, two leagues by land, and pass through a river flowing into the sea on the Norumbegue coast near that of Florida [*Slafter's footnote indicates that this is the Hudson River]....

Now as we began to approach within two or three days' journey of the abode of their enemies, we advanced only at night, resting during the day. But they did not fail to practice constantly their accustomed superstitions, in order

to ascertain what was to be the result of their undertaking; and they often asked me if I had had a dream and seen their enemies, to which I replied in the negative. Yet I did not cease to encourage them, and inspire in them hope. When night came, we set out on the journey until the next day, when we withdrew into the interior of the forest and spent the rest of the day there. About ten or eleven o'clock, after taking a little walk about our encampment, I retired. While sleeping, I dreamed that I saw our enemies, the Iroquois, drowning in the lake near a mountain, within sight. When I expressed a wish to help them, our allies, the savages, told me we must let them all die, and that they were of no importance. When I awoke, they did not fail to ask me, as usual, if I had had a dream. I told them that I had, in fact, had a dream. This, upon being related, gave them so much confidence that they did not doubt any longer that good was to happen to them.

When it was evening, we embarked in our canoes to continue our course; and, as we advanced very quietly and without making any noise, we met on the 29th of the month the Iroquois, about ten o'clock at evening, at the extremity of a cape which extends into the lake on the western bank. They had come to fight. We both began to utter loud cries, all getting their arms in readiness. We withdrew out on the water, and the Iroquois went on shore, where they drew up all their canoes close to each other and began to fell trees with poor axes, which they acquire in war sometimes, using also others of stone. Thus they barricaded themselves very well.

Our forces also passed the entire night, their canoes being drawn up close to each other, and fastened to poles, so that they might not get separated, and that they might be all in readiness to fight, if occasion required. We were out upon the water, within arrow range of their barricades. When they were armed and in array, they dispatched two canoes by themselves to the enemy to inquire if they wished to fight, to which the latter replied that they wanted nothing else: but they said that, at present, there was not much light, and that it would be necessary to wait for daylight, so as to be able to recognize each other; and that, as soon as the sun rose, they would offer us battle. This was agreed to by our side. Meanwhile, the entire night was spent in dancing and singing, on both sides, with endless insults and other talk; as, how little courage we had, how feeble a resistance we could make against their arms, and that, when day came, we should realize it to our ruin. Ours also were not slow in retorting, telling them they would see such execution of arms as never before, together with an abundance of such talk as is not unusual in the siege of a town. After this singing, dancing, and bandying words on both sides to the fill, when day came, my companions and myself continued under cover, for fear that the enemy would see us. We arranged our arms in the best manner possible, being, however separated, each in one of the canoes of the savage Montagnais. After arming ourselves with light armor, we each took an arquebuse, and went on shore. I saw the enemy go out of their barricade, nearly two hundred in number, stout and rugged in appearance. They came at a slow pace

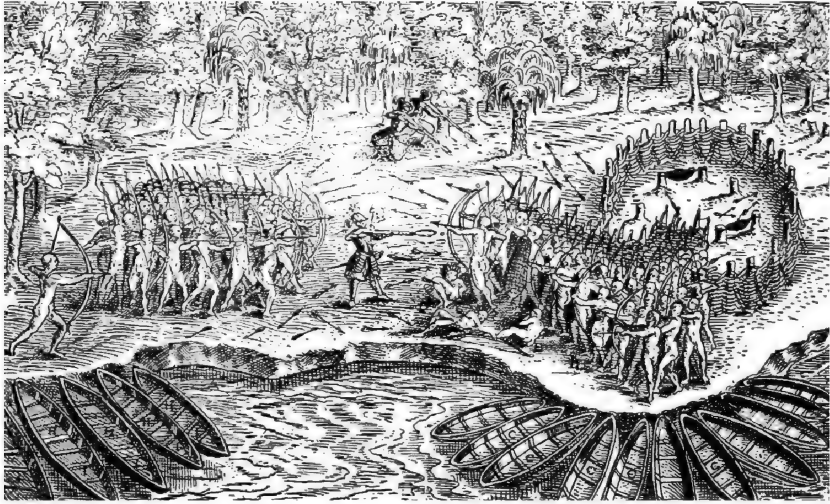


Figure 1. The Huron-Algonquin-Montagnais allies defeat the Iroquois with help from Champlain, 1609. This fanciful engraving was probably not executed by an eye-witness to the event.

towards us, with a dignity and assurance which greatly amused me, having three chiefs at their head. Our men also advanced in the same order, telling me that those who had three large plumes were the chiefs, and that they had only these three, and that they could be distinguished by these plumes, which were much larger than those of their companions, and that I should do what I could to kill them.

I promised to do all in my power, and said that I was very sorry they could not understand me, so that I might give order and shape to their mode of attacking their enemies, and then we should, without doubt, defeat them all; but that this could not now be obviated, and that I should be very glad to show them my courage and good-will when we should engage in the fight.

As soon as we had landed, they began to run for some two hundred paces towards their enemies, who stood firmly, not having as yet noticed my companions, who went into the woods with some savages. Our men began to call me with loud cries; and, in order to give me a passage-way, they opened in two parts, and put me at their head, where I marched borne twenty paces in advance of the rest, until I was within about thirty paces of the enemy, who at once noticed me, and halting, gazed at me, as I did also at them. When I saw them making a move to fire at us, I rested my musket against my cheek, and aimed directly at one of the three chiefs [*see Figure 1]. With the same shot, two fell to the ground; and one of their men was so wounded that he died some time after. I had loaded my musket with four balls. When our side saw this shot so favorable for them, they began to raise such loud cries that one could not have heard it thunder. Meanwhile, the arrows flew on both sides. The Iroquois were greatly astonished that two men had been so quickly killed, although they were equipped with armor woven from cotton thread, and with

wood which was proof against their arrows. This caused great alarm among them. As I was loading again, one of my companions fired a shot from the woods, which astonished them anew to such a degree that, seeing their chiefs dead, they lost courage, and took to flight, abandoning their camp and fort, and fleeing into the woods, whither I pursued them, killing still more of them. Our savages also killed several of them, and took ten or twelve prisoners. The remainder escaped with the wounded. Fifteen or sixteen were wounded on our side with arrow-shots; but they were soon healed.

After gaining the victory, our men amused themselves by taking a great quantity of Indian corn and some meal from their enemies, also their armor, which they had left behind that they might run better. After feasting sumptuously, dancing and singing, we returned three hours after, with the prisoners. The spot where this attack took place is in latitude 43° and some minutes, and the lake was called Champlain. [*Slafter's footnote says that the battle clearly took place at Ticonderoga.]

After going some eight leagues, towards evening they took one of the prisoners, to whom they made a harangue, enumerating the cruelties which he and his men had already practiced towards them without any mercy, and that, in like manner, he ought to make up his mind to receive as much. They commanded him to sing, if he had courage, which he did; but it was a very sad song.

Meanwhile, our men kindled a fire; and, when it was well burning, they each took a brand, and burned this poor creature gradually, so as to make him suffer greater torment. Sometimes they stopped, and threw water on his back. Then they tore out his nails, and applied fire to the extremities of his fingers and private member. Afterwards, they flayed the top of his head, and had a kind of gum poured all hot upon it; then they pierced his arms near the wrists, and, drawing up the sinews with slicks, they tore them out by force; but, seeing that they could not get them, they cut them. This poor wretch uttered terrible cries, and it excited my pity to see him treated in this manner, and yet showing such firmness that one would have said, at times, that he suffered hardly any pain at all. They urged me strongly to take some fire, and do as they did. I remonstrated with them, saying that we practised no such cruelties, but killed them at once; and that, if they wished me to fire a musket-shot at him, I should be willing to do so. They refused, saying that he would not in that case suffer any pain. I went away, from them, pained to see such cruelties as they practised upon his body. When they saw that I was displeased, they called me, and told me to fire a musket-shot at him. This I did without his seeing it, and thus put an end, by a single shot, to all the torments he would have suffered, rather than see him tyrannized over. After his death, they were not yet satisfied, but opened him, and threw his entrails into the lake. Then they cut off his head, arms, and legs, which they scattered in different directions; keeping the scalp which they had flayed off, as they had done in the case of all the rest whom they had killed in the contest. They were guilty also of another monstrosity in taking his heart, cutting it into several pieces, and giving it to

a brother of his to eat, as also to others of his companions, who were prisoners: they took it into their mouths, but would not swallow it. Some Algonquin savages, who were guarding them, made some of them spit it out, when they threw it into the water. This is the manner in which these people behave towards those whom they capture in war, for whom it would be better to die fighting, or to kill themselves on the spur of the moment, as many do, rather than fall into the hands of their enemies. After this execution, we set out on our return with the rest of the prisoners, who kept singing as they went along, with no better hopes for the future than he had had who was so wretchedly treated.

Having arrived at the falls of the Iroquois, the Algonquins returned to their own country; so also the Ochateguins, with a part of the prisoners: well satisfied, with the results of the war, and that I had accompanied them so readily. We separated accordingly with loud protestations of mutual friendship; and they asked me whether I would not like to go into their country, to assist them with continued fraternal relations; and I promised that I would do so.

I returned with the Montagnais. After informing myself from the prisoners in regard to their country, and of its probable extent, we packed up the baggage for the return, which was accomplished with such despatch that we went every day in their canoes twenty-five or thirty leagues, which was their usual rate of travelling. When we arrived at the mouth of the river Iroquois, some of the savages dreamed that their enemies were pursuing them. This dream led them to move their camp forthwith, although the night was very inclement on account of the wind and rain; and they went and passed the remainder of the night, from fear of their enemies, amid high reeds on Lake St. Peter. Two days after, we arrived at our settlement, where I gave them some bread and peas; also some beads, which they asked me for, in order to ornament the heads of their enemies, for the purpose of merry-making upon their return. The next day, I went with them in their canoes as far as Tadoussac, in order to witness their ceremonies. On approaching the shore, they each took a stick, to the end of which they hung the heads of their enemies, who had been killed, together with some beads, all of them singing. When they were through with this, the women undressed themselves, so as to be in a state of entire nudity, when they jumped into the water, and swam to the prows, of the canoes to take the heads of their enemies, which were on the ends of long poles before their boats: then they hung them about their necks, as if it had been some costly chain, singing and dancing meanwhile. Some days after, they presented me with one of these heads, as if it were something very precious; and also with a pair of arms taken from their enemies, to keep and show to the king. This, for the sake of gratifying them, I promised to do.

After some days, I went to Quebec, whither some Algonquin savages came, expressing their regret at not being present at the defeat of their enemies, and presenting me with some furs, in consideration of my having gone there and assisted their friends.

Marc Lescarbot. 1610. The Conversion of the Savages who were baptized in New France during this year, 1610. With a Brief Narrative of the Voyage of Sieur de Poutrincourt.

JR, 1:103 [**Lescarbot's summary of Champlain's first foray against the Iroquois.*]

When Summer came, that is a year ago, Champlain wishing to see the country of the Iroquois, to prevent the Savages from seizing his Fort in his absence, persuaded them to go and make war against them; so they departed with him and two other Frenchmen, to the number of eighty or a hundred, to the lake of the Iroquois, two hundred leagues distant from Kebec. There has always been war between these two nations, as there has been between the Souriquois and Armouchiquois: and sometimes the Iroquois have raised as many as eight thousand men to war against and exterminate all those who live near the great river of Canada: and it seems that they did this, as to-day the language which was spoken in the time of Jacques Quartier, who was there eighty years ago, is no longer heard in that region.

When Champlain arrived there with his troops, they could not conceal themselves so well but that they were perceived by the Iroquois, who always have sentinels upon the routes of their enemies: and each side being well fortified, it was agreed among them not to fight that day, but to postpone the affair until the morrow.

The weather then was very clear; so clear that scarcely had Aurora chased away the shadows of the night, than a din was heard throughout the camp. An Iroquois skirmisher having tried to issue from the fortifications, was pierced through, not by one of the arrows of Apollo, nor of the little Archer with the blindfolded eyes, but by a genuine and very painful arrow, which stretched him out upon his back. Thereupon the eyes of the offended were full of ire, and each one takes his place in the line of attack and defense. As the band of Iroquois advances, Champlain, who had charged his musket with two balls, seeing two Iroquois, their heads adorned with feathers, marching on in front, supposed they were two Captains, and wanted to advance and aim at them. But the Kebec Savages prevented him, saying:—"It is not well that they should see thee, for, never having been accustomed to see such people as thou art, they would immediately run away. But withdraw behind our first rank, and when we are ready, thou shall advance."

He did so, and in this way the two Captains were both slain by one musket shot. Victory ensued at once. For they all disbanded, and it only remained to pursue them. This was done with little opposition, and they carried off some fifty of their enemies' heads, a triumph which, upon their return, they celebrated with great festivities, consisting of continual Tabagies, dances, and chants, according to their custom.

Samuel de Champlain. 1613. The Voyages of Samuel de Champlain.

Champlain [Slafter], 2:232 [**Champlain's second encounter with the Iroquois, 1610.*]

On the 26th of the month [**April, 1610*], we arrived at Tadoussac....

The savages had been waiting from day to day for us to go to war with them. When they learned that Pont Gravé and I had arrived together, they rejoiced greatly, and came to speak with us.

I went on shore to assure them that we would go with them in conformity with the promises they had made me, namely, that upon our return from the war they would show me the Trois Rivières, and take me to the sea so large that the end of it cannot be seen, whence we should return by way of the Saguenay to Tadoussac. I asked them if they still had this intention, to which they replied that they had, but that it could not be carried out before next year, which pleased me. But I had promised the Algonquins and the Ochateguins that I would assist them also in their wars, they having promised to show me their country, the great lake, some copper mines, and other things, which they had indicated to me.

On the 28th of the month, I set out from Tadoussac for Quebec, where I found Captain Pierre [**Chauvin of Dieppe*], who commanded there, and all his companions in good health. There was also a savage captain named Batiscan, with some of his companions, who were awaiting us, and who were greatly pleased at my arrival, singing and dancing the entire evening....

Some days after I had set out from Tadoussac, the Montagnais arrived at Quebec, to the number of sixty able-bodied men, en route for the war. They tarried here some days, enjoying themselves, and not omitting to ply me frequently with questions to assure themselves that I would not fail in my promises to them. I assured them, and again made promises to them, asking them if they had found me breaking my word in the past. They were greatly pleased when I renewed my promises to them,

They said to me: "Here are numerous Basques and Mistigoches" (this is the name they give to the Normans and the people of St. Malo), "who say they will go to the war with us. What do you think of it? Do they speak the truth?" I answered no, and that I knew very well what they really meant; that they said this only to get possession of their commodities. They replied to me: "You have spoken the truth. They are women, and want to make war only upon our beavers." They went on talking still further in a facetious mood, and in regard to the manner and order of going to the war.

They determined to set out and await me at the Trois Rivières, thirty leagues above Quebec, where I had promised to join them, together with four barques loaded with merchandise, in order to traffic in peltries, among others with the Ochateguins, who were to await me at the mouth of the river of the Iroquois, as they had promised the year before, and to bring there as many as four hundred men to go to the war.

I set out from Quebec on the 14th of June, to meet the Montagnais, Algonquins, and Ochateguins, who were to be at the mouth of the river of the Iroquois. When I was eight leagues from Quebec, I met a canoe, containing two savages, one an Algonquin, and the other a Montagnais, who entreated me to advance as rapidly as possible, saying that the Algonquins and Ochateguins would in two days be at the rendezvous, to the number of two hundred, with two hundred others to come a little later, together with Yroquet, one of their chiefs. They asked me if I was satisfied with the coming of these savages. I told them I could not be displeased at it, since they had kept their word. They came on board my barque, where I gave them a good entertainment. Shortly after conferring with them about many matters concerning their wars, the Algonquin savage, one of the chiefs, drew from a sack a piece of copper a foot long which he gave to me. This was very handsome and quite pure. He gave me to understand that there were large quantities where he had taken this, which was on the bank of a river near the great lake. He said that they gathered it in lumps and having melted it, spread it in sheets, smoothing it with stones. I was very glad of this present, although of small value.

Arriving at Trois Rivières, I found all the Montagnais awaiting me, and the four barques as stated above, which had gone to trade with them.

The savages were delighted to see me, and I went on shore to speak with them. They entreated me, together with my companions to embark on their canoes and no others, when we went to war, saying that they were our old friends. This I promised them, telling them that I desired to set out at once, since the wind was favorable; and that my barque was not so swift as their canoes, for which reason I desired to go in advance. They earnestly entreated me to wait until the morning of the next day, when we would all go together, adding that they would not go faster than I should. Finally, to satisfy them, I promised to do this at which they were greatly pleased.

On the following day we all set out together, and continued our route until the morning of the next day, the 19th of the month, when we arrived at an island off the river of the Iroquois [*The Island of Saint Ignace which lies opposite the mouth of the Iroquois or Richelieu River], and waited for the Algonquins, who were to be there the same day. While the Montagnais were felling trees to clear a place for dancing and arranging themselves for the arrival of the Algonquins, an Algonquin canoe was suddenly seen coming in haste, to bring word that the Algonquins had fallen in with a hundred Iroquois, who were strongly barricaded, and that it would be difficult to conquer them, unless they should come speedily, together with the Matigoches, as they call us.

The alarm at once sounded among them, and each one got into his canoe with his arms. They were quickly in readiness, but with confusion; for they were so precipitous that, instead of making haste, they hindered one another. They came to our barque and the others, begging me, together with my companions, to go with them in their canoes, and they were so urgent that I embarked with four others. I requested our pilot, La Route, to stay in the

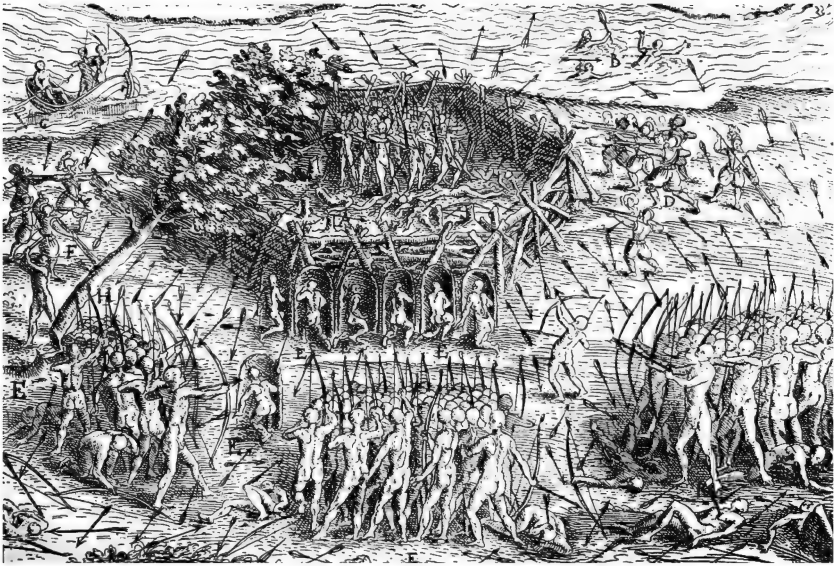


Figure 2. A fortified Iroquois war party is destroyed by a combined force of Hurons, Algonquins, Montagnais, and French in 1610.

barke, and send me some four or five more of my companions, if the other barques would send some shallops with men to aid us; for none of the barques were inclined to go with the savages except Captain Thibaut, who having a barque there, went with me. The savages cried out to those who remained, saying that they were woman-hearted, and that all they could do was make war upon their peltry.

Meanwhile, after going some half a league, all the savages crossing the river landed, and, leaving their canoes, took their bucklers, bows, arrows, clubs, and swords, which they attach to the end of large sticks, and proceed to make their way in the woods, so fast that we soon lost sight of them, they leaving us, five in number, without guides. This displeased us; but keeping their tracks constantly in sight, we followed them, although we were often deceived. We went through dense woods, and over swamps and marshes, with water always up to our knees, greatly encumbered by a pike-man's corselet, with which each one was armed. We were also tormented in a grievous and unheard of manner by quantities of mosquitos, which were so thick that they scarcely permitted us to draw breath. After going about half a league under these circumstances, and no longer knowing where we were, we perceived two savages passing through the woods, to whom we called and told them to stay with us, and guide us to the whereabouts of the Iroquois, otherwise we could not go there, and should get lost in the woods. They stayed to guide us. After proceeding a short distance, we saw a savage coming in haste to us, to induce us to advance as rapidly as possible, giving me to understand that the

Algonquins and Montagnais had tried to force the barricade of the Iroquois but had been repulsed, that some of the best men of the Montagnais had been killed in the attempt, and several wounded, and that they had retired to wait for us, in whom was their only hope [*see Figure 2]. We had not gone an eighth of a league with this savage, who was an Algonquin captain, before we heard the yells and cries on both sides, as they jeered at each other, and were skirmishing slightly while awaiting us. As soon as the savages perceived us, they began to shout, so that one could not have heard it thunder. I gave orders to my companions to follow me steadily, and not to leave me on any account. I approached the barricade of the enemy, in order to reconnoitre it. It was constructed of large trees placed one upon another, and of a circular shape, the usual form of their fortifications. All the Montagnais and Algonquins approached likewise the barricade. Then we commenced firing numerous musket-shots through the brush-wood, since we could not see them as they could us. I was wounded while firing my first shot at the side of the barricade by an arrow, which pierced the end of my ear and entered my neck. I seized the arrow and tore it from my neck. The end of it was armed with a very sharp stone. One of my companions also was wounded at the same time in the arm by an arrow, which I tore out for him. Yet my wound did not prevent me from doing my duty: our savages also, on their part, as well as the enemy, did their duty, so that you could see arrows fly on all sides as thick as hail. The Iroquois were astonished at the noise of our muskets, and especially that the balls penetrated better than their arrows. They were so frightened at the effect produced that, seeing several of their companions fall wounded and dead, they threw themselves on the ground whenever they heard a discharge, supposing that the shots were sure. We scarcely ever missed firing two or three balls at one shot, resting our muskets most of the time on the side of their barricade. But, seeing that our ammunition began to fail, I said to all the savages that it was necessary to break down their barricades and capture them by storm; and that, in order to accomplish this, they must take their shields, cover themselves with them, and thus approach so near as to be able to fasten stout ropes to the posts that supported the barricades, and pull them down by main strength, in that way making an opening large enough to permit them to enter the fort. I told them that we would meanwhile, by our musketry-fire, keep off the enemy, as they endeavored to prevent them from accomplishing this; also that a number of them should get behind some large trees, which were near the barricade, in order to throw them down upon the enemy, and that others should protect these with their shields, in order to keep the enemy from injuring them. All this they did very promptly. And, as they were about finishing the work, the barques, distant a league and a half, hearing the reports of our muskets, knew that we were engaged in conflict; and a young man from St. Malo, full of courage, Des Prairies by name, who like the rest had come with his barque to engage in peltry traffic, said to his companions that it was a great shame to let me fight in this way with the savages without coming to my assistance; that

for his part he had too high a sense of honor to permit him to do so, and that he did not wish to expose himself to this reproach. Accordingly, he determined to come to me in a shallop with some of his companions, together with some of mine whom he took with him. Immediately upon his arrival, he went towards the fort of the Iroquois, situated on the bank of the river. Here he landed, and came to find me. Upon seeing him, I ordered our savages who were breaking down the fortress to stop, so that the new-comers might have their share of the sport. I requested *Sieur des Prairies* and his companions to fire some salvos of musketry, before our savages should carry by storm the enemy, as they had decided to do. This they did, each one firing several shots, in which all did their duty well. After they had fired enough, I addressed myself to our savages, urging them to finish the work. Straightway, they approached the barricade, as they had previously done, while we on the flank were to fire at those who should endeavor to keep them from breaking it down. They behaved so well and bravely that, with the help of our muskets, they made an opening, which, however, was difficult to go through, as there was still left a portion as high as a man, there being also branches of trees which had been beaten down, forming a serious obstacle. But, when I saw that the entrance was quite practicable, I gave orders not to fire any more, which they obeyed. At the same instant, some twenty or thirty, both of savages and of our own men, entered, sword in hand, without finding much resistance. Immediately, all who were unharmed took flight. But they did not proceed far; for they were brought down by those around the barricade and those who escaped were drowned in the river. We captured some fifteen prisoners, the rest being killed by musket-shots, arrows, and the sword. When the fight was over, there came another shallop, containing some of my companions. This, although behind time, was yet in season for the booty, which however, was not of much account. There were only robes of beaver-skin, and dead bodies covered with blood, which the savages would not take the trouble to plunder, laughing at those in the shallop who did so; for the others did not engage in such low business. This, then, is the victory obtained by God's grace, for gaining which they gave us much praise.

The savages scalped the dead, and took the heads as a trophy of victory, according to their custom. They returned with fifty wounded Montagnais and Algonquins and three dead, singing and leading their prisoners with them. They attached to sticks in the prows of their canoes the heads and a dead body cut into quarters, to eat in revenge, as they said. In this way, they went to our barques off the River of the Iroquois.

My companions and I embarked in a shallop, where I had my wound dressed by the surgeon, *De Boyer*, of Rouen, who likewise had come here for the purpose of traffic. The savages spent all this day in dancing and singing.

The next day, *Sieur de Pont Gravé* arrived with another shallop, loaded with merchandise. Moreover, there was also a barque containing Captain *Pierre*, which he had left behind, it being able to come only with difficulty, as it was rather heavy and a poor sailer.

The same day there was some trading in peltry, but the other barques carried off the better part of the booty. It was doing them a great favor to search out a strange people for them, that they might afterwards carry off the profit without any risk of danger.

That day, I asked the savages for an Iroquois prisoner which they had, and they gave him to me. What I did for him was not a little; for I saved him from many tortures which he must have suffered in company with his fellow-prisoners, whose nails they tore out, also cutting off their fingers, and burning them in several places. They put to death on the same day two or three, and, in order to increase their torture, treated them in the following manner.

They took the prisoners to the border of the water, and fastened them perfectly upright to a stake. Then each came with a torch of birch bark, and burned them, now in this place, now in that. The poor wretches, feeling the fire, raised so loud a cry that it was something frightful to hear; and frightful indeed are the cruelties which these barbarians practice towards each other. After making them suffer greatly in this manner and burning them with the above-mentioned bark, taking some water, they threw it on their bodies to increase their suffering. Then they applied the fire anew, so that the skin fell from their bodies, they continuing to utter loud cries and exclamations, and dancing until the poor wretches fell dead on the spot.

As soon as a body fell to the ground dead, they struck it violent blows with sticks, when they cut off the arms, legs, and other parts; and he was not regarded by them as manly, who did not cut off a piece of the flesh, and give it to the dogs. Such are the courtesies prisoners receive. But still they endure all the tortures inflicted upon them with such constancy that the spectator is astonished.

As to the other prisoners, which remained in possession of the Algonquins and Montagnais, it was left to their wives and daughters to put them to death with their own hands; and, in such a manner, they do not show themselves less inhuman than the men, but even surpass them by far in cruelty; for they devise by their cunning more cruel punishments, in which they take pleasure, putting an end to their lives by the most extreme pains.

The next day there arrived the Captain Yroquet, also another Ochateguin, with some eighty men, who regretted greatly not having been present at the defeat. Among all these tribes there were present nearly two hundred men, who had never before seen Christians, for whom they conceived a great admiration.

We were some three days together on an island off the river of the Iroquois, when each tribe returned to its own country....

Some days after, an Iroquois prisoner, whom I had kept guarded, got away in consequence of my giving him too much liberty, and made his escape, urged to do so by fear, notwithstanding the assurances given him by a woman of his tribe we had at our settlement.

Anonymous. 1618. A Relation of Occurrences in the Missions of New France during the Years 1613 and 1614.

JR, 2:207 [**Friends and enemies of the French in New France.*]

Among those whom they [**the French*] know, however, they have secured as friends, and almost as allies, the Souriquois, Eteminquis, Montagnais, Almochoquois, Algomequois, and Ochasteguis. The Iroquois, who are deadly enemies of these tribes, prove hostile to the French also, mainly because the latter have waged war against them, in company with their enemies. Certain of these tribes—the Almochoquois, Iroquois, and Ochasteguis—practice agriculture, though unskillfully, and plant Indian corn and the Brazilian bean.

Samuel de Champlain. 1619. The Voyages of Samuel de Champlain.

Champlain [Slafter], 3:109 [**Champlain and the Hurons attack an enemy village, possibly of the Iroquois.*]

As soon as I had arrived at the Falls, I visited the people, who were very desirous of seeing us and delighted at our return. They hoped that we would furnish them some of our number to assist them in their wars against our enemies, representing to us that they could with difficulty come to us if we should not assist them; for the Iroquois, they said, their old enemies, were always on the road obstructing their passage. Moreover, I had constantly promised to assist them in their wars, as they gave us to understand by their interpreter. Whereupon Sieur Pont Gravé and myself concluded that it was very necessary to assist them, not only in order to put them the more under obligation to love us, but also to facilitate my undertakings and explorations which, as it seemed, could only be accomplished by their help, and also as this would be a preparatory step to their conversion to Christianity. Therefore I resolved to go and explore their country and assist them in their wars, in order to oblige them to show me what they had so many times promised to do.

We accordingly caused them to assemble together, that we might communicate to them our intention. When they had heard it, they promised to furnish us with two thousand five hundred and fifty men of war, who would do wonders, with the understanding that I with the same end in view would furnish as many men as possible. This I promised to do, being very glad to see them decide so well. Then I proceeded to make known to them the methods to be adopted for fighting, in which they took especial pleasure, manifesting a strong hope of victory. Everything having been decided upon, we separated with the intention of returning for the execution of our undertaking. But before entering upon this journey, which would require not less than three or four months, it seemed desirable that I should go to our settlement to make the necessary arrangements there for my absence....

Having arranged all matters at Quebec, I took with me two men and

returned to the Rivière des Prairies, in order to go with the savages. I left Quebec on the fourth day of July, and on the eighth of the month while en route I met Sieur du Pont Gravé and Father Denis, who were returning to Quebec, and who told me that the savages had departed greatly disappointed at my not going with them; and that many of them had declared that we were dead or had been taken by the Iroquois, since I was to be gone only four or five days, but had been gone ten. This made them and even our own Frenchmen give up hope, so much did they long to see us again. They told me that Father Joseph had departed with twelve Frenchmen, who had been furnished to assist the savages. This intelligence troubled me somewhat; since, if I had been there, I should have arranged many things for the journey, which I could not now do. I was troubled not only on account of the small number of men, but also because there were only four or five who were acquainted with the handling of arms, while in such an expedition, the best are not too good in this particular. All this however did not cause me to lose courage at all for going on with the expedition, on account of the desire I had of continuing my explorations. I separated accordingly from Sieurs du Pont Gravé and Father Denis, determined to go on in the two canoes which I had, and follow after the savages, having provided myself with what I needed.

On the 9th of the month I embarked with two others, namely one of our interpreters and my man, accompanied by ten savages in the two canoes, these being all they could carry as they were heavily loaded and encumbered with clothes, which prevented me from taking more men....

We met three hundred men of a tribe we named *Cheveux Relevés*, since their hair is very high and carefully arranged, and better dressed beyond all comparison than that of our courtiers, in spite of their irons and refinements. They have no breeches, and their bodies are very much pinked in divisions of various shapes. They paint their faces in various colors, have their nostrils pierced, and their ears adorned with beads. When they go out of their houses they carry a club. I visited with them, became somewhat acquainted, and formed a friendship with them. I gave a hatchet to their chief, who was as much pleased and delighted with it as if I had given him some rich present.... They have as arms only the bow and arrow ... which they regularly carry; also a round shield of dressed leather made from an animal like the buffalo....

Thence I had them guide me to Carhagouha, which was fortified by a triple palisade of wood thirty-five feet high for its defence and protection. In this village Father Joseph was staying, whom we saw and were very glad to find well.... On the twelfth day of August the Recollect Father celebrated the holy mass, and a cross was planted near a small house apart from the village, which the savages built while I was staying there, awaiting the arrival of our men and their preparation to go to the war, in which they had been for a long time engaged.

Finding that they were so slow in assembling their army, and that I should have time to visit their country, I resolved to go short days' journeys from vil-

lage to village as far as Cahiagué, where the rendezvous of the entire army was to be, and which was fourteen leagues distant from Carhagouha, from which village I set out on the fourteenth of August with ten of my companions. I visited five of the more important villages, which were enclosed with palisades of wood, and reached Cahiagué, the principal village of the country, where there were two hundred large cabins and where all the men of war were to assemble....

On the 17th of August I arrived at Cahiagué, where I was received with great joy and gladness by all the savages of the country....Meanwhile they received intelligence that a certain nation of their allies [*possibly the Susquehannocks], dwelling three good days' journey beyond the Entouhonorons [*an unknown tribal name, possibly referring to one or several of the Iroquois nations], on whom the Iroquois also make war, desired to assist them in this expedition with five hundred good men; also to form an alliance and establish a friendship with us, that we might all engage in the war together; moreover that they greatly desired to see us and give expression to the pleasure they would have in making our acquaintance.

I was glad to find this opportunity for gratifying my desire of obtaining a knowledge of their country. It is situated only seven days from where the Dutch go to traffic on the fortieth degree. The savages there, assisted by the Dutch, make war upon them, take them prisoners, and cruelly put them to death; and indeed they told us that the preceding year, while making war, they captured three of the Dutch, who were assisting their enemies, as we do the Attigautans, and while in action one of their own men was killed. Nevertheless they did not fail to send back the three Dutch prisoners, without doing them any harm, supposing that they belonged to our party, since they had no knowledge of us except by hearsay, never having seen a Christian; otherwise, they said, these prisoners would not have got off easily, and would not escape again should they surprise and take them. This nation is very warlike, as those of the nation of the Attigouautans maintain. They have only three villages, which are in the midst of more than twenty others, on which they make war without assistance from their friends; for they are obliged to pass through the thickly settled country of the Chouontouarouon [*probably one of the Iroquois nations], or else they would have to make a very long circuit.

After arriving at the village, it was necessary for me to remain until the men of war should come from the surrounding villages, so that we might be off as soon as possible. During this time there was a constant succession of banquets and dances on account of the joy they experienced at seeing me so determined to assist them in their war, just as if they were already assured of victory.

The greater portion of our men having assembled, we set out from the village on the first day of September, and passed along the shore of a small lake, distant three leagues from the village, where they catch large quantities of fish, which they preserve for the winter. There is another lake [*Lake Simcoe]

closely adjoining, which is twenty-five leagues in circuit, and flows into the small one by a straight, where the above mentioned extensive fishing is carried on.... These two lakes discharge into the *Mer Douce* [*Lake Huron]. We remained for some time in this place to await the rest of our savages. When they were all assembled, with their arms, meal, and necessities, it was decided to choose some of the most resolute men to compose a party to go and give notice of our departure to those who were to assist us with five hundred men, that they might join us, and that we might appear together before the fort of the enemy. This decision having been made, they dispatched two canoes, with twelve of the most stalwart savages, and also with one of our interpreters [*Étienne Brul ], who asked me to permit him to make the journey, which I readily accorded, inasmuch as he was led to do so of his own will, and as he might in this way see their country and get a knowledge of the people living there. The danger, however, was not small, since it was necessary to pass through the midst of enemies. They set out on the 8th of the month, and on the 10th following there was a heavy white frost.

We continued our journey towards the enemy and went some five or six leagues through these lakes, when the savages carried their canoes about ten leagues by land. We then came to another lake six to seven leagues in length and three broad. From this flows a river which discharges into the great lake of the Entouhonorons [*Lake Ontario]. After traversing this lake we passed a fall, and continuing our course down this river for about sixty-four leagues, entered the lake of the Entouhonorons....

It is certain that all this region is very fine and pleasant. Along the banks it seems as if the trees had been set out for ornament in post places, and that all these tracts were in former times inhabited by savages, who were subsequently compelled to abandon them from fear of their enemies....

We proceeded by short days' journeys as far as the shore of the lake of the Entouhonorons, constantly hunting as before mentioned. Here at its eastern extremity, which is the entrance to the great River St. Lawrence, we made the traverse in latitude 43 , where in the passage there are very large beautiful islands. We went about fourteen leagues in passing to the southern side of the lake towards the territory of the enemy. The savages concealed all their canoes in the woods near the shore.... All the canoes being thus hidden, we left the border of the lake, which is some eighty leagues long and twenty-five wide. The greater portion of its shores is inhabited by savages. We continued our course by land for about twenty-five or thirty leagues....

On the 9th of the month of October our savages going out to reconnoitre met eleven savages, whom they took prisoners. They consisted of four women, three boys, one girl, and three men, who were going fishing and were distant some four leagues from the fort of the enemy. Now it is to be noted that one of the chiefs, on seeing the prisoners, cut off the finger of one of these poor women as a beginning of their usual punishment; upon which I interposed and reprimanded the chief, Iroquet, representing to him that it was not

the act of a warrior, as he declared himself to be, to conduct himself with cruelty towards women, who have no defence but their tears, and that one should treat them with humanity on account of their helplessness and weakness; and I told him that on the contrary this act would be deemed to proceed from a base and brutal courage, and that if he committed any more of these cruelties he would not give me heart to assist them or favor them in the war. To which the only answer he gave me was that their enemies treated them in the same manner, but that, since this was displeasing to me, he would not do anything more to the women, although he would to the men.

The next day, at three o'clock in the afternoon, we arrived before the fort of their enemies, where the savages made some skirmishes with each other, although our design was not to disclose ourselves until the next day, which however the impatience of our savages would not permit, both on account of their desire to see fire opened upon their enemies, and also that they might rescue some of their own men who had become too closely engaged, and were hotly pressed. Then I approached the enemy, and although I had only a few men, yet we showed them what they had never seen nor heard before; for as soon as they saw us and heard the arquebus shots and the balls whizzing in their ears, they withdrew speedily to their fort, carrying the dead and wounded in this charge. We also withdrew to our main body, with five or six wounded, one of whom died.

This done, we withdrew to the distance of cannon range, out of the sight of the enemy, but contrary to my advice and to what they had promised me. This moved me to address them in very rough and angry words in order to incite them to their duty, foreseeing that if everything should go according to their whim and the guidance of their council, their utter ruin would be the result. Nevertheless I did not fail to send to them and propose means which they should use in order to get possession of their enemies.

These were, to make with certain kinds of wood a *cavalier*, which should be higher than the palisades. Upon this were to be placed four or five of our arquebusiers, who should keep up a constant fire over their palisades and galleries, which were well provided with stones, and by this means dislodge the enemy who might attack us from their galleries. Meanwhile orders were given to procure boards for making a fort of mantelet to protect our men from the arrows and stones of which the savages generally make use. These instruments, namely the cavalier and the mantelets, were capable of being carried by a large number of men. One mantelet was so constructed that the water could not extinguish the fire, which might be set to the fort, under cover of the arquebusiers who were doing their duty on the cavalier. In this manner, I told them, we might be able to defend ourselves so that the enemy could not approach to extinguish the fire which we should set to their ramparts.

This proposition they thought good and very reasonable and immediately proceeded to carry it out as I directed. I fact the next day they set to work, some to cut wood, others to gather it, for building and equipping the cavalier and

mantelets. The work was promptly executed and in less than four hours, although the amount of wood they had collected for burning against the ramparts in order to set fire to them was very small. Their expectation was that the five hundred men who had promised to come would do so on this day, but doubt was felt about them, since they had not appeared at the rendezvous, as they had been charged to do, and as they had promised. This greatly troubled our savages; but feeling that they were sufficiently numerous to take the fort without other assistance, and thinking for my part that delay, if not in all things at least in many, is prejudicial, I urged them to attack it, representing to them that the enemy, having become aware of their force and our arms which pierced whatever was proof against arrows, had begun to barricade themselves and cover themselves with strong pieces of wood, with which they were well provided and their village filled. I told them that the least delay was the best, since the enemy had already strengthened themselves very much; for their village was enclosed by four good palisades, which were made of great pieces of wood interlaced with each other, with an opening of not more than half a foot between two, and which were thirty feet high, with galleries after the manner of a parapet, which they had furnished with double pieces of wood that was proof against our arquebus shots. Moreover it was near a pond where the water was abundant, and was well supplied with gutters, placed between each pair of palisades, to throw out water, which they had also under cover inside, in order to extinguish fire. Now this is the character of their fortifications and defences, which are much stronger than the villages of the Attigouautan and others.

We approached to attack the village, our cavalier being carried by two hundred of the strongest men, who put it down before the village at a pike's length off. I ordered three arquebusiers to mount upon it, who were well protected from the arrows and stones that could be shot or hurled at them. Meanwhile the enemy did not fail to send a large number of arrows which did not miss, and a great many stones, which they hurled from their palisades. Nevertheless a hot fire of arquebuses forced them to dislodge and abandon their galleries, in consequence of the cavalier which uncovered them, they not venturing to show themselves, but fighting under shelter. Now when the cavalier was carried forward, instead of bringing up the mantelets according to order, including that one under cover of which we were to set the fire, they abandoned them and began to scream at their enemies, shooting arrows into the fort, which in my opinion did little to harm the enemy.

But we must excuse them, for they are not warriors and besides will have no discipline nor correction, and will do only what they please. Accordingly one of them set fire inconsiderately to the wood placed against the fort of the enemy, quite the wrong way and in the face of the wind, so that it produced no effect.

The fire being out, the greater part of the savages began to carry wood against the palisades, but in so small quantity that the fire could have no great effect. There also arose such disorder among them that one could not under-



Figure 3. A fanciful representation of the Huron siege of an enemy town (possibly Iroquois) in 1615 which failed despite the presence of French arquebusiers and the construction of a siege tower.

stand another, which greatly troubled me. In vain did I shout in their ears and remonstrate to my utmost with them as to the danger to which they exposed themselves by their bad behavior, but on account of the great noise they made they heard nothing. Seeing that shouting would only burst my head, and that my remonstrances were useless for putting a stop to the disorder, I did nothing more, but determined together with my men to do what we could, and fire upon such as we could see.

Meanwhile, the enemy profited by our disorder to get water and pour it so abundantly that you would have said brooks were flowing through their spouts, the result of which was that the fire was instantly extinguished, while they did not cease shooting their arrows, which fell upon us like hail. But the men on the cavalier killed and maimed many. We were engaged in this combat about three hours, in which two of our chiefs and leading warriors were wounded, namely, one called *Ochateguain* and the other *Orani*, together with some fifteen common warriors. The others, seeing their men and some of the chiefs wounded, now began to talk of a retreat without farther fighting, in expectation of the five hundred men whose arrival could not be much delayed. Thus they retreated, a disorderly rabble.

Moreover the chiefs have in fact no absolute control over their men, who are governed by their own will and follow their own fancy, which is the cause of their disorder and the ruin of all their undertakings; for, having determined upon anything with their leaders, it needs only the whim of a villain, or nothing at all, to lead them to break it off and form a new plan. Thus there is no concert of action among them, as can be seen by this expedition.

Now we withdrew into our fort, I having received two arrow wounds, one in the leg, the other in the knee which caused me great inconvenience aside from the severe pain. When they were all assembled, I addressed them some words of remonstrance on the disorder that had occurred. But all I said availed nothing, and had no effect upon them. They replied that many of their men had been wounded like myself, so that it would cause the others much trouble and inconvenience to carry them as they retreated, and that it was not possible to return again against their enemies, as I told them it was their duty to do. They agreed, however, to wait four days longer for the five hundred men who were to come; and, if they came, to make a second effort against their enemies, and execute better what I might tell them than they had done in the past. With this I had to content myself, to my great regret.

Herewith is indicated the manner in which they fortify their towns, from which representation it might be inferred that those of their friends and enemies are fortified in like manner (see Figure 3).

The next day there was a violent wind, which lasted two days, and was very favorable for setting fire anew to the fort of the enemy which, although I urged them strongly, they were unwilling to do, as if they were afraid of getting the worst of it, and besides they pleaded their wounded as an excuse.

We remained in camp until the 16th of the month [*of October], during which time there were some skirmishes between the enemy and our men, who were often surrounded by the former, rather through their imprudence than from lack of courage; for I assure you that every time we went to the charge, it was necessary for us to go and disengage them from the crowd, since they could only retreat under cover of our arquebusiers, whom the enemy greatly dreaded and feared; for as soon as they perceived any one of the arquebusiers they withdrew speedily, saying in a persuasive manner that we should not interfere in their combats, and that their enemies had very little courage to require us to assist them, with many other words of like tenor, in order to prevail upon us...

After some days, seeing that the five hundred men did not come, they determined to depart, and enter upon their retreat as soon as possible. They proceeded to make a kind of basket for carrying the wounded, who are put into it crowded up in a heap, being bound and pinioned in such a manner that it is impossible for them to move as for an infant in its swaddling clothes; but this is not without causing the wounded much extreme pain. This I can say with truth from my own experience, having been carried some days, since I could not stand up, particularly on account of an arrow-wound which I had received

in the knee. I never found myself in such a *gehenna* as during this time, for the pain which I suffered in consequence of the wound in my knee was nothing in comparison with that which I endured while I was carried bound and pinioned on the back of one of our savages; so that I lost my patience, and as soon as I could sustain myself, got out of this prison, or rather *gehenna*.

The enemy followed us about half a league, though at a distance, with the view of trying to take some of those composing the rear guard; but their efforts were vain, and they retired.

Now the only good point that I have seen in their mode of warfare is that they make their retreat very securely, placing all the wounded and aged in their centre, being well armed on the wings and in the rear, and continuing this order without interruption until they reach a place of security.

Their retreat was very long, being from twenty-five to thirty leagues, which caused the wounded much fatigue, as also those who carried them, although the latter relieved each other from time to time.

On the 18th day of the month there fell much snow and hail, accompanied by a strong wind, which greatly incommoded us. Nevertheless we succeeded in arriving at the shore of the lake of the Entouhonorons, at the place where our canoes were concealed, which we found all intact, for we had been afraid lest the enemy might have broken them up.

When they were all assembled, and I saw that they were ready to depart to their village, I begged them to take me to our settlement, which though unwilling at first, they finally concluded to do, and sought four men to conduct me. Four men were found, who offered themselves of their own accord; for, as I have before said, the chiefs have no control over their men, in consequence of which they are often unable to do as they would like. Now the men having been found, it was necessary also to find a canoe, which was not to be had, each one needing his own, and there being no more than they required. This was far from being pleasant to me, but on the contrary greatly annoyed me, since it led me to suspect some evil purpose, inasmuch as they had promised to conduct me to our settlement after their war. Moreover I was poorly prepared for spending the winter with them, or else should not have been concerned about the matter. But not being able to do anything, I was obliged to resign myself in patience. Now after some days I perceived that their plan was to keep me and my companions, not only as a security for themselves, for they feared their enemies, but also that I might listen to what took place in their councils and assemblies, and determine what they should do in the future against their enemies for their security and preservation.

Champlain [Slafter], 3:147 [**Champlain among the Ottawas in early 1616, comments on the Neutrals and their alliances.*]

There is also, at a distance of a two days' journey from them in a southerly direction, another savage nation, that produces a large amount of tobacco. This is called *Nation Neutre*. They number four thousand warriors, and dwell

westward of the lake of the Entouhonorons [*possibly the Senecas or other Iroquois nation], which is from eighty to a hundred leagues in extent. They, however, assist the *Cheveux Revelés* [*Ottawas] against the *Gens de Feu* [*Mascoutins]. But with the Iroquois and our allies they are at peace, and preserve a neutrality. There is a cordial understanding towards both of these nations, and they do not venture to engage in any dispute or quarrel, but on the contrary often eat and drink with them like good friends. I was very desirous of visiting this nation, but the people where we were dissuaded me from it, saying that the year before one of our men had killed one of them, when we were at war with the Entouhonorons, which offended them; and they informed us that they are much inclined to revenge, not concerning themselves as to who struck the blow, but inflicting the penalty upon the first one they meet of the nation, even though one of their friends, when they succeed in catching him, unless harmony has been previously restored between them, and gifts and presents bestowed upon the relatives of the deceased. Thus I was prevented for the time being from going, although some of this nation assured us that they would do us no harm for the reason assigned above.

Champlain [Slafter], 3:148 [*Champlain helps settle a conflict between the Hurons and the Iroquet Algonquins in early 1616.*]

Thus we were led to return the same way we had come, and continuing my journey, I reached the nation of the Pisierinii [*Nipissings], who had promised to conduct me farther on the prosecution of my plans and explorations. But I was prevented by the intelligence which came from our great village and the Algonquins, where Captain Yroquet was, namely, that the people of the nation of the Atignouaatitans [*Nation of the Bear, a Huron tribe] had placed in his hands a prisoner of a hostile nation, in the expectation that this Captain Yroquet would exercise on the prisoner the revenge usual among them. But they said that, instead of doing so, he had not only set him at liberty, but having found him apt, and an excellent hunter, had treated him as his son, on account of which the Atignouaatitans had become jealous and resolved upon vengeance, and had in fact appointed a man to go and kill this prisoner, allied as he was. As he was put to death in the presence of the chiefs of the Algonquin nation, they, indignant at such an act and moved to anger, killed on the spot this rash murderer; whereupon the Atignouaatitans feeling themselves insulted, seeing one of their comrades dead, seized their arms and went to the tents of the Algonquins, who were passing the winter near the above mentioned village, and belabored them severely, Captain Yroquet receiving two arrow wounds. At another time, they pillaged some of the cabins of the Algonquins before the latter could place themselves in a state of defence so that they had not an equal chance. Notwithstanding this they were not reconciled to the Algonquins, who for securing peace had given the Atignouaatitans fifty necklaces of porcelain and a hundred branches of the same which they value highly, and likewise a number of kettles and axes, together with two

female prisoners in place of the dead man. They were, in a word, still in a state of violent animosity. The Algonquins were obliged to suffer patiently this great rage, and feared that they might all be killed, not feeling any security, notwithstanding their gifts, until they should be differently situated. This intelligence greatly disturbed me, when I considered the harm that might arise not only to them, but to us as well, who were in their country.

I then met two or three savages of our large village, who earnestly entreated me to go to them in order to effect a reconciliation, declaring that if I did not go none of them would come to us any more, since they were at war with the Algonquins and regarded us as their friends....

I set out towards our above-mentioned village on the 15th of February [*1616], taking with me six of our men. Having arrived at the place the inhabitants were greatly pleased, as also the Algonquins, whom I sent our interpreter to visit in order to ascertain how everything had taken place on both sides, for I did not wish to go myself that I might give no ground for suspicion to either party.

Two days were spent hearing from both sides how everything had taken place. After this the principal men and seniors of the place came away with us, and we all together went to the Algonquins. Here in one of their cabins, where several of the leading men were assembled, they all, after some talk, agreed to come and accept all that might be said by me as arbiter in the matter, and to carry out what I might propose.

Then I gathered the views of each one, obtaining and investigating the wishes and inclinations of both parties, and ascertained that all they wanted was peace.

I set forth to them that the best course was to become reconciled and remain friends, since being united and bound together they could more easily withstand their enemies; and as I went away I begged them not to ask me to effect this reconciliation if they did not intend to follow in all respects the advice I should give them in regard to this dispute, since they had done me the honor to request my opinion. Whereupon they told me anew that they had not desired my return for any other reason. I for my part thought that if I should not reconcile and pacify them they would separate ill disposed towards each other, each thinking itself in the right. I reflected, also, that they would not have gone to their cabins if I had not been with them, nor to the French if I had not interested myself and taken, so to speak, the charge and conduct of their affairs. Upon this I said to them that as for myself I proposed to go with my host, who had always treated me well, and that I could with difficulty find one so good; for it was on him that the Algonquins had laid the blame, saying that he was the only captain who had caused the taking up of arms. Much was said by both sides, and finally it was concluded that I should tell them what seemed to me best, and give them my advice.

Since I saw now from what was said that they referred the whole matter to my own decision as to that of a father, and promised that in the future I

might dispose of them as I thought best, referring the whole matter to my judgment for settlement, I replied that I was very glad to see them so inclined to follow my advice, and assured them that it should be only for the best interests of the tribes.

Moreover I told them, I had been greatly disturbed at hearing the further sad intelligence, namely the death of one of their relatives and friends, whom we regarded as one of our own, which might have caused a great calamity resulting in nothing but perpetual wars between both parties, with various and serious disasters and a rupture of their friendship, in consequence of which the French would be deprived of seeing them and of intercourse with them, and be obliged to enter into alliance with other nations; since we loved each other as brothers, leaving to God the punishment of those meriting it.

I proceeded to say to them, that this mode of action between two nations, who were, as they acknowledged, friendly to each other, was unworthy of reasoning men, but rather characteristic of brute beasts. I represented to them, moreover, that they were enough occupied in repelling their enemies who pursued them, in routing them as often as possible, in pursuing them to their villages and taking prisoners; and that these enemies, seeing divisions and wars among them, would be delighted and derive great advantage therefrom, and be led to lay new and pernicious plans, in the hope of soon being able to see their ruin, or at least their enfeebling through one another, which would be the truest and easiest way for them to conquer and become masters of their territories, since they did not assist each other.

I likewise told them that they did not realize the harm that might befall them from thus acting; that on account of the death of one man they hazarded the lives of ten thousand, and ran the risk of being reduced to perpetual slavery; that although in fact one man was of great value, yet they ought to consider how he had been killed, and that it was not with deliberate purpose, nor for the sake of inciting civil war, it being only too evident that the dead man had first offended, since with deliberate purpose he had killed the prisoner in their cabins, a most audacious thing, even if the latter were an enemy. This aroused the Algonquins, who, seeing a man that had been so bold as to kill in their own cabins another to whom they had given liberty and treated as one of themselves, were carried away with passion; and some, more excited than the rest, advanced, and, unable to restrain or control their wrath, killed the man in question. Nevertheless they had no ill feeling at all towards the nation as a whole, and did not extend their purposes beyond the audacious one, who, they thought, fully deserved what he had wantonly earned.

And besides I told them they must consider that the Entouhonoron, finding himself wounded by two blows in the stomach, tore from his wound the knife which his enemy had left there and gave the latter two blows, as I had been informed; so that in fact one could not tell whether it was really the Algonquins who had committed the murder. And in order to show to the Attigouantans that the Algonquins did not love the prisoner, and that Yroquet

did not bear towards him the affection which they were disposed to think, I reminded them that they had eaten him, as he had inflicted blows with a knife upon his enemy; a thing, however, unworthy of a human being, but rather characteristic of brute beasts.

I told them also that the Algonquins very much regretted all that had taken place, and that, if they had supposed such a thing would have happened, they would have sacrificed this Iroquois for their satisfaction. I reminded them likewise that they had made recompense for this death and offence if so it should be called, by large presents and two prisoners, on which account they had no reason at present to complain, and ought to restrain themselves and act more mildly towards the Algonquins, their friends. I told them that, since they had promised to submit every thing to arbitration, I entreated them to forget all that had passed between them and never to think of it again, nor bear any hatred or ill will on account of it to each other, but to live good friends as before, by doing which they could constrain us to love them and assist them as I had done in the past. But in case they should not be pleased with my advice, I requested them to come, in as large numbers as possible, to our settlement, so that there, in the presence of all the captains of vessels, our friendship might be ratified anew, and measures taken to secure them from their enemies, a thing which they ought to consider.

Then they began to say that I had spoken well, and that they would adhere to what I had said, and all went to their cabins, apparently satisfied, excepting the Algonquins, who broke up and proceeded to their village, but who, as it seemed to me, appeared to be not entirely satisfied, since they said among themselves that they would not come to winter again in these places, the death of these two men having cost them too dearly. As for myself, I returned to my host, in whom I endeavored to inspire all the courage I could, in order to induce him to come to our settlement, and bring with him those of his country.

Champlain [Slafter], 3:179 [**Champlain's observations of the Hurons and their war chiefs, 1616.*]

When they engage in wars or go to the country of their enemies, two or three of the older or valiant captains make a beginning in the matter, and proceed to the adjoining villages to communicate their purpose, and make presents to the people of these villages, in order to induce them to accompany them to the wars in question. In so far they act as generals of armies. They designate a place where they desire to go, dispose of the prisoners who are captured, and have the direction of other matters of especial importance, of which they get the honor, if they are successful; but if not, the disgrace of failure in the war falls upon them. These captains alone are looked upon and considered as chiefs of the tribes.

Father Pierre Biard. 1616. A Relation of New France, of its Lands, Nature of the Country, and of its Inhabitants. Also, of the voyage of the Jesuit Fathers to said country, and of their work there up to the time of their capture by the English.

JR, 3:71 [**Biard tells of French friendship with the Montagnais, Souriquois, and Etchemins*]

There are only three tribes which are on good terms of friendship with us, the Montaguets, the Souriquois, and the Eteminquois. I myself can witness to the friendship of the Etechemitis and Souriquois, for I have lived among them, and for the Montaguets I have heard others speak. As to other tribes, no confidence can be placed in them. The French have nothing to do with them except to explore their coasts, and even then they are badly treated, although Champlain does not complain of these savages at all in his latest explorations up the great river.

JR, 3:89 [**An observation on the role of language in the Indian wars.*]

It is principally in Summer that they pay visits and hold their State Councils; I mean that several Sagamores come together and consult among themselves about peace and war, treaties of friendship and treaties for the common good. It is only these Sagamores who have a voice in the discussion and who make the speeches, unless there be some old and renowned *Autmoins* who are like their Priests, for they respect them very much and give them a hearing the same as to the Sagamores....Now in these assemblies, if there is some news of importance, as that their neighbors wish to make war upon them, or that they have killed some one, or that they must renew the alliance, etc., then messengers fly from all parts to make up the more general assembly, that they may avail themselves of all the confederates, which they call *Ricamanen*, who are generally those of the same language. Nevertheless the confederation often extends farther than the language does, and war sometimes arises against those who have the same language. In these assemblies so general, they resolve upon peace, truce, war, or nothing at all, as often happens in the councils where there are several chiefs, without order and subordination, whence they frequently depart more confused and disunited than when they came.

Their wars are nearly always between language and language, or country and country, and always by deceit and treachery. They have the bow and the shield, or buckler, but they never place themselves in a line of battle, at least from what I have been able to learn. And, in truth, they are by nature fearful and cowardly, although they are always boasting, and do all they can to be renowned and to have the name of "Greatheart." *Meskir Kameramon*, "Greatheart," among them is the crowning virtue.

JR, 3:93 [**Indian fighting skills and styles.*]

If the offenses are not between tribes, but between compatriots and fel-

low-citizens, then they fight among themselves for slight offenses, and their way of fighting is like that of women here, they fly for the hair; holding on to this, they struggle and jerk in a terrible fashion, and if they are equally matched, they keep it up one whole day, or even two, without stopping until some one separates them; and certainly in strength of body and arms they are equal to us, comparing like to like; but if they are more skillful in wrestling and nimble running, they do not understand boxing at all. I have seen one of our little boys make a Savage, a foot taller than himself, fly before him; placing himself in the posture of a noble warrior, he placed his thumb over his fingers and said, "Come on!" However, when the Savage was able to catch him up by the waist, he made him cry for mercy.

Samuel de Champlain. 1619. The Voyages of Samuel de Champlain.

Champlain [Slafter], 3:205 [**Champlain decides against another joint campaign with the Hurons, Algonquins, and Montagnais.*]

On the 5th of July following [*1618] I set out from Quebec together with Sieur de la Mothe, for Trois Rivières, both for engaging in traffic and to see the savages. We arrived at evening off Sainte Croix, a place on the way so called. Here we saw a shallop coming straight to us, in which were some men from Sieurs du Pont Gragé and des Chesnes, and also some clerks and agents of the merchants. They asked me to dispatch at once this shallop to Quebec for some merchandise remaining there, saying that a large number of savages had come for the purpose of making war.

This intelligence was very agreeable to us, and in order to satisfy them, on the morning of the next day I left my barque and went on board a shallop in order to go more speedily to the savages, while the other, which had come from Trois Rivières, continued its course to Quebec. We made such progress by rowing that we arrived at 3 o'clock in the afternoon. Upon landing, all the savages with whom I had been intimate in their country recognized me. They were awaiting me with impatience, and came up to me very happy and delighted to see me again, one after the other embracing me with demonstrations of great joy, I also receiving them in the same manner. In this agreeable way was spent the evening and the remainder of this day, and on the next day the savages held a council among themselves, to ascertain from me whether I would again assist them as I had done in the past and as I had promised them, in their wars against their enemies, by whom they are cruelly harassed and tortured....

In regard to the assistance urgently requested by the savages for making war against the enemies, I replied that my disposition had not changed nor my courage abated, but that what prevented me from assisting them was that on the previous year, when the occasion and opportunity presented, they failed me when the time came; because when they had promised to return with a good number of warriors they did not do so, which caused me to withdraw without accomplishing much. Yet I told them the matter should be taken into consideration.... Upon this they left their council in seeming anger and vexation....

But we [*postponed] our assistance to another time, requiring them to return to us the next year with a good number of men. I assured them, moreover, that I would entreat the King to favor us with men, means, and supplies to assist them and enable them to enjoy the rest they longed for, and victory over their enemies. At this they were greatly pleased, and thus we separated, after they had held two or three meetings on the subject, costing several hours of time. Two or three days after my arrival at this place they proceeded to make merry, dance, and celebrate many great banquets in view of the future war in which I was to assist them.

Champlain [Slafter], 3:208 [*Étienne Brûlé and the missing 500 warriors from the campaign of 1615.*]

Now there was with them a man named Estienne Brûlé, one of our interpreters, who had been living with them for eight years, as well to pass his time as to see the country and learn their language and mode of life. He is the one whom I had dispatched with orders to go in the direction of the Entouhonorons, to the Carantoüan, in order to bring with him the five hundred warriors they had promised to send to assist us in the war in which we were engaged against their enemies, a reference to which is made in the narrative of my previous book. I called this man, namely Estienne Brûlé, and asked him why he had not brought the assistance of the five hundred men, and what was the cause of the delay, and why he had not rendered me a report. Thereupon he gave me an account of the matter, a narrative or which it will not be out of place to give, as he is more to be pitied than blamed on account of the misfortunes which he experienced on this commission.

He proceeded to say that, after taking leave of me to go on his journey and execute his commission, he set out with the twelve savages whom I had given him for the purpose of showing the way, and to serve as an escort on account of the dangers which he might have to encounter. They were successful in reaching the place, Carantoüan, but not without exposing themselves to risk, since they had to pass through the territories of their enemies, and in order to avoid any evil design, pursued a more secure route through thick and impenetrable forests, wood and brush, marshy bogs, frightful and unfrequented places and wastes all to avoid danger and a meeting with their enemies.

But, in spite of this great care, Brûlé and his savage companions, while crossing a plain, encountered some hostile savages, who were returning to their village and who were surprised and worsted by our savages, four of the enemy being killed on the spot and two taken prisoners, whom Brûlé and his companions took to Carantoüan, by the inhabitants of which place they were received with great affection, a cordial welcome, and good cheer, with the dances and banquets with which they are accustomed to entertain and honor strangers.

Some days were spent in this friendly reception; and after Brûlé had told them his mission and explained to them the occasion of his journey, the savages of the place assembled in council to deliberate and resolve in regard to sending the five hundred warriors asked for by Brûlé.

When the council was ended and it was decided to send the men, orders were given to collect, prepare, and arm them, so as to go and join us where we were encamped before the fort and village of our enemies. This was only three short day's journey from Carantoüan, which was provided with more than eight hundred warriors, and strongly fortified, after the manner of those before described, which have high and strong palisades well bound and joined together, the quarters being constructed in a similar fashion.

After it had been resolved by the inhabitants of Carantoüan to send the five hundred men, these were very long in getting ready, although urged by Brûlè, to make haste, who explained to them that if they delayed any longer they would not find us there. And in fact they did not succeed in arriving until two days after our departure from that place, which we were forced to abandon, since we were too weak and worn by the inclemency of the weather. This caused Brûlè, and the five hundred men whom he had brought to withdraw and return to Carantoüan. After their return Brûlè was obliged to stay, and spend the rest of the autumn and all the winter, for lack of company and escort home. While awaiting, he busied himself in exploring the country and visiting the tribes in the territories adjacent to that place, and in making a tour along a river [*the Susquehanna] that debouches in the direction of Florida, where are many and powerful warlike nations, carrying on wars against each other. The climate there is very temperate and there are great numbers of animals and abundance of small game. But to traverse and reach these regions requires patience, on account of the difficulties involved in passing the extensive wastes....

After traversing the country and observing what was noteworthy, he returned to the village of Carantoüan, in order to find an escort for returning to our settlement. After some stay at Carantoüan, five or six of the savages decided to make the journey with Brûlè. On the way they encountered a large number of their enemies, who charged upon Brûlè and his companions so violently that they caused them to break up and separate from each other, so that they were unable to rally: and Brûlè, who had kept apart in the hope of escaping, became so detached from the others that he could not return, nor find a road or sign in order to effect his retreat in any direction whatever. Thus he continued to wander through the wood for several days without eating, and almost despairing of his life from the pressure of hunger. At last he came upon a little footpath, which he determined to follow wherever it might lead, whether toward the enemy or not, preferring to expose himself to their hands trusting in God rather than to die alone and in this wretched manner. Besides he knew how to speak their language, which he thought might afford him some assistance.

But he had not gone a long distance when he discovered three savages loaded with fish repairing to their village. He ran after them, and as he approached, shouted at them, as is their custom. At this they turned about, and filled with fear were about to leave their burden and flee. But Brûlè speaking

to them reassured them, when they laid down their bows and arrows in sign of peace, Brûlè on his part laying down his arms. Moreover he was weak and feeble, not having eaten for three or four days. On coming up to them, after he had told them of his misfortune and the miserable condition to which he had been reduced, they smoked together, as they are accustomed to do with one another and their acquaintances when they visit each other. They had pity and compassion for him, offering him every assistance, and conducting him to their village, where they entertained him and gave him something to eat.

But as soon as the people of the place were informed that an *Adorefetoui* had arrived, for thus they call the French, the name signifying *men of iron*, they came in a rush and in great numbers to see Brûlè. They took him to the cabin of one of the principal chiefs, where he was interrogated, and asked who he was, whence he came, what circumstance had driven him and led him to this place, how he had lost his way, and whether he did not belong to the French nation that made war upon them. To this he replied that he belonged to a better nation, that was desirous solely of their acquaintance and friendship. Yet they would not believe this, but threw themselves upon him, tore out his nails with their teeth, burnt him with glowing firebrands, and tore out his beard, hair by hair, though contrary to the will of the chief.

During this fit of passion, one of the savages observed an *Agnus Dei*, which he had attached to his neck, and asked what it was that he had thus attached to his neck, and was on the point of seizing it and pulling it off. But Brûlè said to him with resolute words, If you take it and put me to death, you will find that immediately after you will suddenly die, and all those of your house. He paid no attention however to this, but continuing in his malicious purpose tried to seize the *Agnus Dei* and tear it from him, all of them together being desirous of putting him to death, but previously of making him suffer great pain and torture, such as they generally practice upon their enemies.

But God, showing him mercy, was pleased not to allow it, but in his providence caused the heavens to change suddenly from the serene and fair state they were in to darkness, and to become filled with great and thick clouds, upon which followed thunders and lightnings so violent and long continued that it was something strange and awful. This storm caused the savages such terror, it being not only unusual but unlike anything they had ever heard, that their attention was diverted and they forgot the evil purpose they had towards Brûlè, their prisoner. They accordingly left him without even unbinding him, as they did not dare to approach him. This gave the sufferer an opportunity to use gentle words, and he appealed to them and remonstrated with them on the harm they were doing him without cause, and set forth to them how our God was enraged at them for having so abused him.

The captain then approached Brûlè, unbound him, and took him inside his house, where he took care of him and treated his wounds. After this there were no dances, banquets, or merry-makings to which Brûlè was not invited. So after remaining some time with these savages, he determined to proceed towards our settlement.

Taking leave of them, he promised to restore them to harmony with the French and their enemies, and cause them to swear friendship with each other, to which end he said he would return to them as soon as he could. Thence he went to the country and village of the Atinouaentans [*the principle tribe of the Hurons] where I had already been; the savages at his departure having conducted him for a distance of four days' journey from their village. Here Brûlè remained some time, when, resuming his journey towards us he came by way of the Mer Douce [*Lake Huron], boating along its northern shores for some ten days, where I had also gone when on my way to the war.

And if Brûlè had gone further on to explore, these regions, as I had directed him to do, it would not have been mere rumor that they were preparing war with one another. But this undertaking was reserved to another time, which he promised me to continue and accomplish in a short period with God's grace, and to conduct me there that I might obtain fuller and more particular knowledge.

Champlain [Slafter], 3:216 [**Comments on the nations at war, 1618.*]

I must note that on my last and preceding voyages and explorations I had passed through numerous and diverse tribes of savages not known to the French nor to those of our settlement, with whom I had made alliances and sworn friendship on condition that they should come and trade with us, and that I should assist them in their wars; for it must be understood that there is not a single tribe living in peace, excepting the Nation Neutre. According to their promise, there came from the various tribes of savages recently discovered some to trade in peltry, others to see the French and ascertain what kind of treatment and welcome would be shown them. This encouraged everybody, the French on the one hand to show them cordiality and welcome, for they honored them with some attentions and presents, which the agents of the merchants gave to gratify them; on the other hand, it encouraged the savages, who promised all the French to come and live in future in friendship with them, all of them declaring that they would deport themselves with such affection towards us that we should have occasion to commend them, while we in like manner were to assist them to the extent of our power in their wars.

Samuel de Champlain. 1632. The Works of Champlain.

Champlain [Biggar], 5:73 [**Peace talks between the Algonquins and Iroquois, 1622.*]

Some time ago our savages entered into negotiations for a peace with the Iroquois, their enemies; but up to the present there has always been some hindrance because of the distrust existing on both sides. They have spoken to me about it many times, and have often asked my advice, which I gave, and which was to the effect that they should live in peace with one another, and that we would assist them. When it is a question, however, of making peace with nations that our faithless, it is necessary to consider very carefully what ought

to be done, so as to feel perfectly secure. I proposed to bring them the means [of securing peace], which would bring a great benefit to our doors, namely an increase in traffic, greater facility for discovery, safety for our savages who go in quest of beavers, but do not dare to go into certain parts where these abound, because they are afraid of their enemies, though hitherto they have always worked in those places.

On the sixth of the said month of June [*1622], two Iroquois arrived at Three Rivers to treat with them concerning this peace. The Captain informed me of it at once; and two canoes were sent to bring them to the encampment of our savages near Quebec, where they were lodged.

On the ninth the arrived at the lodges of our savages, who did not fail to send me a boat that I might go and witness the reception that they would give them. I embarked, accompanied by the said Sentein, and five of my companions, each with his musket. When we arrived on the bank of the river, in front of their settlement, Captain Mahigan Aticq, accompanied by his companions, with the two Iroquois at his side, came to meet us, kissing their hands and placing them in ours; and they made the two Iroquois do the same, holding each of us by the hand till we had arrived at the wigwam of the Captain, where we found a large number of people seated, each being placed according to his rank. The chief declared that he and his companions were greatly pleased at my having come to them to see the Iroquois, who would report to their own people the good understanding existing between us and them. When this was done, three of our savages, with the two Iroquois, danced, after having asked if it would be agreeable to me, to which I replied that I should be pleased.

This dance lasted a considerable time; and when they had finished, each of them kissed his hand and came and placed it in mine, in token of peace and goodwill. The murderer was one of these three dancers, and when he came to put his hand in mine, I would not as much as look at him. Great was his mortification at being thus contemned before the Iroquois and the whole assembly, and he lost no time in getting out of the lodge. In the meantime the Chief commanded all the men, women, and girls to dance, which they did for a certain length of time. At the conclusion of the dance he thanked me in his fashion, and begged that I would always maintain my friendship for them. I replied that he need not have any doubt about my friendship as long as he should act in a kindly manner toward us.

I requested him to come and see me the next day with twelve of his headmen and the two Iroquois (we shall treat later of the cause of their coming); which they agreed to do; and I had them fire a few shots, after which they re-embarked to return to our settlement. They did not fail to arrive the next day with the two Iroquois, and shortly after their arrival I made them a feast according to their custom. After they had eaten all they wanted, we entered upon a discussion as to the treaty of peace with the Iroquois. I asked them [our Indians] how they proposed making the peace. They said that the interview they were having with one another was a friendly one, they drawing a pledge

from their enemies not to injure them, nor prevent them from hunting anywhere in the country; and promising that they would conduct themselves in like manner towards the Iroquois. This was all the treaty they had for making peace.

I said to them that to parley was certainly to make an approach to peace, but that some guarantees were necessary; and since they asked me my opinion, I should tell them what I thought of the matter if they would follow my advice. They assented to this, and again begged me to give them my opinion, which they would follow as far as possible; and, in fact, they were sick and tired of the wars they had had, which had lasted for over fifty years. Their fathers had never been disposed to enter into a treaty, owing to the desire they had to wreak vengeance for the murder of relatives and friends who had been killed; but that, having considered the good that might come of it, they were resolved, as already stated, to make peace.

In reply to the first question which I put to them, namely: Whether these two Iroquois had come on their own account, or whether they had been sent by their nation:

They [our own savages] told me that they [the Iroquois] had come of their own motion, and from the desire they had to see their relatives and friends who had been kept prisoners amongst them for a long time; feeling sure also that a treaty of peace would be made as the result of the negotiations that had been in progress for some time, and there being in the meantime a kind of truce between the nations, until peace was either completely assured or broken off. I replied that, since these men were not deputed by their people, the ought to be treated kindly, with every mark of peace and friendship, but not in the same way as if they were delegates; that they ought to be received with more joyfulness and ceremony. Moreover, as they [our Indians] wished to arrive at a solid peace, they must choose some man of intelligence among themselves, and send him and these two Iroquois with instructions to arrange a peace, and to invite the Iroquois to send envoys on their behalf down here to Quebec. When those people saw that we would take part in the matter, they would have more confidence to proceed, as, by doing so, we should become responsible for supporting them.

The thought this advice good and did in fact resolve to send four men, that is to say, two [of their own] to the Iroquois who are distant from Quebec one hundred and fifty leagues; and I caused merchandise to be given to them to the value of thirty-eight beaver-skins out of the hundred that had been presented to us; these goods being for the purpose of making presents to their enemies on their arrival, as is the custom. And so they went away highly pleased. And thus we had made good progress.

Gabriel Sagard Theodat. 1632. The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons. [*Sagard was among the Hurons from 1623 to 1624.]**Sagard, 74** [**Sagard visits the Huron town closest to Iroquoia.*]

On this side of their territory our town was the nearest neighbor to the Iroquois, their deadly enemies; for this reason I was often warned to be on my guard for fear of some surprise while I was going to the woods to say my prayers to God or in the fields gathering wild blackberries. But I never encountered any danger or risk (God be thanked); only a Huron once strung his bow against me, thinking me an enemy, but when I spoke he was reassured and saluted me according to the custom of the country, saying *Quoye*, then he passed on his way and I on mine.

Sagard, 85 [**Revenge among the Hurons.*]

A great invention of the devil, who plays the monkey everywhere, is this; just as with us one addresses a devout prayer to the man or woman who sneezes, so contrariwise with them, under the prompting of Satan and in the spirit of revenge, when they hear anyone sneeze their usual salutation is nothing but imprecations, abuse and even death invoked and called down upon the Iroquois and all their enemies. We used to reprove them for this, but it had not yet entered their minds that it was wicked, since revenge is so customary and usual with them that they consider it a virtue when exercised on an enemy stranger, but now however in regard to those of their own nation, a wrong or insult from whom they know very well how to dissimulate and endure when they must. And on this topic of revenge I must relate how the commander of the trading fleet, assisted by the other ships' captains, had with some formalities thrown a sword into the river St. Lawrence at the time of the trading in the presence of all the savages, in order to give assurance to the Canadian murderers of two Frenchmen that their fault was fully pardoned and buried in oblivion, in the same manner as that sword was lost and buried in the bottom of the water. Our Hurons, who are adepts at dissimulation and kept an unmoved countenance while this was going on, turned the whole ceremony into a ridicule and made a mock of it when in their own country again, saying that all the Frenchmen's anger had been drowned with this sword, and that henceforth for killing a Frenchman one would get off at the cost of a dozen beaver-skins.

Sagard, 91 [**Huron fortifications.*]

...[*I]n this stretch of country there are about twenty-five towns and villages. Some of these are not enclosed or shut in, while the others are fortified by strong wooden palisades in three rows, interlaced into one another and reinforced within by pieces of bark to a height of eight or nine feet, and at the bottom there are great trunks of trees placed lengthwise, resting on strong short forks made from tree-trunks. Then above these palisades there are gal-

leries or watch-towers, which they call *Ondaqua*, and these they stock with stones in war-time to hurl upon the enemy, and water to put out the fire that might be laid against their palisades. The Hurons mount up to them by means of a ladder, very ill-made and difficult to climb, and defend their ramparts with great courage and skill.

These twenty-five towns and villages may be inhabited by two or three thousand warriors at the most, without reckoning the ordinary people who may number about thirty or forty thousand souls in all. The chief town formerly contained two hundred large lodges, each filled with many households; but of late, on account of lack of wood and because the land began to be exhausted, it has been reduced in size, divided in two, and rebuilt in another more convenient locality. The towns on their frontiers and nearer to their enemies are always the best fortified, in respect both to their enclosing walls, two lances high or thereabouts, and of their gates and entrances, which are closed with bars and through which one is forced to pass turning sideways and not striding straight in, and also in regard to the site. This they know very well how to choose, taking care that it shall be adjoining some good stream, on a spot slightly elevated and surrounded by a natural moat if possible, and that the circuit of walls shall be rounded and the town compact, yet with good space left empty between the lodges and the walls so as to be able the better to fight and defend themselves against the enemies' attacks, without omitting to make sorties as opportunity offers.

Sagard, 98 [**Huron weapons.*]

They make also arrows with the knife, very straight and long, and when they have no knives they use sharp-edged stones; they fledge them with the feathers from the tails and wings of eagles, because these are very strong and carry well in the air, and at the point with strong fish-glue they attach sharp-pointed stones or bones, or iron heads obtained in trade from the French. They also make wooden clubs for warfare, and shields which cover almost the whole body, and with animals' guts they make bow-strings and rackets for walking on the snow when they go for wood or to hunt.

Sagard, 99 [**Huron manpower concerns.*]

...[*W]hen they undertake journeys to distant countries they do not usually make them except after due consideration nor without having received permission from the chiefs. These in a special council are in the habit of determining every year the number of men who may go out from each town or village, so as not to leave them unprovided with warriors, and anyone who wishes to go away without this authorization may do so to be sure, but he will be blamed and thought foolish and imprudent.

Sagard, 113 [**Huron war feasts and training the young to be warriors.*]

To train the young to the practice of arms and make them commendable

for courage and valour, which they highly esteem, they are accustomed to hold war-feasts and festivities of rejoicing at which even the old men, and the young men following their example, one after another with tomahawk in hand, or some other weapon, do wonders of fencing and fighting from one end to the other of the place where the feast is held, as if they were actually at grips with the enemy; and to excite and work themselves up still more in this performance, and to show that if occasion presented itself they would not be lacking in courage, they chant abuses, curses, and threats against their enemies in a menacing, fierce voice, promising themselves a complete victory over them. If the feast is one of rejoicing for victory, they chant in a sweeter and more pleasing tone of voice the praises of their brave chiefs, who have made slaughter of their enemies; then they sit down and others take their place until the feast comes to an end.

Sagard, 148 [**Huron councils and warfare.*]

The chiefs among the savages are usually rather old than young, and they rank by succession, as royalty does here [**in France*], on the understanding that the son of a chief continues to practise the virtues of his father, for otherwise they do as was done in olden times, when these tribes originally elected their sovereigns. Yet a chief has no absolute authority among them, although they pay him respect, and the tribe is led by entreaty, advice, and example rather than by commands.

The government they have is of this character. They old men and headmen in the town or village meet in council with the chief, and there they decide and promulgate everything that concerns their republic, not in the way of an absolute order, as I said, but by entreaties and suggestions, and in accordance with the majority of votes, which they collect by means of little ends of reeds. At Quieunonascaran there was a great captain and chief of the district of the Bears, whom they called *Garihoüa andionxra*, to distinguish him from the ordinary warriors whom they call *Garihoüa doutagueta*. This great district captain had under him other captains, both for war and for police, throughout all the other towns and villages in his jurisdiction, and these gave him messages and information in matters of consequence for the good of the public or of the district. And in our town, the place of his usual residence, there were also three other captains who always took part in the councils with the elders of the place, besides his assessor and lieutenant who, in the captain's absence or when he was unable to attend to it, had proclamations and notices issued throughout the town on necessary matters of order. This *Garihoüa andionxra* had no small opinion of himself, when he desired to be spoken of as brother and cousin of the King and on an equality with him, like the two fore-fingers on the hands which he showed us touching one to another, making a ridiculous and absurd comparison thereby.

Now when they wish to hold a council it usually takes place in the lodge of the captain, chief, and headman in the place, unless for some special reason

it is considered expedient to have it elsewhere. When the proclamation and announcement of the council has been given, a great fire is made in the lodge, or in the place appointed, round which all the counsellors sit on mats in attendance on the great captain. He holds the first rank and is seated so that from his place he can see in front of him all his counsellors and assistants. These women, girls, and young men take no part in it, unless it is a general council, at which young men from twenty-five to thirty years old may assist, and this they learn from a special announcement made of it. But if it is a secret council, or to contrive some treachery or surprise in war, it is held only at night with the principal counsellors present, and they reveal nothing if possible until the proposed action has been carried out.

When all are thus met and the lodge is closed they all remain in their places a long time before speaking, so as not to be hasty, keeping continually meanwhile their pipes in their mouths. Then the captain begins to harangue for a considerable time in loud and clear words and expressions about the subject which they have to deal with at this council. When he has finished his speech those who have anything to say, one after another without interruption, and in few words, deliver and pronounce their reasons and opinions, which are afterwards collected by means of straws or small reeds, and what is judged expedient is settled according to these.

Besides these, they have general assemblies, that is, to include distant regions, from which every year comes an ambassador from each province to the place appointed for the assembly, and there great feasts and dances are held, and mutual presents made among them, and in the midst of all this fondling, rejoicing, and embracing they renew their friendship and consult on the means of maintaining it, and how they can destroy and bring to ruin all their common enemies. When all has been done and their decisions are made they take their leave, each withdrawing to his own quarter with his whole train and equipage, which is Spartan in character, one by one, or two together, or three together, but hardly more.

When they engage in war, or prepare to invade their enemies country, there will be two or three of the elder or more daring captains who will undertake to lead them for the occasion, and they go from village to village to explain their intention, giving presents to some in these villages in order to persuade them and procure their aid and support in the war, and in this way are like generals in command of armies. There came one to our town, a tall old man, very alert, who was inciting and encouraging the young men and the captains to take up arms and make war upon the Attiuoindaron [**Neutral*] nation; but we found fault with him for it and dissuaded the people from listening to him, in view of the inevitable disaster and misfortune that this war must have brought to our establishment as well as to the furtherance of God's glory.

These captains or generals of armies have authority not only to choose the places [to go to], to assign quarters, and form battalions, but also to dispose of the prisoners taken in war and to settle everything else of great consequence.

It is true that they are not always implicitly obeyed by their soldiers, inasmuch as they themselves are often deficient in good leadership, and he who is a bad leader has often bad followers. For the loyal obedience of subjects, said Theopompus, King of Sparta, is dependent on the competence of the good prince to command wisely.

While we were there and the time came for going on the war-path, a young man of our town, coveting honor, proposed to give the war-feast himself on the day of the general assembly, and to defray the expenses of all his comrades. This was a great charge and outlay for him and he was accordingly much praised and honoured, for the feast required six big kettles with many large smoked fish, not to mention the meal and oil for basting them. They were put on the fire before daylight in one of the largest lodges in the place. Then when the council was over and the votes for war were taken, they all came in to the feast and began the festivities, and during the feast performed the same military exercises, one after another, according to their custom; and when the kettles were empty, and the compliments and acknowledgements made, they went out and took their departure for the meeting-place on the frontier, in order to invade the enemies' country. There they captured about sixty of the enemy, most of whom were slaughtered on the spot, and the rest brought alive and put to death among the Hurons and then eaten at a feast.

Their warfare is, properly speaking, nothing but surprises and treachery. Every year in the spring, and during the whole summer, five or six hundred young Huron men, or more, go and scatter themselves over some Iroquois territory, five or six in one place, five or six in another, and as many elsewhere [in each place], and they lie flat on their belly in the fields and woods alongside of the main roads and paths, and when it is night they prowl about everywhere and even enter the towns and villages to try to catch some one, whether man, woman, or child, and if they take them alive, they carry them off to their own country to put them to death over a slow fire; otherwise, after having clubbed them or shot them dead with arrows, they carry away the head; and if they are too much encumbered with these they are content to take the scalps with the hair on them, which they call *Onontsira*, tan them, and put them away for trophies, and in time of war, set them on the palisades or walls of their town fastened to the end of a long pole.

When they go in this way on the war-path and into the enemy's country they carry with them for their ordinary food, each one on his back, a bag full of corn meal roasted and scorched in the ashes, and this they eat just as it is without being soaked or even softened with a little hot or cold water, and by means of this provision they have not to make a fire to prepare their food, although sometimes they do so, at night in the depths of the forest to prevent it from being seen, and they make this meal last until their return which is in about six weeks' or two months' time; for then they come back to refresh themselves in their own land and the war is for a time at an end, or they go back again with another supply of food. If Christians were to cultivate the

same frugality they might maintain very powerful armies at small cost and make war on enemies of the Church and of the Christian name without oppressing the people or ruining the country, and God would not be so greatly offended as He is by the majority of our soldiers who seem, to a good man, rather people without God than Christians born to be raised to heaven. These poor savages (to our shame) conduct themselves in this moderate fashion on the war-path, without being an encumbrance to anybody, and are supported from their own private means without any payment or expectation of reward other than honour and praise, which they value more highly than all the gold in the world. It would also be very desirable that this Indian corn should be sown in all the provinces of France for the support and food of the poor that abound there; for with a little of this corn they could be fed and supported as easily as the savages who are of the same nature as ourselves, and by this means they would not suffer from famine, nor yet be forced to go begging in the cities, towns, and villages as they do daily. For besides the fact that this corn is very nourishing and satisfying, it contains in itself almost all its garnishing, no meat, fish, butter, salt, or spice being required if not wanted.

For weapons they have the club and the bow, with arrows fledged with eagles' feathers as best of all, though in default of them they take others. To the shafts they fit sharp stones very neatly, gluing them to the wood with very strong fish-glue, and with these arrows they fill their quiver of tanned dog-skin, which they wear like a scarf. They also wear a sort of armour and cuirass, which they call *Aquientor*, on their back and legs and other parts of the body to get protection from arrow shots; for it is made proof against those sharp-pointed stones, yet not against our Quebec iron heads when the arrows fitted with them are shot by a stout and powerful arm such as that of a savage. These cuirasses are made of white rods cut to the same length and pressed against one another, sewn and interlaced with little cords, very tightly and neatly. Then [they have] a buckler or shield and the ensign or flag, which is (at least those which I have seen are) a round piece of tree-bark, with the armorial bearings of their own town or province painted upon it, and fastened to the end of a long stick, like a cavalry pennant. Our chasuble used in saying mass greatly took their fancy, and they would have quite liked to get it from us in trade, in order to carry it to the war as their ensign, or to put it at the top of their walls tied to a long pole, to frighten their enemies, they said. The savages of the Island [*Allumette Island] would also have been very glad to take it in trade at Massacre cape, and had already with this object accumulated for the common stock about eighty beaver-skins. For they considered it not only very beautiful, being made of excellent scarlet damask enriched with gold lace (a worthy gift from the Queen), but also because they believed that the possession of it would bring them good fortune and success in all their warlike undertakings and contrivances. It is the custom at sea, as a sign of fighting or of punishment, to display the red flag; just so for our savages, not merely on days of important business and rejoicing, but chiefly when they go on the war-path, wear a sort of

plume, most of them round the head, standing up like a crown, others sloping down like a moustache, made of the long hare of the moose dyed a scarlet red, and glued or otherwise fastened to a leather band three fingers in width and long enough to go round the head. Since our Frenchmen have brought sword-blades to Canada the Montagnais and Canadians make use of them both in hunting moose and in war against their enemies, and these, fastened to long wooden shafts like demi-pikes, they are able to hurl straight and hard.

When war is declared in the country all the towns, hamlets, cities, and villages, near the frontiers, if they are incapable of holding back the enemy, are destroyed, otherwise they are fortified and each man takes his place in [one of] the fortified towns and places of his jurisdiction, and in each they build new lodges to house themselves, with the help of the inhabitants of the place. The captains, assisted by the members of their council, work without ceasing to make the place capable of being held. They see if anything requires to be added to the fortification and busy themselves about it, sweep and get all the soot and spiders cleaned out from every lodge, for fear of fire which the enemy might introduce by means of certain appliances learnt from some other nation, whose name I forget, but which was formerly told me. They get stones and water carried to the watch-towers for use on occasion. Many dig holes in which they put their most precious possessions. For fear of some surprise attack the captains send warriors to discover the whereabouts of the enemy, while they encourage others to make weapons, to hold themselves in readiness, and to evaluate their spirit so as bravely and nobly to fight, resist, and defend themselves if the enemy puts in an appearance. The same course is pursued in all the other cities and towns until they see that the enemy has fastened on certain of these; then at night with little noise a number of warriors from all the neighboring towns, if there is no necessity for a larger army, go to give their aid, and shut themselves into the town which is besieged, defend it, make sorties, lay ambushes, skirmish, and fight with all their strength for the safety of their country, to overpower the enemy and defeat him altogether if they can.

While we were at Quieunonascaran, we saw all the above activities performed, both in the fortification of places, preparation of weapons, meetings of the warriors, provision of the food, and in every other particular requisite for sustaining a great war, such as was about to be launched upon them from the Neutrals, if God had not turned aside the storm and prevented that misfortune, and, in order not to be among the first to be captured, we barricaded our door every night with great logs of wood across it, one resting on another, by means of two stakes fixed in the ground.

Now since such a war might work great harm to this poor tribe and hindrance to their conversion and salvation, and since the Neutrals are stronger and more numerous than our Hurons, who could only muster about two thousand warriors, or a few more, while the others had from five to six thousand fighting men, we did what was possible for us and contributed everything in our power to reconcile them and to hinder our people, already all prepared to

begin a campaign, from undertaking (too lightly) to fight against a nation more powerful than their own. In the end, aided by the favour of our Lord, we obtained some ascendancy over their minds. For, accepting our arguments, they told us they would keep the peace, and that what they had previously based their hope of safety was on our great spirit and the help that some ill-advised Frenchman had promised them. Moreover, there was a very fine plan that they had thought of, by means of which they expected to derive great assistance from the Fire nation, sworn enemies of the Neutrals. This was the plan. As soon as possible they would endeavour to capture one of their enemies, and with the blood of that enemy would daub their face and whole body of three or four among them, and these men thus covered with blood would then be sent as ambassadors to the Fire nation to obtain some support assistance from them against such powerful foes, and in order the more easily to rouse them to give this support they would show them their faces and whole bodies already stained and bloody with the very blood of their common enemies.

Since we have mentioned the Neutral nation against whom our Hurons thought of going to war, I will also say a word about their country, which lies to the south four or five days' journey from the Hurons, beyond the nation of the Quieunontateronons [*Petun]. This province extends nearly a hundred leagues, and in it is grown a large quantity of very good tobacco, which they trade to their neighbours. They help the High Hairs against the Fire nation, whose deadly enemies they are. But with the Iroquois and our people, before this outbreak, they were at peace and remained neutral between both, and members of either of the two nations were welcome among them, and these did not dare to utter or do anything displeasing to one another when there, and often would eat together as if they had been friends. But if they met outside the [Neutral's] territory, there was no friendship any more and they would wage cruel war upon one another, and keep it up to the uttermost. No means have yet been found for reconciling them and setting them at peace, their hostility having been of too long a growth and inflamed by the young men of both nations, who ask for no other employment than that of arms and warfare.

When the Hurons capture one of their enemies in war they make him a speech about the cruelties that he and his people practise toward them, and say that in like manner he must make up his mind to endure as much, and they bid him sing, if he has enough courage, during the whole course of their journey home; and this he does, but often it is a very sad and mournful song. Thus they carry him off to their country to put him to death, and while awaiting the hour of his death they feast him continually as well as they can in order to fatten him and give him more strength and vigour, that he may the better endure injuries and slow torture, and not out of kindness and pity. But they make exception of the women, girls, and children, seldom putting them to death, but saving and keeping them for themselves or to make presents of them to others, who have previously lost some of their own in war and make much of these substitutes, just as if they were actually their own children. These when

they grow up go to war against their own parents and the men of their nation as bravely as if they had been born enemies of their own country. This shows how slight an affection children have for their parents and that they take account only of present, not past, benefits which is a sign of an evil disposition; and of this experience I have seen many instances. But if they are unable to carry off the women and children whom they capture from their enemies, they knock them over and put them to death on the spot, and take away the heads or the hairy scalp. It has also happened, but rarely, that when they have carried away to their own country any of these women and girls they have put some of them to death by torture, and the tears of this poor sex, which is their only defence, have not been able to move them to pity; for the women alone weep, and not the men, no matter what torture they are made to endure, for fear of being thought effeminate and lacking in courage, although they are often constrained to utter loud cries which the compulsion of the torture draws from the pit of their stomachs.

It has sometimes happened that some of their enemies, though closely pursued, have nevertheless escaped; for, in order to fly and gain the start of him, they throw their wampum necklaces far behind them, so that if avarice should prompt the pursuers to go and pick them up they may at any rate gain a start and put themselves in safety, and this has been very successful with many. I am convinced and believe that this is part of the reason they usually wear all their finest necklaces and paintings on the war-path.

When they come upon an enemy, and have only to put their hands upon him, just as we say amongst ourselves "Surrender", they say *Sakien*, that is "sit down", and he does so, unless he prefers to get himself knocked over on the spot or to die defending himself, which they do not often do in such extremities because they hope to get away and escape by some device in the course of time. Now since there is rivalry as to who shall have the prisoners, this very rivalry or envy also brings it about sometimes that these prisoners set themselves free and escape, as the following example shows. Two or three Hurons were desirous each to have credit of taking prisoner an Iroquois, and when they could not come to an agreement themselves, they made their own prisoner decide it, and he very cleverly used the opportunity and said: "So and so took me and I am his prisoner", but what he said was purposely untrue in order to make the man whose prisoner he really was feel justly dissatisfied. And this man in fact, being indignant that another should unjustly receive the honour which was due to himself, spoke in secret to the prisoner the following night, saying to him: "You have given and adjudged yourself to another instead of to me who had taken you, and for this reason I would rather set you free than that he should have the honour due to me", and thus untying his bonds he made him escape and take to flight secretly.

On arrival of the prisoners at their town or village they make them suffer many different kinds of torture, some more, some less, according to their humour. All the modes of torture and [putting to] death are so cruel that noth-

ing could well be more inhuman. In the first place, they tear out the nails and cut off the three principal fingers which are employed in drawing the bow, and then they strip off all the skin of the head with the hair, and afterwards apply fire to it and hot ashes, or they drop upon it melted gum of a certain kind. Or else they are satisfied with making them walk with naked body and feet through a great number of fires kindled for the purpose from one end to the other of a large lodge, in which all the people [of the village], ranged along the two sides, each holding a burning brand in his hand, apply these to their bodies as they pass. Then afterwards, tying them to a stake, with hot iron they give him [as it were] garters round the legs, and with red-hot tomahawks they rub his thighs from the top down, and thus little by little they burn the poor wretch. And in order to add to his excruciating sufferings they sometimes dash water over his back, and apply fire to the tip of his fingers and his private parts. They then pierce the arms near the wrist and with sticks draw the nerves and wrench them out forcibly, and when they cannot get them out [in that way] they cut them. This [the prisoners] endure with incredible firmness, and while it goes on they chant a [sort of] song, but, as I have said, a very sad and mournful song, a thousand threats against their executioners and against that entire nation. When about to give up the ghost the prisoner is taken out of the lodge to end his life on a scaffold made ready for the purpose, and there his head is cut off, then his belly is opened, and all the little children are there to get some small fragment of bowel which they hang on the end of a stick and carry it thus in triumph through the whole town or village as an emblem of victory. When the body is thus disemboweled and prepared they cook it in a large kettle and eat it at a feast with jollity and rejoicing, as I have said above.

When the Iroquois or other enemies can catch any of our people they do the same to them, and each nation vies with the other in seeing which will do the worst to its enemies; and some go out to make a capture and are often captured themselves. The Iroquois do not usually come to make war on the Hurons except when the trees are covered with leaves, so as to be able more easily to conceal themselves and not to be discovered when they wish to take them unawares. They do this easily, because there is much forest in the country and most of it is near the villages. If they had captured us friars, the same tortures would have been applied to us, except that in addition they would have torn off our beard first of all, as they did to Brulé, the interpreter, whom they intended to put to death and who was miraculously delivered by the might of the *Agnus Dei* which he wore hung to his neck; for as they were trying to tear it from him thunder began to peal with such fury, lightning, and noise that they thought they had come to their last day, and all in terror let him go, fearing to perish themselves for having tried to put this Christian to death and rob him of his reliquary.

It happens that prisoners escape sometimes, especially at night, at the time when they are made to walk over the fires. For as they run over these acutely painful and relentless fiery coals they scatter with their feet and kick

aside the brands, ashes, and burning coals throughout the lodge, and these then produce such a darkness from ashes and smoke that the onlookers cannot recognize one another; so all are forced to get to the door and go outside, and the prisoner also in the crowd, and thence he takes flight and gets away. And if he cannot yet do so at once he hides in some out-of-the-way corner, awaiting the occasion and opportunity to escape and get away. I have seen many who had escaped in this manner from the hands of their enemies, and to prove it they showed that the three principal fingers of the right hand had been cut off.

There is scarcely any nation which is not at war and dissension with some other, not for the purpose of possessing their territory and conquering their country, but solely to exterminate them if possible and to take revenge for some slight wrong or unpleasantness, which is seldom a great matter. But their misgovernment and the want of police, which leaves their wicked fellow-citizens unpunished is the cause of all this evil. For if one among them has injured, killed, or wounded another of the same nation, he gets off by means of a present, and there is no corporal punishment (because they do not use it against those of their own nation), unless the relations of the man wounded or slain take it upon themselves to revenge him, which seldom happens; for they rarely do wrong to one another. But if the offence is committed against one of another nation, then undoubtedly war is declared between the two nations, unless the one to which the culprit belongs buys itself off by large presents, which it gets and exacts from its people for the aggrieved party. And thus it happens most frequently that for the fault of one man alone, two entire tribes make war very cruelly upon one another, and are always in continual dread of being surprised the one by the other, especially on the frontiers where even the women cannot till the ground and raise corn unless they have with them at all times a man with weapons in his hands to save and protect them from some mishap.

While speaking of these causes of offence and complaints, and before ending my account, I will mention what happened to us once in this particular, so as to show that they know quite well how to proceed in deliberation and afford some measure of satisfaction to the injured complainant. Many savages had come to visit us in our lodge according to their daily custom, and one of them without any reason tried to give Father Joseph a blow with a thick stick. I went off to complain to the great captain and represented to him that it was necessary, in order that the matter should go no farther, for him to call a general council and represent to his people and particularly to all the young men that we were causing them no harm or annoyance and that they ought also not to do us any, since we were in their country only for their own good and salvation, and not for any desire of their beaver or peltries, as they could not deny. So he had a general council assembled at which all were present except the man who had tried to give the blow. I also was summoned along with Father Nicolas while Father Joseph kept guard over our lodge.

The great captain made us sit beside him [at the council], then having imposed silence he addressed us, and said to us, so that the whole assembly

could hear him: "My nephews, at your prayer and request I have assembled this general council, that right may be done you in the matter of the complaint you have laid with me. But inasmuch as the people before us are ignorant of the facts, make your own claim and state openly in their presence what your wrongs are and wherein and in what manner you have been injured, and upon that I will base the speech that I shall make, and then we shall do you justice." We were not a little surprised at first at the caution and wisdom of the captain and how judiciously he went about it all, right up to the end of his final conclusion, which was entirely satisfactory and encouraging to us. So we laid our complaints, and showed how we had quitted an excellent country and crossed seas and lands, amid innumerable dangers and discomforts, in order to come and teach them the way to Paradise, and to free their souls from the tyranny of Satan who was dragging them all after their death into an abyss of fire in the underworld, and next in order to make them friends and relatives, as it were, of the French. Yet there were many of them who ill-treated us, and especially so-and-so (I named him) who had tried to kill our brother Joseph. When we had finished the captain spoke for a long time on the subject of these complaints, representing to them how wrong it would be to injure us since we did nothing displeasing to them, and on the contrary we were securing and aiming at benefits to them, not only in this life but also for the future. In conclusion, they begged us to excuse the fault of an individual, whom we ought to consider a cur and the only one among them, and in whose fault the others were not involved. They told us by way of an example that a short time previously one of their people had seriously wounded an Algonquin while gambling with him, and that they had been reconciled without war by means of a present, and that he only who had done the mischief was held to be a cur and a villain, but no the others, who were very sorry at the harm done.

They presented us also with a few bags of corn, which we accepted, and furthermore we were feasted by the whole gathering, with a thousand entreaties to forget the past completely and to remain good friends as before. They also besought us very earnestly always to attend their feasts and banquets, at which they would give us good *sagamités* to eat prepared in different ways, and said that by this means we should get on better together on a good understanding like good relatives and friends, and that in point of fact they considered us very poorly provided and supplied in our lodge, from which they would very willingly have taken us to be more advantageously placed amongst them in their town, and that there we should have no other care than to pray to God, teach them, and enjoy ourselves all together in a seemly fashion. After having thanked them, each of us took leave of them and withdrew.

Samuel de Champlain. 1632. *The Works of Samuel de Champlain.*

Champlain [Biggar], 5:117 [*A crazed man nearly derails peace talks.]

About the end of the month [*April, 1624] there came to us a savage

called Simon by the French. He seemed to have some kind of craze, a thing to which they are frequently subject, and which takes the form chiefly of a desire to make war on their enemies the Iroquois. But this was now contrary to the wish of all the captains and men, since negotiations for peace had been going on for three or four days. The savages informed me of it, and begged me to prevent him and cure him of his frenzy. I sent for the man and asked him why he was acting in this way, pointing out to him the injury which might result to all his people, and the advantage their enemies would obtain from the disregard that they showed for the authority of their chief, acting as they did, like mere children, liable to momentary change, wavering in their promises, and destitute of faith and loyalty. I added that all the French would be highly displeased at this method of proceeding, and that such an unreasonable war, while a treaty of peace was pending, was wicked and pernicious, and could only proceed from an evil-disposed man without character or courage, because I knew well that the end in view was just to surprise a few men and women all by themselves, and finding them incapable of resistance, to murder them in their defenceless state. To all this he made me a brief reply to the effect that he well knew they [the Iroquois] were worthless, that they were worse than dogs, and that the idea had consequently taken hold of him that he would never be satisfied till he had the head of one of them; and so he was resolved to go with three others on the war-path. As I saw he was obstinate and that no remonstrance could move him, I used threats to deter him, and he went off to his cabin in a meditative mood.

Two or three days afterwards, the Chiefs came to me to say that they were very glad I had talked to him [in that way,] because he had changed his mind, and was not going to war; and now they wanted me to have somebody give them something with which to make a feast, as is their custom when it is a matter of coming to an agreement, or doing any similar business.

I gave orders that they should receive a small quantity of peas, and they went away rejoicing, thinking that the savage in question would forget all about his project....

[*continued on page 129] At this time the savages arrived who had gone nearly six weeks earlier from the neighbourhood of Quebec to the Iroquois on behalf of the Montagnais, to establish a friendship [between the two nations]. They were very well received by the Iroquois, who gave them a hearty welcome with the object of completing the treaty of peace. But in their company was a man named Simon, who was bound to go to war. After he had taken leave of the said Iroquois in order to go back, this wicked and perfidious traitor, Simon, meeting an Iroquois, murdered him in return for the good treatment he had received from his people. All our savages were greatly displeased at this, and had much difficulty in making amends for the crime; for among such people one rascal of that kind is enough to wreck all sorts of good undertakings, owing to the lack of any administration of justice amongst them.

Champlain [Biggar], 5:132 [**Confirmation of the peace between the Montagnais and the Iroquois.*]

On the twenty-fifth [*of July, 1624] there also arrived at Quebec a pin-nace from which we got the news that, notwithstanding the murder of their comrade, six Iroquois had come to confirm peace with all the savages, having rightly judged that the savage who had killed their tribesman had done so through his own malice, and not with the consent of his companions.

Champlain [Biggar], 5:208 [**Five Dutchmen killed by the Iroquois.*]

A canoe arrived from the river of the Iroquois this same day [*July 22, 1626], bringing news that five Dutchmen had been killed by the Iroquois, who until then had been their friends but who now are at war with the Mahiganathicois [*Mahicans], where the Dutch are in latitude 40°, where the coasts adjoin that of Virginia, a settlement inhabited by the English.

Champlain [Biggar], 5:214 [**The peace between the Algonquins and the Iroquois is broken.*]

During the winter [*1626–1627] some of our savages went to the settle-ments of the Dutch, and were asked by them and the savages of that region to make war on the Iroquois, who had killed twenty-four of their men and five Dutchmen, for not being willing to allow them free passage to go and make war on a nation called the Wolves [*Mahicans], with whom the Iroquois were at enmity. And, in order to persuade our savages, who were at peace with these Iroquois, to undertake this war, they made certain presents to them of wampum belts, to be given to certain chiefs and, amongst others, to the Reconciled, in order to break the peace. These messengers on their return gave the belts to the chiefs, who, having received them, decided to assemble in considerable number with the Algonquins and other nations, and to go and join the Dutch and their savages so as to form a large force, and then proceed to lay waste the villages of the Iroquois, with whom they had previously been at peace, and from whom they were distant only two days' journey, and twelve days from Quebec. A great many of our savages did not want this war, but rather a continuation of the peace with the Iroquois; and thus arose a great amount of trouble among these people, of all of which I had as yet no information except through one of the captains of our savages called Mahigan Aticq, who would not agree to the war till he had asked my advice; which I promised to give him. This man entered very fully with me into the whole matter, considering what it might lead to, because there was more to take into account than the destruction of the Iroquois, considered as enemies of the Dutch, since the whole question involved much more serious consequences of which I shall say nothing.

I told Mahigan Aticq that I was thankful to him for the information he had given me, but that I was much displeased that the Reconciled and the others had accepted these presents, and decided on making this war without notify-

ing me, seeing that it was I who had intervened to make peace for them with the Iroquois, in view of the advantage it would be to them to travel freely up the Great River, and to other places, instead of being in terror from day to day of being massacred and taken prisoners, they and their wives and children, as had been the case in the past. Whereas, by renewing this war, they were simply jumping out of the frying-pan into the fire, and, for my part, I could not consent to such a piece of faithlessness. They and I had given our word not to make war on that people, unless they had first given us cause. As to those who were undertaking this business of war without communicating with us, I did not consider them my friends but my enemies; and if they did that without any justification, I did not want to see them at Quebec. On the other hand, wherever I might find the Iroquois, I would assist them as friends against the savages living near the Dutch, who were our enemies, and on whom I had in the past made war, having once gone against the Mahiganaticois, who belonged to the same nation as the men who had unhappily killed some of our men. As to the Reconciled, if he had taken these presents, I did not want to see him again, nor would I consider him my friend unless he returned them; and not to go to war while keeping them, would be an act of bad faith, like promising one thing and then doing another, and allowing oneself to be corrupted by presents. And I could not help thinking that, if presents were given to them to induce them to do some ill turn to us, they would do it. After I had said more to the same purpose, he admitted that I was right, and said that I ought to go with all haste to Three Rivers, where a council was to be held on the subject; that there were some who wanted to make a dash into Iroquois country, in order to take some prisoners before going in the direction of the Dutch, and who would do so if I did not go myself, or send someone in my place; and he begged me earnestly to send some one, since my requirements would not allow of his going. "For," said he to me, "the would not believe what I might say on your behalf, but by [sending someone else] they will see the truth, and know what you desire." Thereupon I decided to send Boullé, my brother-in-law, with an interpreter. Next day the Reconciled came to see me, having got wind of my having heard something about the affair. I gave him a very cold reception, and could not help showing the indignation I felt. He told me he did not know anything about the matter, but perceiving that I had very certain knowledge of all that was going on, he slipped away quietly and embarked in a canoe and reached Three Rivers before my brother-in-law and the said Mahigan Aticq. There he declared that he was not in favour of this war, and showed himself as strongly opposed to it as previously he had been for it. But some Algonquins had already left to return to their own country, and from there to go to war, without our knowledge—which brought misfortune not only upon our savages but also upon ourselves, as will be related further on.

On the ninth of the said month of May [*1627], I sent my brother-in-law to attend this assembly, thirty leagues up the river from Quebec, where they all met to come to a decision. Half of them desired the continuation of the war;

and the rest wanted peace. It was finally decided not to do anything till all the vessels had arrived, and the savages of the other nations had assembled. In consequence, my brother-in-law returned on the twenty-first of the month, and told me what had been decided upon....

On the ninth of this month of June arrived [*Emery de Caen], who having unloaded and then having taken what was necessary for his trading operations, started for Three Rivers, after I had told him what had taken place concerning this war, and how advantageous peace would be to us from that direction, if we could secure its continuance. But when Emery had reached the place where the savages were, nothing that he or all the savages could do availed to dissuade nine or ten young hot-heads from undertaking to go on the warpath, which they did in spite of all attempts to prevent them, so slight is the obedience they show to their chiefs. Going by way of the Iroquois River, they arrived at Lake Champlain, where they met a canoe, in which were three Iroquois, whom, under pretence of still being friends, they captured. One escaped, the other two they brought to Three Rivers. From there they returned to the outlet of the Iroquois River, where trading was to take place. Here they began to mistreat their two prisoners, beating them with sticks, and tearing off the finger-nails of one of them; purposing to put them to death, and marching them from cabin to cabin, while they forced them to sing, as is their custom. Thus, by this accident, all hope of the maintenance of peace was destroyed. Nevertheless the Sieur Emery, in pursuance of the advice I had given him, did what he could to preserve peace with the Iroquois, pointing out to them the bad faith with which those men had acted; but not being able to do anything with them, he wrote me a letter giving me the news, and saying that my presence was very necessary, on which account I at once embarked in a canoe with Mahigan Aticq; which was on the fourteenth of July. Arriving at the place where the prisoners were, I learnt that the Reconciled had that day cut the cords with which they were tied, being desirous that they should not die before he and his people had seen me and held council to decide what to do. After having learnt all the news from the said Emery, I landed and went to see our savages and the said prisoners, who stated that they were brothers (one was twenty-eight years of age, a fine specimen of a savage, well-proportioned; and the other was seventeen). I felt great compassion for them, and was very glad that they had been delivered from the torments it was intended they should suffer.

The council was assembled to consider what I had said, namely: that they had been greatly at fault in allowing those savages to go and make war; and that it was a very cowardly thing for those men that did so to have captured as prisoners under the mask of friendship, and to have treated them so badly as they had done; and that assuredly it might cost them dear, unless in some way they could remedy the situation; that their enemies would have every reason in future to distrust their word; that this was the second wicked thing that they had perpetrated against them, the other being that, going to trade with the

Iroquois, who had received them kindly, they had, nevertheless, on their way back, murdered an Iroquois—a crime which the goodness of those people had pardoned.

When they were all assembled, I pointed out to them that they had to consider how much benefit they received from peace as compared with war, which only brought many misfortunes, as they themselves knew by past experience. So far as we were concerned it mattered little, but the compassion we felt for their miseries, loving them, as we did, like brothers, compelled us to assist them with our best advice, and also by force of arms against their enemies when the latter made war against them unjustly. For this war would not yet have been begun by them if it had not been for the cause given by these enemies; and they might well feel resentment towards us, unless we strove to apply some remedy. Moreover, they knew quite well that, when once war was begun, the whole river would be closed to them, and they would neither be able to hunt or fish without incurring great danger, and being in constant fear and anxiety; and all this came home particularly to them, since they had no fixed abode, but lived a wandering life in scattered groups, which made them all the more feeble; whereas they should all be settled in one place, as their enemies are, who are strong for that reason. They had also to consider how much hardship they could endure on this account. Among many other things, I pointed out that, in my opinion, recognizing the importance of preserving the peace, the two prisoners ought to be well treated, and sent back without any further harm having been done to them, but with presents for the chiefs of their villages, to compensate, according to custom, for the wrong done in the capture of the two men—which, they should declare, had not been sanctioned by their Captains or Head-men, but was entirely the work of some rash young fools, and had caused them all great indignation.

The greater part of the assembly, after each captain had delivered his speech, were of one mind in deciding to send back one of the prisoners with the Reconciled, who offered to go, and two other savages, bearing presents for the Captains of the villages to which they were going to conduct this prisoner, the other to be left as a hostage till their return; and to give more weight to their embassy, they asked us to let a Frenchman accompany them. I said to them that, if there were any of our men who wished to go, I was quite content that they should. It turned out that there were two or three who were willing to go, on condition that they be given some recompense for their trouble and the risk they might be running on the journey. One of these was Pierre Magnan, who being favourably disposed to the venture, and having been promised some reward, decided to make the journey in company with the Reconciled, two other Indians, and the prisoner. Having provided themselves with what was necessary, they departed on the twenty-fourth of this month [*July, 1627], while I, on the same day, returned to Quebec, where I arrived the next day....

Champlain [Biggar], 5:229 [**The Iroquois kill the Montagnais and French ambassadors.*]

On the twenty-fifth of August [*1627] a savage brought us news of the death of Pierre Magnan, of the Reconciled, and of the two other savages. He told us that an Algonquin, who had escaped from the Iroquois village, had given a true account of the cruel manner in which their enemies had treated them. When our ambassadors arrived at this village of the Iroquois, they were well received and were conducted to the place where a council was to be held on the subject of their mission. At the same time the surrounding villages were notified, and the several chiefs assembled to consider the treaty of peace. Very unfortunately for our men, it happened that the Algonquins [*in this case, the Mahicans], as I have already mentioned had been making war on the Iroquois, and had killed five of them. This caused some savages called Ouentouoronons, of another tribe, and friends of the said Iroquois, to come in all haste to avenge themselves on those who were allies of the aggressors, whom they killed with their axes—the Iroquois being unable to prevent them—saying as they did so, “While you come here to arrange a peace, your companions kill and massacre our people.” Thus they perished miserably. As far as the Reconciled was concerned, he fully deserved death for having murdered two of our men just as cruelly at Cape Tourmente; and the said Magnan, who was native of a place near Lisieux, had killed another man by beating him with a club, by which he got into trouble and was compelled to withdraw to New France.... This news caused us great sorrow because, in the first place, it destroyed all our hopes of peace, which would have been of great advantage to us, as giving free passage for our savages to their hunting and fishing grounds; and because, in the next place, the murder of one of our own men in this fashion was such a serious offence that, if we did not show our displeasure, we must allow ourselves to be considered by all the tribes as lacking in courage, and so run the risk of frequently receiving similar affronts (unless we did everything possible to punish them).

On the receipt of the news of the death of the ambassadors, our savages were so exasperated and enraged that they took the young Iroquois boy, whom they had retained as a hostage, and tore off his nails, burnt him at a slow fire with fire-brands, making him suffer many tortures, and in that miserable condition, offered him as a present to other savages so that they might finish putting him to death, and thus be induced to assist them in their wars against the Iroquois. These savages took the boy, tied him to a post and burnt him little by little. While he was in extreme agony, they cut off his hands and arms, removing his shoulder [blades?], and while he was still alive, gave him so many cuts with their knives that he died cruelly, and each man carried off a piece of flesh, and ate it....

Champlain [Biggar], 5:239 [**The Iroquois declare war.*]

On the twentieth of September [*1627], the savages told us that a number of Iroquois were on the way to make war on them and on us. We told them

that we were very glad of it, but that we did not believe the story, as those people were only brave enough to kill sleeping men unable to defend themselves.

Champlain [Biggar], 5:264 [**Montagnais war parties depart to make war on the Iroquois.*]

That same day [**in May, 1628*] some young men left to go on the warpath against the Iroquois, led by an old man of not much experience; which made us think that he would not accomplish very much....

Our young warriors returned just as they had gone away, without having done any harm to anybody. This was what we expected from that flighty band, who took care not to push too far into the enemy's country as not to be able to make good their retreat; [which they accomplished] without either seeing the enemy or being seen by them.

On the fourteenth of the said month there arrived from Tadoussac seven canoes, in which were twenty-one savages, robust and active, who were going to the war to see if they could not do something more than the others. They were expecting to get near the villages of the enemy and do some execution during the month that they were to give to the campaign.

Champlain [Biggar], 5:305 [**Details of the death of La Magnan and the Montagnais ambassadors.*]

On the nineteenth of the month of April [**1629*] there arrived a savage named Erouachy, a chief....

He gave us particulars of the death of the savages and of the Frenchman called Le Magnan, who had gone to the Iroquois to treat for peace. We had not before learned with certainty the facts as he related them to us; but he himself had got them from some Iroquois of the same village, who had been taken prisoners by a nation called the Maganathicois (which signifies "nation of the wolves") who had been at war for two years with the Iroquois, at two days' journey from their own village, and three or four from the Dutch, who are settled at about the 40th degree of latitude on the coast running down to the Virginias. These prisoners were burnt. The following is the narrative of the whole affair.

An Algonquin from the Island that is one hundred and eighty leagues distant from Quebec, was the cause of the death of the Indians and the Frenchmen. This man, knowing that a savage called Cherououny, who was in great repute, was to undertake this embassy, and having ill-will and a particular hatred of him, went off to the Iroquois amongst whom he had some relatives, and advised them, as one friendly to their preservation and desirous of preventing trouble among the tribes, if the said ambassador came to arrange a peace, not to put any faith in him, because the journey he was undertaking was only to spy out their land, and, under pretext of peace and friendship, to betray them; his whole object being to destroy them after carefully reconnoitring their forces. He added that it was this man alone that was the cause of so many divi-

sions among the nations, and that, ten years before, he had killed two Frenchmen, for which they did not venture to put him to death as the crime had been pardoned. These Iroquois put too ready a trust in their informant, and promised that if the individual mentioned came, he should never see his own country again. Then he returns with all speed to the Algonquins, saying that he had been pursued by the enemy and that they came near killing him. The people allow themselves to be persuaded by his words and believe what he says until the truth comes out. Shortly afterwards, our brave fellow, seeing that it was not safe for him there, makes off and goes over to the Iroquois for the protection of his life.

Those negotiators of peace went to the first villages of the Iroquois, who, when they learned of their arrival, had a kettle full of water put on the fire in one of the houses, into which they brought our savages with the Frenchman. At first they appeared friendly, and begged them to sit down near the fire, asking them if they were not hungry, to which they answered that they were, as they had travelled a long distance that day without eating. Then they said to Cherououny, "Yes, it is only reasonable that we should treat you to a feast for the pains you have taken." One of these Iroquois, turning to Cherououny, drew a knife, cut some flesh off his arms, put it into the kettle, and offered him to sing, which he did. He then gave him some of his own flesh, half raw, which he ate; they asked him if he wanted more, and he said that he had not had enough, so they cut pieces off his thighs and other parts of his body until he said that he had had enough; and thus the poor creature came to his end in an inhuman and barbarous manner. The Frenchman was burnt with lighted brands and the flames of birch bark, by which they made him endure intolerable agonies before he died. To the third, who tried to escape, they gave a blow with an axe, and so put him out of pain in an instant. The fourth was an Iroquois by birth, who had been captured when a little boy by our savages, and brought up amongst them: he was tied and some advised putting him to death, because, if he were restored to liberty, he would return whence he came; finally they resolved to keep him, hoping that time would cause him to lose the memory of our Quebec savages, and the affection he had for them, they holding him meantime as a prisoner. Such was the way in which these unhappy men came to their end....

...[*W]e had legitimate ground for resenting such barbarous cruelties exercised towards us and on the person of the said Magnan: besides if we had not done it, we could never have gained honour or glory among these peoples, who would have despised us, as would all the other nations, and been emboldened to treat us in future with disdain as cowards. For I have noticed in these nations that, unless you resent offenses committed against you, and made it clear that you think more of the lives of men than of wealth and trade, they will some day come and try to cut your throat, if they can manage it, by a sudden surprise, as their custom is.

Champlain [Biggar], 5:313 [**Champlain postpones a military alliance against the Iroquois owing to the weakness of New France and the menace of the English, ca. 1629.*]

That savage, Erouachy, told us that he had passed some months among a nation of savages called Obenaquiouoit [**the Etchemins or Abenakis*], who live about seven or eight days' journey to the south of our settlement, and who cultivate the land. They, he said, would like to make a close friendship with us, begging us to help them against the Iroquois—the most perverse and wicked nation in the whole country—believing that the interest we felt in the death of our Frenchman would make us glad to engage in this legitimate war, in which, by destroying those peoples, we should make the land and the rivers free for our commerce. And the nations of that country, on hearing of our decision from the said Erouachy, would know what arrangements they should have to make for the war, according as we did or did not join them in it.

It seemed to me that to send an envoy in that direction might be beneficial to us in our extreme necessity, and that we ought to take advantage of the opportunity. I therefore resolved to send a man to take a look at those peoples, and to ascertain the facility or difficulty of getting there, and the extent of land they cultivated, they being only eight days' travel from our settlement: [my idea being] that this nation might greatly relieve us, both by their supplies of grain and by taking part of my companions to winter among them, which would lighten our burdens in case any accident had happened to our vessels, either by shipwreck or by an encounter at sea, which I apprehended greatly, looking for them by the end of May at the latest [**1629*], and hoping that, receiving aid, we should be able to dispose of the pretensions the English were putting forward to seize all these places, as they were counting on doing, that being easy of accomplishment if we had no means of subsistence, nor munitions of war sufficient for our defence, nor any help coming. For that was the situation in which we had been left, destitute of everything we required, and abandoned, without power of resistance, to the first pirates or enemies that might come our way.

When that had been decided upon, I told Erouachy that for this year I could not assist these people in their wars, in consequence of the loss of vessels we had sustained at the hands of the English, which had left us exceedingly short of the things that would be required in this war; but that nevertheless, if the vessels arrived, and I had a sufficiency of men, I should not fail to do all in my power to assist them this very year; and that, whatever happened, I would next year reinforce them with a hundred men, if I could equip them with such things as were necessary. Hereupon I showed him means and inventions that we had for promptly carrying the fortresses of the enemy, which he was greatly pleased to see, and examined with attention. [I said] further that to increase the confidence of these tribes I purposed to send a man with a gift, who was to bear testimony as an eyewitness of all that I was telling him; and, for their still greater assurance, I was offering to send some of my companions

to winter in their country, and also among the different nations their allies who would be disposed to assist them, and that all should rendezvous in the spring at the river of the Iroquois. Also that if any year should be bad for their crops, they could come here, and we would assist them from ours, as we hoped they would do by us in like case, if we gave them satisfaction; all being designed for the maintenance in future of a firm friendship between them and us; and in any case, if our vessels did not come, we would not fail to go to the war—I myself with fifty men—my opinion being that it was better to form and execute this design for reducing our numbers at the settlement than that we should all die together while we were awaiting help from France.

Section Two

“Thou Hast No Courage in Allowing Thine Enemies to Live”

Thrust and Counter-Thrust along the Saint Lawrence

1632–1639

By the Treaty of St-Germain-en-Laye, France regained possession of New France from England in 1632. The next year, Champlain returned and renewed his alliances with the Algonquins and Hurons. However, the situation had shifted considerably since he had sailed away a captive of the English nearly four years before. Having defeated the Mahicans and driven them east of the Hudson River in 1628, the Mohawks now had free access to Dutch goods and weapons via the trading post at Fort Orange. The war between the Iroquois and the Hurons, Algonquins, and Montagnais had been renewed prior to the capture of Quebec by the English and was ongoing when Champlain returned. However, the Iroquois now seemed to have a pronounced advantage, raiding canoe traffic on the St. Lawrence with relative impunity. When 500 Hurons warriors attempted to raid Iroquoia in 1634, they were met by a Seneca force three times as large and put to rout. This terrible defeat was only a hint of what was to come for the Hurons over the next 15 years.

Raid and counter-raid warfare continued until attempts were made to forge a general peace in 1634 and 1635, the Hurons and Senecas reaching a settlement in 1635. However, fighting had again erupted between the Iroquois and the Algonquins of the Petite Nation by August of 1635. By the end of that year, Champlain had died and was succeeded by Charles de Montmagny. The new governor attempted to stave off the incessant Iroquois raids along the St. Lawrence, but severe French manpower shortages hampered his early efforts.

It is also during this time that the Jesuits resumed their missionary work among the Hurons in earnest, unwittingly bringing with them small pox, tuberculosis, and other deadly pathogens. The successive epidemics devastate the Hurons, causing their population to contract from 30–40,000 in 1630 to a mere 12,000 in 1640. By 1637, the Hurons openly discussed killing the Jesuits or ejecting them from their villages as bearers of ill fortune. By 1639, the peace between the Hurons and Senecas was sundered and though allied Huron/Algonquin war parties won an early victory, the tone of Father Lalemant's 1639 relation regarding the prospects of this war was anything but optimistic.

Gabriel Sagard Theodat. 1632. The Long Journey to the Country of the Hurons.

*Sagard, 261 (including footnote 3) [*Iroquois raid up to Quebec in 1632.]*

The Iroquois were in the habit of coming as far as this region [*The Rideau falls and river in Ottawa] in order to take the Hurons by surprise at the portage as they went to the trading-place; but since they have learned that [the Hurons] are beginning to bring Frenchmen with them they have apparently ceased to go there any more until the year 1632, when they made a raid as far as Quebec, thinking to take some of our Frenchmen and Montagnais unawares, and in the following year on the 2nd of June they came to Three Rivers where they tomahawked two Frenchmen and wounded five others with arrows, one of whom died soon after. Indeed they were so bold as to come alongside the shallop in their canoes, and unless a Frenchmen had levelled his harquebus at them, in which was neither ball nor powder, it is probable that not one on board would have escaped and that they would have made themselves masters of the shallop and the whole crew of Frenchmen. The Sieur Gous, who was in command of the pinnance half a league away, when he heard the war-whoops immediately sent off a shallop to the rescue, and himself followed afterwards with his pinnance, but too late, for when they reached the spot the Iroquois had already delivered their attack and withdrawn into the woods, where no Frenchman would have dared pursue them whatever orders the leader might give, and would plead in excuse that the danger was too great. Thus, these Iroquois having braved us and beaten us in our own territory went back in glory with the heads of the men they murdered.

One can admire in this achievement the boldness of these savages in having dared, without fear of swords or muskets, to pass through so many districts and forests to attack the French in the territory of the habitation, without any revenge ever being taken for it. Some people will tell you that with a loaded harquebus they would face ten savages; to face two bold ones would be quite enough, for they have a quick eye and nimble feet for dodging, and very dexterous arms to shoot at you, and then—beware of surprises.

Father Paul le Jeune. 1632. A Brief Relation of the Journey to New France. Kebec, August 18, 1632.

*JR, 5:27 [*The Montagnais(?) torture an Iroquois prisoner.]*

Now, as in the wide stretches of territory in this country there are a great many wholly barbarous tribes, so they very often make war upon each other. When we arrived at Tadoussac the Savages were coming back from a war against the Hiroquois, and had taken nine of them; those of Quebec took six, and those of Tadoussac three. Monsieur Emery de Caën went to see the captives, hoping to save the life of the youngest one. I pleaded very earnestly for all three, but was told that great presents were necessary, and I had none.

Having arrived at the cabins of the Savages, which are made of poles, clumsily covered with bark, the top left uncovered for the purpose of letting in light and of leaving an opening for the smoke to go out, we entered that of the war Captain, which was long and narrow. There were three fires in the middle, distant from each other five or six feet. Having entered, we sat down here and there on the ground, which was covered with little branches of fir, for they have no other seats. This done, they brought in the prisoners, who sat down beside each other. The eldest was over 60, the second about 30, and the third was a young boy from 15 to 16 years old. They all began to sing, in order to show that they were not at all afraid of death, however cruel it might be. Their singing seemed to me very disagreeable; the cadence always ended with reiterated aspirations, "oh! oh! oh! ah! ah! ah! hem! hem! hem!" etc. After singing for some time, they were made to dance, one after the other. The eldest one rose first, and began to walk through the room, entirely naked, except, as I have said, for a piece of fur which covered what nature has hidden. He stamped his feet upon the ground while marching, and sang continuously. This was all the dance; and while it was going on all the other Savages in the hut clapped their hands, or beat their thighs, drawing this aspiration from the depths of their stomachs, "a—ah, a—ah, a—ah," and then when the prisoner stopped they cried, "o—oh, o—oh, o—oh," and, when the one resealed himself, the other took up the dance. Monsieur de Caën asked when they would be killed. "To-morrow," they answered. I went to see them again, and I found three wooden stakes erected where they were to be executed; but news came from Quebec that a treaty of peace was being negotiated with the Hiroquois, and it would perhaps be necessary to surrender the prisoners, and thus death was delayed. There is no cruelty comparable to that which they practice on their enemies. As soon as the captives are taken, they brutally tear off their nails with their teeth; I saw the fingers of these poor creatures, and was filled with pity, also I saw a large hole in the arm of one of them; I was told that it was a bite of the Savage who had captured him; the other had a part of a finger torn off, and I asked him if the fire had done that, as I thought it was a burn. He made a sign to show me that it had been taken off by the teeth. I noticed the same cruelty among the girls and women, when these poor prisoners were dancing; for, as they passed before the fire, the women blew and drove the flame over in their direction to burn them. When the hour comes to kill their captives, they are fastened to a stake; then the girls, as well as the men, apply hot and flaming brands to those portions of the body which are the most sensitive, to the ribs, thighs, chest, and several other places. They raise the scalp from the head, and then throw burning Sand upon the skull, or uncovered place. They pierce the arms at the wrists with sharp sticks, and pull the nerves out through these holes. In short, they make them suffer all that cruelty and the Devil can suggest. At last, as a final horror, they eat and devour them almost raw. If we were captured by the Hiroquois, perhaps we would be obliged to suffer this ordeal, inasmuch as we live with the Montagnards, their

enemies. So enraged are they against every one who does them an injury, that they eat the lice and other vermin that they find upon themselves,—not because they like them, but only, they say, to avenge themselves and to eat those that eat them.

JR, 5:45 [**Torture and drunkenness among the Montagnais at Tadoussac.*]

On the eve of our departure from Tadoussac, news came that the Hiroquois prisoners had been put to death at Kebec, and that those at Tadoussac must share the same fate the next day. I undertook to plead their cause, and promised to give what would be necessary to feed them during their passage to France, even to find some one to receive them as soon as they would reach there. I trusted to the charity of many good people who would not withhold alms to rescue the bodies of these poor creatures from the sufferings they endured, and their souls from eternal damnation. So I approached monsieur du Plessis, our Lieutenant, and explained the situation to him. Alms are given in France to restore men to liberty who are imprisoned for debt, and why should not something be done for these poor slaves of Satan? I promised him that we would give all that we could. He took up the subject, and in the evening presented it to those who ate at our Captain's table. They answered that it would require large gifts to save their lives. Monsieur du Plessis said that they [**the French*] would give what they could, and that, besides, large gifts were unnecessary, as the three Hiroquois prisoners could be demanded in exchange for one Frenchman who had been killed a few years ago, or at least two could be demanded, and they would be surely given up. The interpreter who had talked to them assured me that it was an easy matter. Thereupon a thousand objections were urged, and one of the company cried out that the captives ought to die; that he would rather strangle them, that they were rascals, and that in talking to a Savage in Kebec, he [*the Savage*] had advised him to have them killed. If the death of these poor wretches brought profits to the fur trade which people come here to carry on, there would be some reason for this eagerness for their death; but neither their life nor their death could affect it. Oh, how important it is that those sent to this country should be carefully chosen! It is true that monsieur Emery de Caën did not approve of this cruelty. However, the wind being favorable to us on the following day, we spread our sails, and left these poor abandoned creatures there in the hands of their enemies, who disposed of two of them in a horrible manner, for, as we were told, they did not kill the youngest.

Upon our arrival in Kebec, we heard of the death of six prisoners held by the Savages, the result of the drunkenness which has been introduced here by the Europeans. The English Clergyman, who was not of the same Faith as his people,—for he was a Protestant or Lutheran, and the Kers are Calvinists or of some other more libertine Religion (they held this poor Minister a prisoner in our house for six months),—told me that the Montagnards wanted to negotiate a peace with the Hiroquois, and that the one who was in charge of the

prisoners had promised him that they would not be killed. Nevertheless, this wretch being drunk with brandy, which he had procured from the English in exchange for Beavers, called his brother and commanded him to go and strike one of the Hiroquois with a knife and kill him, which he did. Thus all thoughts of peace vanished. They were talking about killing the others. The Minister, hearing this, said to the Savage that in killing this prisoner he had not kept his word. "It is thou," answered the Savage, "and thine, who killed him; for, if thou hadst not given us brandy or wine, we would not have done it." And, in fact, since I have been here, I have seen only drunken Savages; they are heard shouting and raving day and night, they fight and wound each other, they kill the cattle of madame Hebert; and, when they have returned to their senses, they say to you, "It is not we who did that, but thou who gavest us this drink." When they have slept off their drunkenness, they are as good friends with each other as ever, saying to each other: "Thou art my brother, I love thee; it is not I who wounded thee, but the drink which used my arm." I have seen some of them with very badly bruised faces; even the women get drunk, and shriek like furies. I expect that they will kill some of us French People one of these days, as they have already thought of doing; and after eight o'clock in the morning it is not safe to go to see them without arms, if they have any wine. Some of our men going to see them after dinner, a Savage tried to kill them with his hatchet, but other Savages who were not drunk came to their assistance. When one of them is very drunk, the others tie him by his feet and arms, if they can catch him. Some of their Captains have come to plead with the French not to sell them brandy or wine, saying that they would be the cause of the death of their people. It is by far the worst when they see before them others as drunk as they can be. But let us end the talk about these Hiroquois. The English Captain was asked if he wanted some of them. As he supposed he would have to make them a present, he answered, "no," and said that they might do with them what they pleased. Now this is the way they were treated:

They had pulled out their nails with their teeth as soon as they were taken. They cut their fingers off on the day of their torture; then they tied their two arms together at the wrist with a cord, and two men pulled it as hard as they could at both ends, the cord entering into the flesh and breaking the bones of these poor wretches, who cried out in a horrible manner. Thus having their hands tied, they were bound to posts, and the girls and women gave presents to the men to be allowed to torment the poor victims to their heart's content. I did not remain during this torture, I could not have endured such diabolical cruelty; but those who were present told me, as soon as we arrived, that they had never seen anything like it. "You should have seen those furious women," they said, "bowling, yelling, applying the fire to the most sensitive and private parts of the body, pricking them with awls, biting them with savage glee, laying open their flesh with knives; in short, doing everything that madness can suggest to a woman. They threw fire upon them, burning coals, hot sand; and, when the sufferers cried out, all the others cried still louder, in order that the groans

should not be heard, and that no one might be touched with pity. The upper part of their forehead was cut with a knife, then the scalp was raised, and hot sand thrown upon the exposed part." Now there are some Savages who wear, through bravado, these scalps covered with hair and moustaches. One can still see over two hundred dents made by the awls in these scalps. In short, they practiced upon them all the cruelties that I have above related in speaking of what I had seen at Tadoussac, and many others, which do not occur to me at present. When they are told that these cruelties are horrible and unworthy of a man, they answer you: "Thou hast no courage in allowing thine enemies to live; when the Hiroquois capture us, they do still worse; this is why we treat them as cruelly as we can." They killed an Hiroquois Sagamore, a powerful and courageous man who sang while being tortured. When he was told that he must die, he said, as if overjoyed, "Good, I am very much pleased; I have taken a great many of the Montagnards, my friends will take still more of them, and they will avenge my death." Thereupon he began to tell about his prowess, and to say farewell to his relatives, to his friends and to the allies of his tribe, to the Flemish Captain who goes to trade for furs in the country of the Hiroquois by the Northern sea. After they had cut off his fingers, broken the bones of his arms, torn the scalp from his head, and had roasted and burned him on all sides, he was untied and the poor creature ran straight to the river, which was not far from there, to refresh himself. They captured him again, and made him endure the fire still another time; he was blackened, completely scorched, and the grease melted and oozed out of his body, yet with all this he ran away again for a second time, but, having captured him again, they burned him a third time; at last he died during these tortures. When they saw him fall, they opened his chest, pulled out his heart and gave it to the little children to eat; the rest was for them. This is a very strange species of barbarism. Now these poor wretches live in fear because the Hiroquois are always on the watch for the Montagnards to do as much for them. That is why our Captain, wishing to send some one to the Hurons, could never find any Savage who would go.

JR, 5:71 [**Note on the adoption of children taken in war.*]

Tomorrow, on the 25th of August, I am to baptize a little Hiroquois child who is to be taken to France, never to return to this country; he was given to a Frenchman, who made a present of him to monsieur de la Rade....I believed that he was an Hiroquois, but I have learned that he belongs to the fire Nation; his Father and his Mother and he were taken in war by the Algonquains, who burned the parents and gave the child to the French.

Father Paul le Jeune. 1634. Relation of What Occurred in New France in the Year 1633.

JR, 5:93 [**Single combat and indigenous shields.*]

On the 24th [**of October*], having gone to say Mass at the French settlement, a Captain of the Savages came to see sieur Emery de Caen, and told him

that, the Algonquains having gone to war against the Hiroquois, one of their men had been killed and the other taken prisoner. This had so frightened the Montagnais, that they all returned from the hunt for beavers and bears, to camp near our fort, for fear of being surprised by their enemies. They wanted to unite, that they might be stronger; but they feared famine in abandoning the chase. They asked us therefore if we would supply them with food, in the event of their remaining together. The answer was that we would not give anything on credit that year; this was what they were relying upon. I was told about an act of generosity on the part of this captain. Having been sent as a spy upon the Hiroquois, he encountered the spy of the enemy, and seeing each other face to face, the Hiroquois, believing himself stronger than the montagnais savage, said to him: "Do not let us have our people killed, but let us wrestle and see which can carry his companion away." The proposal being accepted, this captain, who at that time was the spy of the Montagnais, so tired out his man that, having thrown him down, he bound him, loaded him upon his back like a piece of wood, and carried him away to his people. This was what they told me about him.

The same day the Savage Manitougache, otherwise La Nasse, (it is he of whom I wrote to Your Reverence last year, that he wanted to come and settle near us, as he has since done), returning from the bear hunt, came to sup and sleep with us. ... He carried with him a great shield, very long and very wide. It easily covered my whole body, and reached from my feet to my chest. They raise it up and entirely cover themselves with it. It is made of one single piece of very light cedar. I do not know how they can plane so large and so wide a plank with their knives; it was a—little bent or curved, the better to cover the body; and, in order that if an arrow or blow should split it, it might still hold together, it was sewed at the top and bottom with a leather string. They do not carry these shields upon their arms; they pass the cord which holds them over the right shoulder, protecting the left side, and when they have cast their missile they have only to withdraw the right side to put themselves under cover.

JR, 5:107 [**Rumor of Iroquois war party causes panic.*]

On the 13th [*of November, 1632], Manitougache, our guest and neighbor, came to tell us that a great many Hiroquois had been seen near Kebec. All the Montagnais trembled with fear. He asked if his wife and children could not come and lodge with us. We answered him that he and his sons would be very welcome, but that girls and women were not permitted to sleep in our houses, indeed, they never entered them in France; and that, just as soon as we could close our doors, they would not again be opened to them. He then sent his whole party, all the young people, to cabins in the neighborhood of Kebec, where they were told that some arquebusiers would be sent to protect them. As to himself, having been invited by the Captain of the Savages to accept his cabin until the fright should have passed away, he answered that, if he had to die, he wanted to die near us; and, having thus placed his people in security, he returned to us.

JR, 5:193 [**Roots of the alliance between Algonquins and French.*]

For these wandering and vagabond people, among whom God has given me my work, although my wishes cause me to prefer the stable and permanent tribes, the harvest will be later, but it will come in its own time; I see favorable indications of it. In the first place, the fear that the Algonquins have of their enemies, the Hiroquois, makes them abandon their country; and, as they naturally love it, they are earnestly requesting that some of us settle among them, having planned to enclose a village around the fort which they will build there, and to gather all of their forces therein, which the Gentlemen of the Company of New France will consider with favor.

JR, 5:203 [**Roots of the alliance between Algonquins(?) and French.*]

On the 24th of May, eighteen canoes of Savages having descended to Kebec, sieur de Champlain, suspecting that they might go on to the English, who had three vessels at Tadoussac and a bark far up the river, went into the Cabins of these Savages, and made to them a very suitable address through sieur Olivier the interpreter, who is an excellent man and well fitted for this country. He said to them through the lips of this interpreter that the French had always loved and defended them, that he had assisted them in person in their wars; that he had greatly cherished the Father of the Captain to whom he was talking, who was killed at his side in a battle where he himself was wounded by an arrow; that he was a man of his word, and that, notwithstanding the discomforts of the sea voyage, he had returned to see them again, as if they were his brothers; as they had expressed a wish that a French settlement should be made in their country, to defend them against the incursions of their enemies, he contemplated granting this desire, and it would already have been granted but for the obstacles created by the English; he was, moreover, then engaged in repairing the ruins that these wicked guests had left behind them; that he would not fail to satisfy them all as soon as he attended to the more urgent affairs; that the Fathers (speaking of us), would remain among them and would instruct them as well as their children. Yet, notwithstanding the great obligations that they [the Savages] were under to the French, they had descended the river with the intention of going to see the thieves who came to pillage the French. He said they should consider well what they were doing; that these robbers were only birds of passage, while the French would remain in the country as it belonged to them. This is a part of the discourse that sieur de Champlain delivered to them, as far as I have been able to learn, from the report made to me by those present.

During this speech, the Captain and his men listened very attentively. He, among others, appeared to be in deep thought, drawing from his stomach from time to time this aspiration, while they were speaking to him, *hám! hám! hám!* as if approving the speech of the interpreter, which, when finished, this Captain arose to answer, but with a keenness and delicacy of rhetoric that might have come out of the schools of Aristotle or Cicero. He won, in the beginning of his

discourse, the good will of all of the French by his profound humility, which appeared with exceeding grace in his gestures and in his language.

"I am," said he, "only a poor little animal, crawling about on the ground; you Frenchmen are the great of the earth, who make all tremble. I do not know how I dare to talk before such great Captains. If I had some one behind me who would suggest what I ought to say, I would speak more boldly. I am bewildered; I have never had any instruction; my father left me very young; if I say anything, I go seeking it here and there, at hazard, and it is that which makes me tremble.

"Thou tellest us that the French have always loved us; we know it well, and we would lie if we said the contrary. Thou sayest that thou hast always been true, and we have always believed thee. Thou hast assisted us in our wars, we love thee all the more for it; what dost thou wish that we should answer? All that thou sayest is true.

"Thou sayest that the French have come to live at Kebec to defend us, and that thou wilt come into our country to protect us. I remember well to have heard our fathers say that, when you were below at Tadoussac, the Montagnais went to see you and invited you, unknown to us, to ascend [the river] above here, where our fathers, having seen you, loved you, and prayed you to make your home there.

"As to the settlement thou sayest we have asked for at the three rivers, I am only a child; I have no recollection, I do not know that I have asked for it! You, you have your Massinahigan; (that is to say, you have a knowledge of writing), which makes you remember everything. But, however that may be, thou wilt always be welcome." Note the discretion of this man, to make it plain that not only the Savages, but the French, desire this settlement. He continued his discourse, saying, "When thou shalt come up there with us thou wilt find a land better than this; thou wilt make, to begin with, a house like this to live in," (he indicated a little space with his hand); "that is to say, thou wilt make a fortress. Then thou wilt make another house like that," designating a large space, "and then we shall no longer be dogs who sleep outside, we shall go into that house." He meant to say an enclosed village. "Then we shall no longer be suspected of going to see those who do not love you. Thou wilt sow wheat; we shall do as thou dost, and we shall no longer go to seek our living in the woods; we shall no longer be wanderers and vagabonds.

"It was sieur de Caën, who believed that I had sent Beavers to the foreigners; I sent to those quarters a few Moose skins, not in trade, but to cut off the arms of our enemies. Thou knowest that the Hiroquois have long arms; if I had not cut them, we should have been taken by them long ago. I send presents to tribes who are their neighbors, to the end that they should not unite with them; it is not to offend the French, but to preserve ourselves.

"Thou sayest that we wish to go to the English; I will tell my men that they should not go there. I promise thee that neither I myself, nor they who have any sense, will do that; but if there is some young man who jumps over

there without being seen, I shall not know what to do; thou knowest well that youth cannot be restrained. I shall forbid every one from going there. Any one who does so has no sense. Thou canst do everything, place thy boats in the way and capture the Beavers of those who attempt to go.

"Thou sayest that the Fathers will live among us, and will teach us. This good fortune will be for our children; we, who are already old, shall die ignorant. This blessing will not come as soon as we should like to have it. Thou sayest that we must be careful what we do; grasp us by the arm, and we shudder; grasp us afterward by the heart, and the whole body trembles. We do not want to go to the English; their Captain wanted to make an alliance with me and take me for his brother, and I did not desire it; I withdrew, saying that he was too great a Captain. I bethought myself well of a word that thou hadst said to us, that thou wouldst return; therefore I always awaited thee. Thou hast been truthful, thou wilt still be so in coming to see us in our country. I have but one fear; it is that in the association of the French with our people, some one may be killed, then we would be lost; thou knowest all are not prudent, but that the wiser ones will always do their duty."

This is about the answer of this Savage, who astonished our French people. They told me how he raised his voice according to the subjects treated, then lowered it with so much humility, and with such an attitude of submission, that he won the hearts of all who looked at him, though they did not understand him.

The conclusion was that sieur de Champlain said to them: "When that great house shall be built, then our young men will marry your daughters, and we shall be one people." They began to laugh, answering: "Thou always sayest something cheering to rejoice us. If that should happen, we would be very happy." Those who think that the Savages have dull and heavy intellects will recognize by this speech that they are not so stupid as they may have been painted.

JR, 5:213 [**Iroquois ambush on some Frenchmen.*]

On the last day of May, la Nasse, our Savage came to tell us that one of their men had dreamed that some Frenchmen would be killed. Now, either because the Devil had given them this sentiment, or that among all their dreams there is now and then one that happens perchance to be true, however that may be, on the 2nd day of June the Hiroquois killed two of our Frenchmen and wounded four others, one of whom died shortly afterward. This catastrophe happened in this way: A bark and shallop were ascending the great river St. Lawrence; the latter went ahead, and, to hasten its speed, sailors went ashore to tow it with lines or cords. As they came to double a point of land, thirty or 40 Hiroquois, who were in ambush, fell upon them with horrible cries; they killed the two men first encountered, with blows from their hatchets, then discharged a storm of arrows so suddenly and unexpectedly that our Frenchmen did not know which way to turn, not having foreseen the attack.

They even dared to try to board the shallop in their canoes; and, had it not been that a Frenchman took aim at them with his arquebus, and that the bark, which was not far away, speedily equipped a boat to come to the rescue, having heard the cries of the combat, it is probable that not one of them would have escaped. The Hiroquois, seeing the arquebus, and the other boat coming to their help, fled, first skinning the heads of those whom they had killed and bearing away the scalps by way of bravado.

JR, 5:245 [**Alliance between the Hurons and French.*]

On the 29th of the same month of July [*1633], having learned that the Hurons were to hold a council, when they would take some action concerning our Fathers who were destined for their country, Father Brebeuf and I went to see them....After it had assembled, sieur de Champlain had us summoned. I have been told that Louis XI once held his council of war in the country, having for throne or chair only a piece of wood, or a fallen tree, that he happened to find in the midst of a field. This is the picture of the council of the Hurons, only they are seated a little lower still, that is to say, flat upon the ground, all pellmell without any order, unless it be that the people of one tribe or village are placed near those of another. While in France they are discussing precedence, and amusing themselves in offering a chair to one whom they would consider impertinent if he accepted it, here they will have held and concluded three councils among the Savages, who, upon the whole, do not cease to be very grave and serious in their rather long speeches. There were about sixty men in their assembly, without counting the young men who were scattered here and there. Each one getting the best place he could find, a Captain began his harangue, the substance of which was that the Huron tribe, the tribe of the Bear, and others, had met for the purpose of holding a council with the French. When this speech was finished, all the Savages, as a sign of their approval, drew from the depths of their stomachs this aspiration, *ho, ho, ho*, raising the last syllable very high. When this speech was finished, and the council had declared itself lawfully assembled by this fine method of assent, the same Captain began another speech, adding nothing to what he had said already, unless it were that they had come to see their friends and brothers, the Frenchmen, and, to strengthen this friendship and alliance, they all offered presents to their captain, Sieur de Champlain, and thereupon they presented to him three packages of beaver skins. The end was that the Savages expressed their approval of this harangue by reiterating their aspiration, *ho! ho!* and the Frenchmen by accepting the presents offered. The same captain, continuing his speech, said that all these people were rejoiced at the return of Sieur de Champlain, and that they all came to warm themselves at his fire. The fuel they brought to the fire was two or three more packages of beaver skins, which they gave him as a present. This third speech was immediately approved like the second.

Thereupon sieur de Champlain began to speak, and told them that he had always loved them, that he wished very much to have them as his brothers,

and, having been sent in behalf of our great King to protect them, he would do it very willingly; that he had sent to meet them a bark and a shallop, and that the Hiroquois had treacherously killed three of our men; that he did not lose heart on that account, that the French feared nothing, and that they cherished their friends very dearly; that they must not believe those who would like to divert them from coming to see the French, and that, having given them their word, they would keep it, as they had been able to observe in the past; that he still recognized old men among their people, from having gone to war with them; that he thanked them for their presents, and would know very well how to requite them. He added that our Fathers were going to see them in their country, as a proof of the affection which we bore them, telling marvelous things in our favor. "These are our Fathers," said he, "we love them more than our children or ourselves; they are held in very high esteem in France; it is neither hunger nor want that brings them to this country; they do not come to see you for your property or your furs. Here is Louis Amantacha, of your own tribe, who knows them, and who knows very well that I tell the truth. If you love the French people, as you say you do, then love these Fathers; honor them, and they will teach you the way to Heaven. This is what makes them leave their country, their friends, and their comforts, to instruct you, and especially to teach your children a knowledge so great and so necessary.

Two Captains spoke after that. They vied with each other in trying to honor sieur de Champlain and the French, and in testifying their affection for us. One of them said that, when the French were absent, the earth was no longer the earth, the river was no longer the river, the sky was no longer the sky; but upon the return of sieur de Champlain everything was as before; the earth was again the earth, the river was again the river, and the sky was again the sky. The other confessed that the Savages were very timid and apprehensive, but that sieur de Champlain was frightful in his looks; that, when he was in battle, a glance from his eye struck terror into the hearts of his enemies; and, apostrophizing the youth of his tribe, he said: "Be careful now, listen to what you are told; do not say we have not talked this all over in open council; I warn you now, in order that you shall obey later."

JR, 6:7 [**Difficulties in the French-Huron alliance.*]

On the 4th, another council was held; I was present with Father Brebeuf, because the embarkation of our Fathers was to be talked over. Sieur de Champlain made his presents, which corresponded in value to those that the Hurons had made him. To accept presents from the Savages is to bind oneself to return an equivalent. A great many things were spoken of in this council; among others, the Hurons asked for the liberation of the Savage prisoner who had recently killed a Frenchman, as I stated above. Sieur de Champlain sought earnestly to make the Hurons understand that it was not right to restore him to liberty; and that, having killed a Frenchman who had done him no harm, he deserved death, the Hurons were satisfied with the reason given them. They

spoke also of the friendship contracted between them and the French, saying that it would be greatly strengthened by the Fathers going into their country. The Hurons were the happiest people in the world. Those who were to embark and to carry the Fathers in their canoes had already received pay for their future trouble; we had placed in their hands the parcels or little baggage of the Fathers. We had gone to the storehouse to sleep, Father de Nouë and I, with our three Fathers, that we might see them off early the next morning in their little canoes, and might say to them our last farewell, when all at once our joy was changed into sadness. At about ten or eleven o'clock that night, a one-eyed Savage, belonging to the Island tribe, closely allied to the tribe of the prisoner, went among the cabins of all the Savages crying out that they should be careful not to take any Frenchmen in their canoes, and that the relatives of the prisoner were on the watch along the river to kill the Frenchmen, if they could catch them during the passage. On the previous Sunday some Savages of the same tribe as the prisoner had held a council with the captains of the Montagnais, of the island Savages, and of the Hurons, to determine how they might secure the pardon of this prisoner. The Hurons were besought to ask it. They refused, and this Island Savage, whose tribe was allied to the tribe of the murderer, raised this general cry among the cabins, warning every one not to give passage to a Frenchman, unless they wished to place him in evident danger of his life. Having heard the cry, and Father Brebeuf, who was listening, having interpreted its meaning to me, I went with Father de Nouë to the fort to give information of the same to Sieur de Champlain. We had been sleeping in the storehouse of the French, around which the Savages were encamped. The Fort was opened to us; and, after having made known the object of our night visit, we returned to the place whence we had departed. Upon the way we found the Captains of the Savages in council, to whom the Interpreter, according to the order of Sieur de Champlain, declared that he desired to talk to them once more before their departure. The next morning, at daybreak, a Savage passed through the camp proclaiming that they were not to depart that day; and that the young men should keep the peace, and that those who had not sold all their merchandise should sell it. About eight or nine in the morning, sieur de Champlain again assembled the Captains of the Hurons, the Island Savages who had made this outcry, and the Captain of the Montagnais. He asked the Savage why he had aroused that opposition; he answered that the whole country was in a state of alarm, and that it would be lost if the French were embarked to be taken to the Hurons, for the relatives of the prisoner would not fail to kill some of the party and that thereupon war would be declared; that the Hurons even would be dragged into it; for, if they defended the French, they would be attacked, and that thus the whole country would be lost; that he had not aroused any opposition, but had merely made known the wicked designs of the murderer's relatives; that, if the prisoner were released, these troubles would immediately be ended, and that the river and the whole country would be free. The Hurons were asked if they still adhered to their

wish to take us to their country. They answered that the river was not theirs, and that great caution must be observed in regard to those other tribes, if they were to pass by in security. As far as they were concerned, they asked nothing better than to furnish passage to the French. I observed the discretion of these Savages, for they gave evidence of their affection for us, in such manner as not to offend the tribes through which they must pass in coming to Kebec. One of them, addressing the Island Savage, said: "Now listen; when we shall be up there in thy country, do not say that we have not spoken in behalf of the prisoner; we have done all that we could, but what answer wouldst thou have us make to the reasons given by sieur de Champlain? The French are the friends of all of us; if it depended only upon us, we should embark them." It must be confessed that the Hurons showed a strong inclination to take our Fathers with them. Sieur de Champlain, seeing this so sudden change, did all in his power, and gave us liberty to advance all the reasons we could, to the end that our fathers might be set on their way. He urged very strong and very pertinent reasons; he used threats; he proposed peace and war; in short nothing more could be desired. But to all this the Savage answered that they could not restrain their young men; that he had given warning of their wicked intentions, and that the French ought to postpone their departure for this year; that they would vent their anger upon the Hiroquois, their enemies, and then the river would be free. "Do not blame us," said he, "if misfortune overtakes you; for we could not restore order." Thereupon, in order to win over this Savage, I asked for the pardon of the prisoner, having previously agreed upon this with sieur de Champlain, who replied to me that it was a matter of life and death with him, and that our great King would ask him to give an account of the man who had been killed. I begged him to suspend the execution of the death sentence, until the King might be spoken to, and his will learned. And thereupon, following my point, I addressed the Savages, representing our affection for them; saying that we had never sought the death of any one; that we everywhere tried to promote peace. Sieur de Champlain did admirably on his part, saying that we talked to God; that we were loved by all who knew us, that he wanted no other witnesses of this than the Hurons themselves, who had cherished us so dearly; that we were going to teach them great things. The Hurons answered that it was very well, that we had proposed a good expedient; that of postponing the death of this Savage until we should have news from our great King. I then importuned the Island Savage, asking him whether the prisoner's kindred, if they knew that we were pleading for him, would not allow us to pass if they encountered us. "What dost thou wish me to say?" he answered, "they are furious. If the prisoner is not liberated, there is no safety; they will pardon no one." Thereupon the Interpreter replied: "If they act the part of devils, so will we." In a word, Sieur de Champlain intimidated them, saying they must look out for themselves; that if a Savage was seen with arms, he would give permission to his men to fire upon him and kill him; that they [the savages] had threatened him himself, because he went about alone; but hereafter he would

not go around like a child, but like a soldier. "I am a friend to all, you are my friends," said he to the Hurons; "I love you; I have risked my life for you, I will risk it again; I will protect you; but I am the enemy of evil-doers."

It will be said that the Captain of the tribe of the murderer ought to have seized all those who had wicked designs against the French. It is true; but I have already remarked above that these Savages have no system of government, and that their Captain has no such authority. What he can do, is to ask these wicked people to give up their designs. Indeed, it has happened before, when the Savages feared the Europeans more than they do now, if one of their men wanted to kill a Frenchman, either having dreamed that he was to do it, or from other cause, the others flattered him and made him presents, fearing that he would carry out his wicked intentions, and in this way they might lose the whole country. Now it is a great deal if they warn the French to be on their guard, as they did not long ago, saying that there were some young men who were prowling about in the woods to kill any Frenchman that they might find by himself; and thus we are not safe among these people. Let us say, however: *Qui habitat in ajutorio Altissimi, in protectione Dei caeli commorabitur.*

But to the conclusion of this council. Father Brebeuf seeing that his journey was broken up, and that it would be foolhardy to undertake it,—not through fear of death, because I never saw them more resolute, both he and his two companions, Father Daniel and Father Davost, than when they were told that they might lose their lives on the road which they were about to take for the glory of our Lord; but as they would involve the French in war against these people, in case they were killed,—we agreed with sieur de Champlain, that the preservation of peace among these tribes was preferable to the consolation they would experience in dying on such an occasion.

JR, 6:19 [**Intertribal relations along the St. Lawrence.*]

Below are two reasons, stronger than two great locks, which seem to have closed it [**Huron country*] to us [**the Jesuits*] for a long time.

The first is found in the interests of the Island Savages, the Algonquains, and the other tribes which are between Kebec and the Hurons. These people, in order to monopolize the profit of the trade, prefer that the Hurons should not go down the river to trade their peltries with the French, desiring themselves to collect the merchandise of the neighboring tribes and carry it to the French; that is why they do not like to see us go to the Hurons, thinking that we would urge them to descend the river, and that, the French being with them, it would not be easy to bar their passage. The second reason may be found in the fear of the Hurons, who see that the French will not accept presents as a compensation for the murder of one of their countrymen; they fear that their young men may do some reckless deed, for they would have to give up, alive or dead, any one who might have committed murder, or else break with the French. This makes them uneasy. Aside from this, as sieur de Champlain has told them that there is no true friendship unless visits are inter-

changed, they are very desirous, at least in appearance, to have us in their country.

Father Paul le Jeune. 1635. Relation of What Occurred in New France in the Year 1634. From the little house of N. Dame des Anges, in New France, August 7th, 1634.

JR, 6:297 [**The value of the beaver skin to Europeans and the Indians.*]

The Castor or Beaver is taken in several ways. The Savages say that it is the animal well-beloved by the French, English and Basques,—in a word, by the Europeans. I heard my host say one day, jokingly, *Missi picoutau amiscou*, “The Beaver does everything perfectly well, it makes kettles, hatchets, swords, knives, bread; and, in short, it makes everything.” He was making sport of us Europeans, who have such a fondness for the skin of this animal and who fight to see who will give the most to these Barbarians, to get it; they carry this to such an extent that my host said to me one day, showing me a very beautiful knife, “The English have no sense; they give us twenty knives like this for one Beaver skin.”

JR, 7:213 [**The Iroquois attack the Hurons.*]

On the first of July [*1634], Father Brebœuf and Father Daniel left in a bark to go to three Rivers, there to wait for the Hurons. This bark was destined to begin a new settlement in that quarter. Father Davost, who had come down from Tadoussac for the assistance of our French, followed our Fathers three days later in company with Monsieur the General, who wanted to meet these people at the trading post. They waited there some time for the Hurons, who did not come down in so great numbers this year as usual; because the Hiroquois, having been informed that five hundred men of this nation were moving toward their country to make war upon them, themselves went on ahead to the number of fifteen hundred, it is said; and, having surprised those who were to surprise them, they killed about two hundred of them, and took more than one hundred prisoners, Louys Amantacha being one of the number. They said his father was put to death, but the report is now that he escaped the hands of the enemy. We were told that these triumphant Hiroquois sent some Captains to the Hurons to treat for peace, retaining the most prominent ones in their possession after having cruelly massacred the others.

Father Paul le Jeune. 1636. Relation of What Occurred in New France in the Year 1635.

JR, 8:23 [**Torture of an Iroquois captive and the problems involved with making peace.*]

On the twenty-third day of October [*1634], fifteen or twenty Savages returned from the war, bringing a prisoner. As soon as they could descry our Settlement and their cabins, they collected their canoes and sailed slowly

down the middle of the great river, uttering from their chests songs full of gladness; as soon as they were seen, there was a great outcry among the cabins, each one coming out to see these warriors, who made the poor prisoner stand up and dance in their fashion in the middle of a canoe. He sang, and they kept time with their paddles; he was bound with a cord which tied his arms behind his back, another was around his feet, and still another, a long one, around his body; they had torn out his finger-nails, so that he could not untie himself. Marvel, I pray you, at the cruelty of these people. A Savage, having perceived Father Buteux and me mingling with the others, came up to us and said, full of joy and satisfaction, *Tapoue kouetakiou nigamouau*; "I shall really eat some Hiroquois." Finally this poor man came out of the canoe, and was taken into a cabin, the children, girls, and women striking him, some with sticks, others with stones, as he entered; you would have said he was insensible, as he passed along and received these blows without looking around; as soon as he entered, they made him dance to the music of their howls. After having made a few turns, striking the ground and agitating his body, which is all there is of their dancing, they made him sit down; and some of the Savages, addressing us, told us that this Hiroquois was one of those who the year before had surprised and killed three of our Frenchmen; this was done to stifle in us the pity that we might have for him, and they even dared to ask some of our French if they did not want to eat their share of him, since they had killed our Countrymen. We replied that these cruelties displeased us, and that we were not cannibals. He did not die, however; for these Barbarians, weary of the war, spoke with this young prisoner, who was a strong man, tall and finely formed, about making peace; they have been treating about it for a long time, but at last it is concluded. In truth, I believe it will not last long; for the first impulse that seizes some hot-headed fellow, at the remembrance that one of his relations was killed by the Hiroquois, will make him go and surprise one of them, and treacherously assassinate him; and thus the war will begin again. Fidelity cannot be expected from people who have not the true Faith.

JR, 8:27 [**Devastation wrought by the Iroquois.*]

On the fifth of November [*1634], I went to see the remains of a good palisade, which formerly surrounded a Village in the very place where our French have established their Abode [*Three Rivers(?)]. The Hiroquois enemies of these Tribes have burned everything; there can still be seen the ends of the blackened stakes; there are some arpents of cleared land, where they cultivated Indian corn.

JR, 8:57 [**State of the beaver populations among the Montagnais and Hurons.*]

It would be a great blessing for their bodies, for their souls, and for the traffic of these [French] Gentlemen, if those Tribes were stationary, and if they became docile to our direction, which they will do, I hope, in the course of

time. If they are sedentary, and if they cultivate the land, they will not die of hunger, as often happens to them in their wanderings: we shall be able to instruct them easily, and Beavers will greatly multiply. These animals are more prolific than our sheep in France, the females bearing as many as five or six every year; but: when the Savages find a lodge of them, they kill all, great and small, male and female. There is danger that they will finally exterminate the species in this Region, as has happened among the Hurons, who have not a single Beaver, going elsewhere to buy the skins they bring to the storehouse of these Gentlemen.

JR, 8:59 [**Iroquois attacks and intrigue.*]

On the tenth of this month [*August, 1635], Father Masse and Father Buteux wrote me from the Residence of the Conception that it was reported there that the Hiroquois had destroyed seven canoes of the petite Nation of the Algonquains; if this be true, the peace, of which I have spoken above, is already broken, for our Montagnais allies of the Algonquains will take sides with them.

I have heard a report, I do not know how true it is, that a certain Savage named “the Frog” [la Grenouille], who acts as Captain here, has said that the Hiroquois, with whom he had made a treaty of peace, have incited them to kill some of the Hurons, and to make war against them.

Those best informed believe that this is a ruse of those who trade with these Tribes, and who are striving to divert, through their agency, the Hurons from their commerce with our French; which would happen if our Montagnais made war against them; and then they [the traders] would attract them to their Settlements, and there would result a very considerable injury to the Associated Gentlemen of the Company of New France.

Father Jean de Brebeuf. 1635. Relation of what occurred among the Hurons in the year 1635.

JR, 8:69 [**Mention of the Iroquois attack on the Hurons of 1634.*]

When last year, one thousand six hundred and thirty-four, we arrived at the three Rivers, where the trading post was, we found ourselves in several difficulties and perplexities. For, on the one hand, there were only eleven Huron canoes to embark our ten additional persons who were intending to go into their Country. On the other, we were greatly in doubt whether any others would descend this year, considering the great loss they had experienced in war with the Hiroquois, named *Sononttrerrhonons* [*Senecas], last Spring, and the fear they had of a new invasion. This placed us much in doubt whether we ought to take advantage of the opportunity which was presented, or wait for a better one.

JR, 8:115 [**Iroquoian tribes in 1635 and their disposition to the Hurons.*]

I am rejoiced to find that this language is common to some twelve other

Nations, all settled and numerous; these are, the *Conkhandeenrhonons*, *Khionontaterrhonons*, *Atiouandaronks*, *Sonontoerrhonons*, *Onontaerrhonons*, *Oüioenrhonons*, *Onoiochrhonons*, *Agnierrhonons*, *Andastoerrhonons*, *Scahentoarrhonons*, *Rhierrhonons*, and *Ahouenrochrhonons*. The Hurons are friends of all these people, except the *Sonontoerrhonons*, *Onontaerrhonons*, *Oüioenrhonons*, *Onoiochrhonons*, and *Agnierrhonons*, all of whom we comprise under the name Hiroquois. But they have already made peace with the *Sonontoerrhonons*, since they were defeated by them a year past in the Spring.

The deputies of the whole Country have gone to Sonontoen to confirm this peace, and it is said that the *Onontaerrhonons*, *Oüioenrhonons*, *Onoiochrhonons* and *Agnierrhonons* wish to become parties to it.

JR, 8:151 [**A Huron escapes Iroquois captivity.*]

Before drawing to a close, I shall say only this one word about Louys de sainte Foy, which I would prefer not to say were it not that it may help to make this Nation more correctly known; it is this,—he is not such as he ought to be, and as we had wished. Nevertheless, we still have good hope. He was taken prisoner last year by the Hiroquois, in the common defeat, and carried away a captive. It cost him a finger. This severe stroke ought to suffice to bring him back to duty. His Father was not taken; he escaped by flight, but in fleeing he suffered in good earnest in the woods, where he remained, according to his account, thirty days struggling against, three powerful enemies,—namely, cold, for it was Spring, and he was naked and fireless; sickness, for his two legs were powerless, and he has not yet recovered; and, lastly, against hunger, in reference to which he relates a remarkable story, if it be true. He says that, having gone for ten or twelve days without eating, and praying to God, of whom he had heard his son speak, he saw what seemed a pot of grease, such as he had seen at Kebec, full of a very savory liquor, and heard a voice that said to him, “*Saranhes*, be of good cheer; thou wilt not die; take, drink what is in the pot and strengthen thyself,” which he did, and was marvelously solaced by it. A little later, he found in a thicket a small bagful of corn, with which he barely sustained life until some Savages of the neutral Nation, having accidentally found him, brought him to their village.

Father Paul le Jeune. 1636. Relation of What Occurred in New France in the Year 1636.

JR, 9:III [**Rituals of warfare among the Montagnais or Algonquins.*]

Let us begin with the feasts of the Savages. They have one for war. At this, they sing and dance in turn, according to age; if the younger ones begin, the old men pity them for exposing themselves to the ridicule of the others. Each has his own song, that another dare not sing lest he give offense. For this very reason, they sometimes strike up a tune that belongs to their enemies, in order to aggravate them....

I have spoken very fully in the Relation of the year one thousand six hundred and thirty-four, of a certain Tent they make, to which the Jugglers summon and consult the Genii of the Air, or of light. Now not only the men, but even the women, enter this fine Tent. At the three Rivers, a Juggler having called the Manitou, or some other Genius, and not having succeeded in making him come, a woman entered and began to so shake the house and to sing and cry so loudly, that she caused the devil to come, who told them more than they wanted....In the third place, when he was asked if he saw any Hiroquois leaving their own Country to come and surprise them, he answered, after this woman had invoked him by hissings and shakings and uproar, "Hasten, hasten to go to war, I see the Hiroquois Country filled with all sorts of arms, with bows and arrows, that they are preparing, to come and attack you."...Oh, wicked woman! As she was in the habit of running here and there, she was afraid of being restricted to one village; and consequently she wished to impart fear, and in fact did impart it, to her Nation, who no longer thought of anything but war.

JR, 9:217 [**Observations while among a war party.*]

On the fourth of May [*1636], as Monsieur Gand was going to make a visit to the three Rivers, I entered his bark, desiring to be present at an assembly of Savages which was to be held there. The wind being against us, fortunately for me a Canoe of Savages passed us which took me on board, and soon set me down where I wished to be. Monsieur Gand having at last arrived, the Savages came to see him, and held a council to implore him to induce the Captains who were coming to give them assistance in their wars. The first one who spoke pleased us greatly. He began with an exclamation: "What can I say? I have no longer any voice; heed not my words; listen to these poor widows and these poor orphans, who cry that they no longer have fathers or husbands. Do you alone, you Frenchmen, wish to exist in this country? Keep your hands folded, do not help us; and in a little while you will see but women and children. We are going to die with our Captains whom our enemies have slaughtered. No, I am wrong, you are too good to see us rush headlong to death without lending us a hand. A very few of you can save all our lives, and make the whole country live again. Come, take courage; and, when the Captains arrive, speak for us." Monsieur Gand, looking quite as much to the salvation of their souls as to the welfare of their bodies, answered that he loved them, and would willingly speak in their behalf to the Captains; yet he feared that these Captains would no more lend their ears to his words, than the Savages had shown affection for the French. "In the first place, you have not allied yourselves up to the present with our French people, your daughters have married with all the neighboring Nations, but not with ours. Your children live in the land of the Nipisiriniens, of the Algonquins, of the Attikamegues, of the people of the Sagné, and in all the other Nations. Up to the present you have not offered them to the French for instruction. If you had

done this from the time of our first arrival in the Country, you would all know by this time how to handle arms as we do, and your enemies would not exist in your presence,—you would not die every day as you are doing. He who has made all, and who protects us, would preserve you as well as he does us, as we would then be only one and the same People. Secondly, we remember very well that the Hiroquois have killed our people, and we will get satisfaction for it; but we will not be too hasty. You see that we are increasing every day; when our numbers shall be large enough we will attack them, and will not give up the war until we have exterminated them. If you wish to come with us, you may come; but, as you do not know how to obey in war, we shall not count upon your assistance. In the third place, if the Captains ask me if you do not seek Foreigners in your trading, I do not know what I can answer them. Nevertheless, if you are partial to an alliance with us, I will petition them in your behalf. Not that we have need of your daughters or your children; we are as populous as the leaves of your trees. But we would like to see only one People in all this land.” They answered that all this was reasonable, and that Monsieur de Champlain had previously talked about this in private; that it must be spoken of in the presence of all the Nations.

JR, 9:225 [**Algonquins seek Huron alliance against Iroquois.*]

On the fourth of June [*1636], came from the Hurons a young Frenchman, who had gone with some Algonquins, at the beginning of the winter, for the purpose of learning their language....These Algonquins went there to solicit the Hurons to enter with them into a war against the Hiroquois.

JR, 9:227 [**Montagnais request French help against the Iroquois.*]

This same day [*July 2, 1636], the Captain of the Tadoussac Savages, being at Kebec with a squad of his people, who were going to war, desired to hold a council with Monsieur the Governor and with Monsieur the Commandant; in a word, with the French. The Captain of the Kébec Savages took part in it; the assembly was held at the storehouse of the Gentlemen of the Company, where I also was present, by command of Monsieur the Governor. All being seated, the French on one side and the Savages on the other, the Tadoussac Captain began to make a speech. He was dressed in the French fashion, with a very handsome coat under a scarlet cloak. Wishing to speak, he took off his hat and made a very polite bow in the French way, then directing his words to the Captains, especially to Monsieur du Plessis, whom he called his younger brother, “You see,” he said, “that I am a Frenchman: thou knowest, my brother, that my Nation regards me as one; it is believed that I have the good fortune to be loved by the Captains, and that I am their relation. As for me, you know that I have a French heart, I have always loved you; ought I to doubt that it is reciprocated? Tell me, I pray you, if I can count upon your friendship, as you can be assured of mine?” When this was said, he paused for an answer. Being assured that he had our love, he continued: “My countrymen urge me

very strongly to show some evidence of the credit I have among you; they believe that you love me, but they would like to see it put into practice; what word shall I carry them, up there, where I am going to see them? You know it is the peculiar privilege of friends to succor in time of need those whom they love; the help that you will give us in our wars will be the true proof of your friendship; your refusal will cover my face with confusion." The above is very nearly the speech of this Barbarian, who astonished Monsieur our Governor. The other Captain, beginning to speak, said: "When the weather is bad, we go into our houses, we put on our robes, we close our doors to defend ourselves from the injurious effects of the air. We are now in a time of very troublesome war; we have not enough strength to place ourselves under cover from our enemies; we seek shelter from you, do not refuse it. Your friend conjures you to do this; if you do not lend him your hand, you will see him disappear in the conflict against his enemies; you will seek him with your eyes and with your lips, demanding, 'Where is such a one, who loved us so much, and whom we loved?' Learning of his disaster, you will be sad, and your heart will say to you, 'If we had succored him, our eyes would have taken pleasure in looking at him and our heart in loving him; but lo, we are in bitter grief.' Now it depends only upon you to avoid such anguish, and to give yourselves the pleasure of seeing him return from the combat full of life and glory." I add nothing to the discourse of this Savage; he touched upon all, these arguments and several others, that he reasoned out very gravely in his own language. A hoary-headed old man talked afterwards, after the fashion of the aged. These simple people had had a bundle of Beaver skins thrown at the feet of our Captains, according to their custom of making presents when they wish to obtain something. It was in reference to these that the old man began. "When we visit the Tribes which are our neighbors and allies, we make them presents, which speak while we keep silence. Those who receive these presents address themselves to their young men, apostrophizing them in this way: 'Courage, young men, show your generosity; behold these fine robes, which await you upon your return from the combat; remember those who have made these gifts, kill many of their enemies.' This is a good custom, you ought to observe it as well as we," said this simple old man. From this we took the text of our answer, saying that if they should fill the house with Beavers, we would not undertake the war for the sake of their presents; that we helped our friends, not in the hope of any reward, but for the sake of their friendship. That, besides, we had not brought any men for them, not knowing that they were carrying on war; that those whom they saw with us did not all bear arms; and those that did bear them were not satisfied because the Savages were not yet allied with the French by any marriage; and that it could easily be seen that they did not care to be one People with us, giving their children here and there to their allied Nations, and not to the French. The Captain of Tadoussac replied that the way to make a strong alliance was to show our courage and our good will. "For," said he, "when your young men return from the war after the massacre of our enemies, they will not have any

trouble in obtaining our girls in marriage. As to children," said he, "one does not see anything else but little Savages in the houses of the French; there are little boys there and little girls,—what more do you want? I believe that some of these days you will be asking for our wives. You are continually asking us for our children, and you do not give yours; I do not know any family among us which keeps a Frenchman with it." Monsieur the Governor, upon hearing this answer, said to me, "I do not know what a Roman Senator could have answered that would have been more appropriate to the subject under discussion." I replied that in France our Savages were represented as far more obtuse than they are. But let us finish with this assembly. They were answered that the deceased Monsieur de Champlain, of happy memory, had helped them in war, and that even then they had not allied themselves with us; they were given to understand that we desired their children only for instruction and that we might be some day one People with them; that we were under no necessity to burden ourselves with them; that if we did not give ours to them, it was because they asked great recompense, although they had nothing for them to eat; but that we maintained and instructed theirs for nothing. This truth silenced them. As to whatever concerned the war, the answer was that we could not give to them either a large or a small number of French. As to giving them a large number, they could see that the thing could not be done, as the ships would not consent to be stripped of their men; as to giving them a few, our Frenchmen did not wish to go with them, "Because," say they, "the Savages cannot obey nor stand firm in war,—at the first whim that takes them, flying off like birds;" so that our Frenchmen also, being few in number, would have to take to flight, which would make them greatly ashamed, for deserters are ridiculed among us. Brave soldiers, such as we have here, wish to conquer or die. They were satisfied with these arguments, and thus the council ended.

JR, 9:235 [**Montagnais (?) head off to war:*]

On the ninth of the same month of July [*1636], I entered a bark to go and meet the Hurons, who were not coming down as far as Kébec.... We had not advanced far, when an adverse wind stopped us in the middle of the great River; and as I have already often found, by experience, that our Ships are not as safe nor as swift, if the wind is not fair, as the little bark Canoes of the Savages, I had suggested to some of those who were going up to the three Rivers to come alongside our Bark and take me up in passing. This they did not fail to do, and I took my place among them. There were twelve Canoes and about thirty or forty people, mostly young men who were going to war; they surrounded me on all sides, and begged me to accompany them to the country of the Hiroquois; I began to laugh, and to talk to them about other things.... The next morning having discovered some Beaver tracks, and having found some wood suitable for making shields, they wished to pass the day there; this annoyed me greatly, for I desired to offer the holy Sacrifice of the Mass on the following day, which was Sunday, hoping we would reach the three Rivers. I prayed them, I urged them;

no change. They asked me if I was a child, that I should be cast down, saying that I would be still farther away, if I had remained in the Bark; finally, having told them that I wished upon the following day to pray to the one who can do all things, and that I would pray for them that he would aid them in their combats, they allowed the one who took me in his Canoe to depart, and they themselves embarked soon after. Bad weather caused us to remain at a standstill, six leagues from the three Rivers. In the evening, before any one went to sleep, the Captain cried out, "Keep your arms ready, O young men; let each one have his javelin, his hatchet, and his knife near him while asleep." They were beginning to fear ambushes from their enemies.

JR, 9:245 [**Cracks in the Huron-Montagnais-Algonquin alliance.*]

On the fifteenth of the same month [*July, 1636], Monsieur the Commandant arrived at the three Rivers in his Bark. On the same day there arrived seven Hurons in a Canoe, who brought us letters from Father Brebœuf which caused us great rejoicing, for we had been almost sure that the Hurons would not come down this year, on account of the great rumors of war which were heard in all the Nations through which they must pass.

On the eighteenth, Monsieur the Commandant departed from the three Rivers, to go up to the river of the Hiroquois, where he was awaited by the Savages to the number of two or three hundred, to talk about their wars; he told me that he went there also to reconcile them, as they had some dissensions among themselves; and, in fact, one of the Montagnés Captains had come to throw himself under his protection. "There is no one left but thou and Father le Jeune," said he, "who loves me; my Allies are banded against me; the Algonquins wish to kill me and to ruin the Country." He was suspected, but wrongly, of having received presents from the Hiroquois, and of having betrayed la Grenouille ["the Frog"] and the others who had been massacred. They had the same opinion of another, whom they wished also to slaughter. Monsieur du Plessis settled all that, as we shall soon see.

JR, 9:249 [**Sieur du Plessis heals a breach and the alliance goes off to war.*]

On the last day of this month, Monsieur the General returned to the three Rivers, and here are the particulars of his voyage. Having found the Savages assembled at the River of the Hiroquois, he spoke to them of the quarrels that existed among them, and had some presents given to them to make them more easily swallow, as one may say, their grievances. In a word, he restored peace among them;...

When they parted, these Barbarians went off in search of some poor wretched Hiroquois; for the greater part of their wars consists in ambushes, lying in wait for each other as one would for a Wild Boar.

JR, 9:251 [**Aftermath of successful Montagnais raid.*]

On the tenth of the same month [*August, 1636], the Captain of Tadoussac

returned with his company from the war. He told us that they had found an abandoned Cabin where perhaps three hundred Hiroquois had slept; that part of their troop were still pursuing them,—many having turned their faces about, he being of this number, on account of some dispute which had arisen among them. The next day, the news came that the rest of the army was returning, and that some of the enemy had been put to death. Finally, on the thirteenth, a party of these warriors appeared in their Canoe; they bore in the form of Guidons the scalps of those whom they had killed, for it is their custom to tear the skin, with all the hair, from the head of him whom they slay. These scalps are great trophies. One sees them with moustaches waving, each on the end of a long pole that they raise in the air, as if they were banners. The women ran hurriedly at the sight of these palms and these laurels, dropped their clothes, and leaped in to swim after these garlands. There was a struggle among them as to which should catch one to hang it in their Cabins, as a token of the warriors' generosity. Some one came and told us of this barbarity; we went to the Cabins, and, as I was examining these scalps, the women who had captured them began to boast of it: but they were greatly surprised when they heard the reproaches we heaped upon them for their vanity. Now to express in two words the result of this war, some hundred Savages and more having disbanded, the rest followed up their purpose. They went off into the neighborhood of one of their enemy's Settlements, and, encountering one or two poor wretches, they seized them; and promised to spare their lives if they revealed in what place their compatriots might be found. These showed them a river not far distant, where some men had gone, partly to fish and partly for the purpose of making stout snares of bark, suitable for catching Deer. There were also several women who were gathering the hemp of the country, that is, nettles, of which they make very strong ropes. These Barbarians immediately run thither, and throw themselves upon these poor people, like wolves upon their prey. Now cries are heard from all sides; some flee, others defend themselves; the women scream, and try to escape; in short, they take and kill in all twenty-eight persons, according to their story, as many men as women and children, there being more women than children. They brought alive three men, a young woman, and a young girl. The Savages who live above the three Rivers had as their share two men and the girl, those here had one man and the young woman. They would have brought back more of them, but, as they were afraid of being pursued by their enemies, they killed on the way those who did not walk fast enough. They say that this young woman, seeing them kill those who could not keep up, was at the head of the whole troop, enduring the fatigue better than a man. For imagine that they were several days without anything at all to eat, flying in breathless haste in rainy and disagreeable weather. No house of retreat was to be found there where they could dry themselves; he who wets them, dries them, as the saying is. This poor woman did not say a word, being apparently without fear in the midst of these Wolves. She had a modest face, but so bold an eye that I took her for a man. It is true that the Barbarians do not usually harm the women or

the children, except in their sudden attacks. Indeed, many a young man will not hesitate to even marry a prisoner, if she is very industrious; and thereafter she will pass as a woman of his country. As to the men, they do not receive the same treatment; it is cruelty itself which martyrs them. As soon as the one who had been brought to the three Rivers had set foot upon land, the women and children fell upon him, each one trying to see which could strike the hardest blows. Meanwhile the prisoner sings, and continues on his way without turning around to see who strikes him. A wretched cripple, seeing him entirely naked, took a heavy doubled rope, and lashed this poor body, upon the back, upon the stomach, and upon the chest, so that he staggered and was about to fall, his flesh becoming quite livid and dead. Others put fire in his mouth, others thrust firebrands at him from different directions, to roast him; then he was given a little respite, and was made to sing and dance; a woman came and bit into his finger, trying to tear it off, as a dog would do; not being successful, she finally took a knife and cut it off, then put it in his mouth, to make him swallow it; he tried to do so, but could not. Having restored it to this Tigress, she roasted it, to give it to some children to eat, who continued to suck it for some time. One of our soldiers coming along, asked them for it, but these children were reluctant to give it up; then he snatched it, and threw it into the river, in abhorrence of these cruelties. Another time two young men took this poor wretch by his two arms, and bit into them as greedily as rabid Wolves, shaking him as an angry dog shakes a carcass to get a piece off. As soon as I learned that these insane acts were being committed at our door and before the eyes of our French People, I went down to the Cabins, and reproached these tormentors severely and emphatically, threatening that the French would no longer love them. And, in fact, it would be well to make a note of all those who perpetrate these outrages, and to exclude them from the houses of all the French; that would restrain them. The men did not answer me, holding down their heads, ashamed and confused. Some of the women told me that the Hiroquois did still worse things to their fathers, husbands, and children, asking me if I loved such a wicked Nation. I replied that I did not love them, but that they could kill this wretch without treating him with such cruelty. In a word, I gave them to understand that, if their enemies had no intelligence, they should not imitate them; that it was no sign of courage and generosity to beat and bite a man who was bound; that among themselves the most valiant did not engage in these cruel acts; and, turning toward those whom I considered the most humane, I said, "These are they who pursue the Hiroquois, who kill them in the heat of combat, who capture them, who bind them, and who lead them away,—while the cowards who remain at the Cabin fireside devour them like dogs." They began to laugh, and admitted that they would not willingly practice such butchery. There was, however, a strange Captain called *la Perdrix* ["the Partridge"], who, I was told, became angry after hearing me say this, asserting that, if the prisoner had belonged to him, he would have driven me out of his Cabin. I am quite sure he would not have done so; for I would be careful not

to speak to the Algonquins, especially to those of the Island, as I speak to our Montagnés. I permitted myself to say that when Monsieur de Champlain went to help them in their wars, and saw one of them treat roughly a woman prisoner, or a child, he tried to make them understand that such barbarity was foreign to the kindness natural to man. An Island Savage, upon hearing this, said to him, "See what I shall do, now that thou speakest of it;" and he took by the foot a nursing child, and struck its head against a rock or a tree. If those proud spirits spoke thus to a Captain who had arms within reach, what would they do to a man who has nothing but his voice? I know full well that great discretion must be used with these Tribes, who will not submit to any yoke. I also know well that they have some reason, or rather excuse, for treating their enemies in this way; for, when the Hiroquois get hold of them, they are still more rabid.... To conclude this subject, the Captain whom I particularly chided,—for the prisoner belonged to him, having been given to him in exchange for a brother of his, who had been killed by the Hiroquois,—this captain, I say, having come to see me the next day, I explained to him that he ought to take all I had said to him as a mark of my affection for him; that I was heartily sorry that he, who professed to love the French, should permit to be done in their presence deeds that they hated like death; that our soldiers, upon returning to France, would say to our countrymen that these Peoples here are dogs, and that they have sprung from dogs;—and that I, who love them, would be annoyed at such statements. I told him that my friendship could not be doubted,—that he himself had said to Monsieur the Commandant that there was no one now that loved him but he and I; that I had prayed that great Captain to take him under his protection, in opposition to those who wished to kill him; that the Captain had made presents in his behalf, to settle their quarrels; that he was well aware that I had helped him in his time of need. I reminded him that he had always been assisted by the French; that he wished to spend the winter in Kebec, where I expected to be, near the great Captain of all the French Captains who are in their country; that this Captain is a gentle and humane man; that he is not fond of blood nor of carnage, unless in the fury of war. "We sometimes grant you what you ask of us; grant us also what we ask of you, so that we may come to be, little by little, only one and the same People." He admitted that I was right, and that he would always love his friend Monsieur our Governor,—begging me to succor him in his need, which would become greater and greater as age interdicted him from war and the chase.

On the fourteenth of the same month of August, the Savages came in a body to see Monsieur the Commandant, to present to him the young Hiroquois woman. The one who had captured her, seeing that all were seated on one side or the other, arose and harangued in this fashion: "Listen, Frenchmen, I am going to chide you, for what else could be done by a great beast like me, who has the boldness to speak in the presence of Captains? If I were Captain, I would have the right to speak; I am only a dog, yet I must speak, and have a friendly quarrel with you. Our Fathers and our old Captains loved each other;

they are dead now; we love each other, both French and Savages; we love each other, yes, we love each other; therefore it would have been very fitting to see some of your young men with us in the war; but as that failed us, we have done as well as we could. Here is a young female prisoner whom we present to you, to take the place of one of the three Frenchmen who was killed quite near here, some time ago. I still see the deep red blood that accuses the cruelty of our enemies and of yours; this present will conceal a part of it; it is a little thing, but it is all we have, the rest having been killed; if we had been helped, we would have done more, but we were deserted on all sides.” This was about the substance of his discourse, which was finished with the exclamation, hô, hô, hô, which all his companions drew from the pit of their stomachs. This done, they presented the unfortunate young woman, who appeared this time very sad, and, lowering her eyes, seemed to me to shed some tears. She was asked, however, if she was not glad to be given to so gallant a Captain, who would be very fond of her, and who would place her with his Sister. She showed that she was well satisfied at this; but she was greatly cheered afterward when they told her that the French were very honorable, and that they would do her no harm; that in crossing over to France she would be accompanied by some girls of this country; she smiled gratefully at this news, which was very agreeable to her. Two days later, I had a Savage tell her that if any person, among so many as she would encounter in the fleet which was going to France, tried to offer her any insults, she should inform the Captain, Monsieur the commandant, or else one of my Brothers who was going across. She replied that she was now of their Nation; that she did not fear they would do her any harm; that, if she were commanded to marry, she would obey; but that no one, except he to whom she had been given, should approach her. I begged the Gentlemen of the Company, to whom she was to be presented, to lodge her with the Hospital Nuns who were coming over to New France, to learn in their house to know God and to nurse the sick, so that they might bring her with them, if she succeeded. But let us return to our orator. Monsieur the Commandant made known to him that he would cherish this present for the sake of the hand of his friends, whence it proceeded, and not for the Country from which it had come, which he hated like death; that, besides, they themselves could see clearly that if the French had followed them they would have deserted them, when the quarrels arose among themselves; and that, if we ever did go to war, we would go strong and powerful, and not return until we had destroyed entire villages. They received this answer with pleasure, begging that, as a sign of mutual rejoicing and love, some of our young people should dance to the sound of a hurdy-gurdy, that a little Frenchman held. This was granted them, to their great satisfaction.

On the fifteenth of the same month, the day dedicated to the glorious Assumption of the holy Virgin, some Canoes which were going down to Kébec,—for all this took place at the three Rivers,—brought the prisoner, to put him to death there. I will mention further on the particulars of his death, if they send them to me, or if I hear them, since I go down there soon; for I am writing now, from day to day, what I think deserves a stroke of the pen.

JR, 9:295 [**Torture of an Iroquois prisoner.*]

I remember saying above that, on the fifteenth of this month [August, 1636], the Hiroquois prisoner was brought down to Kebec, to be put to death there by the Savages. Here are the details of his torture as related to me by Father de Quen. As soon, said he, as this poor victim stepped ashore, the women seized him and led him to their Cabins; there he was made to dance. Meanwhile a Fury appeared, armed with a whip of knotted cords, with which she rained blows upon him around his arms, with as much rage as she had strength; another struck him upon the chest, the stomach, and the belly, with a great stone; and a third gashed his shoulders with a knife and made the blood flow in streams. A little while afterwards a Savage, as dry and fleshless as a skeleton, having been sick for several months, regained his strength at the sight of this wretch, jumped upon his neck, caught him by the ear like a dog, greedily bit it off, and placed it in his mouth; the prisoner took it without being disconcerted, chewed it a while, and, not being able to swallow it, spit it into the fire. See what a reception they gave him. After this, he was granted a little respite, and was regaled with the best food there was in the Cabin. And, what seems incredible, this man seemed to be as greatly pleased as if he had received news of his liberty. Toward evening they dragged him, bound with ropes, from Cabin to Cabin, while an infuriated woman whipped him to the music of a song. It is said that they perpetrated another act of cruelty upon him which would make this paper blush. When Monsieur the Governor was informed of all this, he made known to them that he was dissatisfied with these outrages, and that they should go somewhere else, not to wound the eyes of our French people by these acts of barbarity, to our eyes intolerable. This caused them to restrain their mad rage; they then crossed over the great river and strangled their victim, whom they roasted at the fire and then gave to the dogs, throwing the bones into the river. To such a point can the rage and fury of souls which know not God attain. The men or women who indulge most fiercely in these acts of cruelty are those whose fathers or husbands or nearest relatives have been treated with equal fury in, the country of their enemies; it is the recollection of the death of their kindred that fills their hearts with this madness.

Father Jean de Brebeuf. 1636. Relation of what occurred among the Hurons in the year 1636.**JR, 10:49** [**Rumors of war in Huronia and French military advice.*]

We have had this year two alarms, which resulted, thank God, in nothing worse than the fear aroused by the apprehension of enemies. The first, for which there were some grounds, occurred last Summer and lasted the whole month of June. It is one of the most fitting times for such fear, inasmuch as then the Country is stripped of the men, who have gone trading, some one way, some another. The other was this Winter, and turned out to be false; in both cases the alarm was quite often given very unexpectedly, sometimes by

day, sometimes by night; the women and children began packing up their baggage on the report of the criers, who are our spies here. Flight is to some extent tolerable in Summer, for one can escape to an Island or hide in the obscurity of some dense forest; but in Winter, when ice serves as a bridge to enable the enemy to search the Islands, and when the fall of the leaves has laid bare the forest recesses, you do not know where to hide; besides, the tracks on the snow are immediately discovered; and it is, moreover, extremely cold in Winter to sleep long at the sign of the Moon. There are some villages tolerably well fortified, where one might remain and await siege and assault; those who can, withdraw there; the others take to flight, which is most commonly done; for the small number of men, the lack of arms, the multitude of enemies, cause them to dread the weakness of their forts. Only a few old people, who are not able to go away, quietly await death in their Cabins. That is our usual condition. This Winter, we were on the point of fleeing; but where could we conceal our few belongings? for the Hurons are as fond of them as are the Iroquois. In other ways, however, these fears have not been useless, for besides the prayers and vows we made to turn aside the scourge, the pains each one took to prepare himself for death or slavery, and the opportunity we had to impress upon the Savages the help they might expect from God,—we were able to win for ourselves the regard and esteem of the People, and to make ourselves useful to them, as well by giving them iron arrow-heads as by arranging to assist them in their forts, according to our power. In fact, we had four of our Frenchmen furnished with good arquebuses, who were ready to hasten to the first village where an attack should be made; and I had resolved to accompany them, to assist them in spiritual matters, and to take advantage of any other occasions which might present themselves to advance the glory of God. From this I leave you to imagine whether or not we need help from on high; and may those who live in comfort and safety obtain it for us by their prayers, which we humbly ask from them.

The Hurons have remained very friendly to us, on account of the promptitude we showed in assisting them. We have told them also that henceforth they should make their forts square, and arrange their stakes in straight lines; and that, by means of four little towers at the four corners, four Frenchmen might easily with their arquebuses or muskets defend a whole village. They are greatly delighted with this advice, and have already begun to practice it at la Rochelle, where they eagerly desire to have some of our Fathers. God employs all means to give an entrance to those who bear the Gospel.

JR, 10:59 [*Huron war rituals and beliefs.]

On the Eclipse of the Moon, of August twenty-seventh [*1635], our Barbarians expected a great defeat of their men, because it appeared over their enemies' Country, which is on their Southeast; for if it appears in the East, it is on their account that the Moon is sick, or has experienced some displeasure; they even invited us, perhaps in jest, to shoot at the Sky, to deliver it from dan-

ger, assuring us that it was their custom to discharge several arrows for this purpose. Indeed, they all cry out as loudly as they can on such occasions, and make imprecations against their enemies, saying, "May such and such a Nation perish." I was at that time in another village, where was living the famous Sorcerer of whom I have already spoken, *Tehorenhaegnon*; he made a feast, I was told, to turn aside the unluckiness of this Eclipse.

JR, 10:61 [**Huron defeat reported.*]

On the twentieth of September [*1635], the father of Louys de sainte Foy came to visit us in our Cabin, and told us of his desire that he and all his family should be baptized,—urged, he said, among other motives, by the fact that, in their defeat by the Iroquois, God had extraordinarily preserved his life.

JR, 10:73 [**Iroquois massacre causes the Algonquin Island Nation to seek an alliance with the Hurons.*]

On the twenty-eighth of March [*1636], François Marguerie, who had gone to winter with the Savages of the Island, brought four of them to us....

The occasion of the coming of these Island Savages to the country of the Hurons was the death of twenty-three persons whom the Iroquois had massacred, notwithstanding the peace. This perfidy had excited a strong desire for vengeance. They had collected some twenty-three collars of Porcelain, to rouse the Hurons and the Algonquins to take up arms and lend them assistance, promising that our French would be of the party, as against the common enemy; but neither the Hurons nor the Algonquins have been willing to listen to them, and have refused their presents. The Bissiriniens likewise have refused to listen to them, on account of the extortion practiced on them by the Island Savages in going down for trade. As to the Hurons, they have covered their refusal with the apprehension they have of an army with which they were lately threatened. But the real cause was in fact that the Nation of the Bear, which constitutes the half of the Hurons, was piqued because the Island Savages did not invite them as well as the others,—offering them no presents, and on the contrary forbidding that they should be told of the matter.

Meanwhile, on the other hand, we are afraid that these are all stratagems of Satan to hinder the conversion of these Peoples; for the men of the Isle, seeing themselves refused, have returned very much discontented at the Hurons as well as at the Bissiriniens, and have threatened that they would let neither of them pass down to the French.

Le Borgne [the One-eyed] of the Isle said to the Hurons, in our presence, in order to recommend the subject of his Embassy, that his body was hatchets; he meant that the preservation of his person and of his Nation was the preservation of the hatchets, the kettles, and all the trade of the French, for the Hurons. They even say, whether true or false, that he has boasted that he is master of the French, and that he would lead us back to Kébec and make us all recross the sea. I am telling what is said, and the boasts attributed to him,

for we did not hear them; on the contrary, they went away, so far as we are concerned, with every appearance of satisfaction and contentment.

They had, in fact, a long and friendly talk with us, with the object in view of making us entirely leave the Country of the Hurons or at least the Nation of the Bear, as the most wicked of all the tribes, since it had murdered Estienne Bruslé and good Father Nicolas, the Recolet, with his companion; and had some time before, for a blow, slain eight of their men. To me in particular, in the way of flattery and praise, they said that, rather than risk my life among a Nation so perfidious, they would advise me to go down to Kébec, at least after having passed another year here to learn the language perfectly; and that I would be a great Captain, and the only one who could speak in their councils. Thus these brave counsellors gave us advice, with many and long speeches, to show the friendship they had always had for the French above all Nations. We replied that we had not come into this Country to act as interpreters, nor in the hope of getting riches, nor yet in the hope of becoming one day great Captains; but that we had left behind our parents, our means, and all our possessions, and had crossed the sea in order to come to teach them the way of salvation, at the peril of our lives; that, for the rest, we were trying and would try so to comport ourselves that other Nations would have more reason to love us than to do us harm.

JR, 10:83 [**A Huron war party is ambushed.*]

On the thirteenth of the same month [*June 1636], we had news of a troop of Hurons who had gone to war, and who were encamped at the distance of a musket-shot from the last village, a day's journey from us; after having passed two nights in singing and eating, they were overtaken with so profound a sleep, that the enemy, coming suddenly upon them, cleft open the heads of a dozen without resistance, the rest escaping by flight.

JR, 10:95 [**An Iroquois attack and inadequate Huron response.*]

I have only to mention, in addition, the danger there is from our enemies; it is enough to say that, on the thirteenth of this month of June, they killed twelve of our Hurons near the village of Contarrea, which is only a day's journey from us; that a short time before, at four leagues from our village, some Iroquois were discovered in the fields in ambuscade, only waiting to strike a blow at the expense of the life of some passer-by. This Nation is very timid,—they take no precautions against surprise, they are not careful to prepare arms or to inclose their villages with palisades; their usual recourse, especially when the enemy is powerful, is flight. Amid these alarms, which affect the whole Country, I leave you to imagine if we have any grounds for a feeling of safety.

JR, 10:215 [**Huron punishment for murder, and the causes of wars.*]

They punish murderers, thieves, traitors, and Sorcerers; and, in regard to murderers, although they do not preserve the severity of their ancestors

towards them, nevertheless the little disorder there is among them in this respect makes me conclude that their procedure is scarcely less efficacious than is the punishment of death elsewhere; for the relatives of the deceased pursue not only him who has committed the murder, but address themselves to the whole Village, which must give satisfaction for it, and furnish, as soon as possible, for this purpose as many as sixty presents, the least of which must be of the value of a new Beaver robe. The Captain presents them in person, and makes a long harangue at each present that he offers, so that entire days sometimes pass in this ceremony. There are two sorts of presents; some, like the first nine, which they call *andaonhaan*, are put into the hands of the relatives to make peace, and to take away from their hearts all bitterness and desire for vengeance that they might have against the person of the murderer. The others are put on a pole, which is raised above the head of the murderer, and are called *Andaerraeahan*, that is to say, "what is hung upon a pole." Now each of these presents has its particular name.... Yet, as if the blow had rebounded on their Native Land, and as if it had received the greater wounds, he adds the third present, saying, *condayee onsahondechari*, "This is to restore the Country;" *condayee onsahondwaronti etotonhwentsiai*, "This is to put a stone upon the opening and the division of the ground that was made by this murder." ... They claim by this present to reunite all hearts and wills, and even entire Villages, which have become estranged. For it is not here as it is in France and elsewhere, where the public and a whole city do not generally espouse the quarrel of an individual. Here you cannot insult any one of them without the whole Country resenting it, and taking up the quarrel against you, and even against an entire Village. Hence arise wars; and it is a more than sufficient reason for taking arms against some Village if it refuse to make satisfaction by the presents ordained for him who may have killed one of your friends.

JR, 10:223 [**The causes of war among the Hurons and the treatment of captives taken in war.*]

Even in wars, where confusion often reigns, they do not fail to keep some order. They never undertake them without reason; and the commonest reason for their taking arms is when some Nation refuses to give satisfaction for the death of some one, and to furnish the presents required by the agreements made between them; they take this refusal as an act of hostility, and the whole country espouses the quarrel; in particular, the relatives of the dead man consider themselves obliged in honor to resent it, and raise a force to attack them. I am not speaking of the leadership they display in their wars, and of their military discipline; that comes better from Monsieur de Champlain, who is personally acquainted with it, having held command among them. Moreover, he has spoken of it fully and very pertinently, as of everything which concerns the manners of these barbarous Nations. I will only say that, if God gives them the grace to embrace the Faith, I shall find certain matters in some of their procedures to reform; for, in the first place, there are some who raise a band of

resolute young braves for the purpose, it seems, of avenging a private quarrel and the death of a friend, rather than for the honor and preservation of the Fatherland,—and then, when they seize some of their enemies, they treat them with all the cruelty they can devise. Five or six days will sometimes pass in assuaging their wrath, and in burning them at a slow fire; and they are not satisfied with seeing their skins entirely roasted,—they open the legs, the thighs, the arms, and the most fleshy parts, and thrust therein glowing brands, or red-hot hatchets. Sometimes in the midst of these torments they compel them to sing; and those who have the courage do it, and hurl forth a thousand imprecations against those who torment them; on the day of their death they must even outdo this, if they have strength; and sometimes the kettle in which they are to be boiled will be on the fire, while these poor wretches are still singing as loudly as they can. This inhumanity is altogether intolerable; and so many do not go willingly to these baleful feasts. After having at last brained a victim, if he was a brave man, they tear out his heart, roast it on the coals, and distribute it in pieces to the young men; they think that this renders them courageous. Others make an incision in the upper part of their necks and cause some of his blood to run into it,—which has, they say, this virtue, that since they have mingled his blood with their own they can never be surprised by the enemy, and have always knowledge of their approach, however secret it may be. They put him in the kettle piece by piece; and although at other feasts the head,—whether of a Bear, or a Dog, or a Deer, or a large fish,—is the Captain's share, in this case the head is given to the lowest person in the company; indeed some taste of this part, or of all the rest of the body, only with great horror. There are some who eat it with pleasure; I have seen Savages in our Cabin speak with gusto of the flesh of an Iroquois, and praise its good qualities in the same terms as they would praise the flesh of a Deer or a Moose. This is certainly very cruel; but we hope, with the assistance of Heaven, that the knowledge of the true God will entirely banish from this Country such barbarity. Moreover, for the security of the Country, they surround the principal Villages with a strong palisade of stakes, in order to sustain a siege. They maintain pensioners in the neutral Nations, and even among their enemies, by means of whom they are secretly warned of all their plots; they are, indeed, so well advised and so circumspect on this point that, if there be some People with whom they have not entirely broken, they give them, in truth, the liberty of going and coming in the Country,—but, nevertheless, for greater assurance, they assign to them special Cabins, to which they must retire; if they found them elsewhere, they would do them grievous harm.

JR, 10:229 [**The command structure of the Hurons.*]

As regards the authority of commanding, here is what I have observed. All the affairs of the Hurons are included under two heads: The first are, as it were, affairs of State,—whatever may concern either citizens or Strangers, the public or the individuals of the Village; as, for example, feasts, dances, games,

crosse matches, and funeral ceremonies. The second are affairs of war. Now there are as many sorts of Captains as of affairs. In the large Villages there will be sometimes several Captains, both of administration and of war, who divide among them the families of the Village as into so many Captaincies. Occasionally, too, there are even Captains to whom these matters of government are referred on account of their intellectual superiority, popularity, wealth, or other qualities which render them influential in the country. There are none who, by virtue of their election, are of higher rank than others. Those hold the first rank who have acquired it by intellectual preëminence, eloquence, free expenditure, courage, and wise conduct. Consequently, the affairs of the Village are referred principally to that one of the Chiefs who has these qualifications; and the same is true with regard to the affairs of the whole Country, in which the men of greatest ability are the leading Captains, and usually there is one only who bears the burden of all; it is in his name Treaties of Peace are made with foreign Peoples; the Country even bears his name,—and now, for example, when one speaks of *Anenkhiondic* in the Councils of Foreigners, the Nation of the Bear is meant. Formerly only worthy men were Captains, and so they were called *Enondecha*, the same name by which they call the Country, Nation, district,—as if a good Chief and the Country were one and the same thing. But today they do not pay so much attention to the selection of their Captains; and so they no longer give them that name, although they still call them *atiwarontas*, *atiwanens*, *ondakhienhai*, “big stones, the elders, the stay-at-homes.” However, those still hold, as I have said, the first rank as well in the special affairs of the Villages as of the whole Country, who are most highly esteemed and intellectually preëminent. Their relatives are like so many Lieutenants and Councilors.

JR, 10:235 [**War preparations made by Aenons, a Huron captain.*]

But, in proof of what I have just said of the intelligence of our Captains, I must conclude this Chapter with a speech, made to me, this Spring, by a Captain named Aenons. He was trying to persuade us to transfer our Cabin to his Village. For this we have to praise God, that he gives us the favor to be loved and sought after throughout the Country; there is a strife as to who will have us in his Village. The *Arendoronnon* have often invited us; the *Attignenonghac*, and the people of the Village of *Ossossané*, which we call la Rochelle, have pressed us still more earnestly; but, if we have regard to importunities, assuredly this Chief will prevail. For more than six months he has given us no rest; whatever Public affair he may relate to us, he never fails to draw expressly or tacitly this conclusion; but this Spring, more than ever, he has employed all his Rhetoric to secure our promise, and gain our full consent. Going then one day to *Wenrio* to visit one of our Christians sick unto death, I met by the way a Savage who was coming with a message for me from Aenons. I went to see the latter after having attended to our sick man, and he took me to one side. He made to me this speech, but I shall do him wrong to

put it here, for I shall not give it the grace it had in the mouth of this Chief; no matter, the reader will see his ideas, which I have set down, as I think, almost in their order. See how he began.

“*Echon*, I have sent for you to learn your final decision. I would not have given you the trouble to come here, had I not been afraid that I should not find at your house the opportunity of speaking to you. Your Cabin is always full of so many people visiting you, that it is almost impossible to say anything to you in private; and then, now that we are on the point of assembling to deliberate regarding the establishment of a new Village, this interview might have aroused the suspicions of those who wish to keep you.

“The French have always been attached to me, and have loved me; I have always assisted them in every way I could, and they have not found in all this land a better friend than I. This has not been without incurring the envy of others throughout the Country, who have therefore for a long time regarded me with an evil eye, and have done all they could to prejudice you against me....All these speeches have not prevented my innocence from always being above suspicion; whatever may be said, I shall, all my life, love and serve the French, in every way I can.

“*Echon*, we thought that your Village ought to follow ours, and join itself to ours, now that we are on the point of establishing another one elsewhere, and it is not your fault, since the presents you made on this account, last year, were only too well calculated to bring them to this resolution. Nevertheless, as far as we can see, it is not necessary to say anything more regarding this,—it is a matter quite aside; and lately when I was going to your house to learn your decision, I lost courage: you answered me so coldly that I had almost resolved not to speak to you any more about it.

“Yet the thing is of such importance, as well for your interests as for ours, that I have judged it fitting to speak my feelings about it once more. If you do not answer me clearly to-day, I shall never more open my lips to you about it. Five of our Villages meet to-morrow, to settle the plan we have of uniting and making only one of them. We have reason to take this resolution, since, if we are at peace this year, we are certain next Spring to have the enemy on our hands. We are only too well informed about them; in the position in which we are now, we should be in trouble, at least for our wives and our children, if necessity should compel us to take arms; whereas if we are in one good Village, well protected by stakes, our youth will have occasion to show their courage, and we will place our wives and children in safety. On this account the whole Country turns its eyes upon you; we shall esteem ourselves quite beyond fear, if we have you with us; you have firearms, the mere report of which is capable of inspiring dread in the enemy, and putting him to flight.

“Moreover, these are also your own interests; see in what trouble you are at the least report of war; and then, if any harm is done to you, to whom will you have recourse, living in that petty Hamlet where you are? You have no Captain there who will take you under his protection, and cause right to be

done you; there is no one to keep the young men within bounds; if corn is lacking to you, who will give orders to provide you with it? For your Village is not capable of furnishing you with a sufficiency of it, and how much trouble it would be to go yourselves in search of it elsewhere....” That is the harangue of this Captain; and, in my opinion, it would, if the subject moved him, pass in the judgment of many for one of those of Titus Livius; it seemed to me very persuasive.

JR, 10:261 [**A Huron war debate.*]

One day I saw a debate for precedence between two war Captains: An Old Man who espoused the side of one, said that he was on the edge of the grave, and that perhaps on the morrow his body would be placed in the Cemetery; but yet he would say frankly what he believed to be justice, not for any interest he had in the matter, but from love of truth: which he did with ardor, though seasoned with discretion. Then another Old Man, beginning to speak, replied to him and said, very properly: “Do not speak now of those things, this is no time for them; see the enemy, who is going to attack us; the question is one of arming ourselves and fortifying with one mind our palisades, and not of disputing about rank.”

JR, 10:271 [**Huron funeral ritual for those killed in war.*]

[*A]s for those killed in war, they inter them, and the relatives make presents to their patrons, if they had any, which is rather common in this Country, in order to encourage them to raise a force of soldiers, and avenge the death of the deceased.

Father Paul le Jeune. 1638. Relation of What Occurred in New France in the Year 1637.

JR, 11:85 [**An ailing Montagnais attacks an Iroquois.*]

On the same day we also baptized an adult Savage, about forty-five years old, named in his own language *Chibanagouch*. Sieur Olivier was his godfather also, and gave him the name Paul. He was loved by those of his nation, not only because he was one of the principal persons among them, but because he was a good warrior and a bold man. He fell sick while on his return from Acadia; and, as I saw him wasting away every day, I approached him several times to speak to him about God, but in vain; his heart, filled with pride, could not make room for the truth; he hated his enemies with rage and fury. Having seen an Iroquois, who had been brought to Kebec, enter his cabin, he raised himself, sick as he was, threw himself upon this poor man as a mad dog falls upon some other animal, and savagely bit off his ear, working himself into so brutal a fury as to cause horror in those who saw him. This madness is far removed from the gentleness of Jesus Christ; but God has more goodness than the heart of man has malice. This wretch, finally seeing

that he would have to depart this life, opens his eyes, and comes to live near Kebec to be instructed.

JR, 11:215 [**Algonquin/Montagnais war ritual and the Christian influence.*]

Some Savages had arrived from Tadoussac on their way to war; Father de Quen and I visited them in their cabin, and, after some conversation, they told us that we should go to see the preparations for a great feast which were being made in a place that they named to us. But they advised us not to remain there long, "Because," said they, "as it is a war feast, the women will serve there entirely naked." Then we went to the cabin they had indicated to us, and, in conversation with the master of the feast, we asked him if he should observe this wicked ceremony. At first, he seemed disposed to insist upon observing it. But, recalling to his memory what we had told him during the winter about such nonsense, and representing to him the anger and Justice of him who has made all, he said, "Go away; I promise you it shall not be done." In fact, neither in their feasts, nor at their departure, did they observe this filthy custom....

The very man whom we had persuaded to give up that so brutal custom, said to me, "Tell us of our war, and pray God to assist us; teach us how we must behave." We told them that they must offer this prayer: "Thou who hast made all, help us; thou commandest us to love one another, we would love the hiroquois, our enemies, but they are wicked; so act that they may become good, or else aid us to kill them. We have no intention to kill them except for this reason, that they are wicked, and that they have violated the peace we had made with them; help us, and make us return safe and sound to our own country; we desire to believe in thee, for thou art true, and to obey thee, for thou art good; help us that we may believe and that we may obey." They thought this prayer so good, that one of the Savages assured me that they were going away with the hope of being aided by God; and that they particularly enjoyed these words, "we have no intention to kill the hiroquois, except for this reason, that they are bad, and have violated the peace." "This," said they, "is what he who has made all will approve." I had also told them to offer some prayers before departing; they did not do this at Kebec, but Father Buteux writes me from the three Rivers that, before proceeding further, some of them asked to enter the Chapel, there to request help from God. I know well that what they did was only based upon their fears that some misfortune might befall them, but *initium sapientiae est timor Domini*. Moreover, I have learned that when they were nearing the enemy's country, they assumed an intolerable arrogance, indulging in a thousand boasts, and promising themselves wonders. God greatly humiliated them, for their Captains and some others were put to death. I may speak of this in my journal.

JR, 12:27 [**Algonquin/Montagnais war customs.*]

When the Savages have been defeated in war, some one of their number is sent on ahead as a Herald, who cries out in a loud voice as soon as he per-

ceives the Cabins, uttering the names of those who have been captured or killed. The daughters and wives, hearing their relatives named, spread their hair over their faces, burst into tears, and paint themselves black.

When they return from war, they hang to a tree, at the spot where they begin to turn back to retire into their own country, as many little sticks as there were soldiers, perhaps to let their enemies know, if they pass by those places, how many men there were, and how far they went, in order to intimidate them. I know no other reason for it.

In their wars, while fighting, they shout every time one of their enemies is struck, if they perceive it. I am inclined to think this is to cheer themselves and increase their own courage.

JR, 12:85 [**Pestilence among the Hurons causes dissension between them and the French.*]

As the contagion caused a great many Hurons to die, these people, not recognizing therein the justice of God, who takes vengeance for their crimes, imagined that the French were the cause of their death. A certain Algonquin, a very wicked man, reported to them last year that the late Monsieur de Champlain, of blessed memory, had said to a Montagnez Captain, shortly before rendering up his soul, that he would take away with him the whole country of the Hurons. It is customary for Barbarian Captains to wish that others may bear them company at their departure, going so far that sometimes they send one to kill another Captain to go with them into the other world....

Some others attributed the cause of their epidemic to our vengeance, saying that we only went up to their country in order to sacrifice every one of their bodies to the soul of a certain Estienne Bruslé, whom they had wickedly assassinated. All things appear yellow to the yellow eyes of the jaundiced; people who are being consumed by the fierce flame of a vengeance aroused against those who have done them harm, believe that all of us are heated and burned by the same fire.

In short, they reasoned upon their sickness in still another way. They said that our French had bewitched a cloak or a robe, and had buried it at the three Rivers, but in such a place that they suspected, and rightly, that the Hurons, as they were very great thieves, would take it away, which they did. Having then carried it to their own country, they bore thither at the same time the pestilence and contagion.

These nations persuade themselves that they die almost entirely through charms; and hence, measuring us by the same standard, they think and believe we are greater sorcerers than they themselves. Upon the strength of these reports, as far removed from the truth as they are adapted to the minds of the Savages and in harmony with their customs, these barbarians have made attempts upon the lives of our Fathers, even going so far as to talk in open council of slaying them; but God is more powerful than men and all the Demons. His goodness raised up for us as a protector a Barbarian against

Barbarians, even a Captain named *Taratouan*, whose nephew we have in the Seminary. On hearing this talk he drew out a long string of porcelain, and threw it down in the midst of the assembly, saying, "There is something to close your mouths and stop your talking." It is a custom of the country to act ordinarily only through presents, so this blow was averted. I do not know whether this was known to our Fathers among the Hurons, but the nephew of this brave Captain related it to us at the three Rivers. I will soon speak of his deplorable capture. Another time, in the very village where our Fathers lived, they talked about sending them back down here, or of killing them. Their Captain, named *Aënon*, began to speak, and harangued in such a way that they came and begged the Fathers not to write any of these evil thoughts to us, lest they should be badly treated in the places where our French are. This Captain, is one of those who are supposed to have killed the wretched Bruslé, whose wounds are still bleeding. But he so entirely atoned for this fault by the affection which he afterwards displayed towards the French, that our Lord graciously allowed him to come and die as a Christian in our arms. Now judge whether these circumstances were favorable to the peopling of a Seminary; for, if they spoke in public of ruining us, I leave you to imagine what calumnies the more insolent would spit forth against us. Nothing was heard but insults, but threats, so that most of the good people among them feared that some of us would be massacred; and consequently they might have persuaded themselves that we would kill their children down here, if they sent them to us, according to the wicked custom of all these peoples, who avenge themselves upon the first comer for wrongs they have received from some individual of another nation.

JR, 12:93 [**More French-Huron dissension; an Iroquois attack; a Huron Seminarian escapes from the Iroquois.*]

There remained three [**Huron*] Seminarists—one called *Teouatirhon*, another *Arithoua*, and the third *Aiacidace*. Let us say a few words about their adventure. We had sent them to the three Rivers, at the beginning of Summer, to see their relatives, who were expected at the coming of the Hurons. When a band of them arrived, Father Buteux sent one of them, named *Andehoua*, to bring me from Kebec. In the meanwhile there arrived an uncle of *Teouatirhon*, a War Captain, and a rather inconsiderate man. The latter told his nephew that, when he was at the Island, an Algonquin had told him that the Hurons had killed two Frenchmen. At this news this poor young man and his companion prepared for flight; for they were given to understand by this Captain that they would be made to atone for the death of the Frenchmen. At first they tried to get permission to depart; but, as they had been given publicly, it was not desirable to receive them secretly—at least this was the case with the younger one named *Aiandace*, whose parents had not yet come down. As for *Teouatirhon*, since his relative asked for him, he was allowed to go. It would take too long if I should try to explain all the details of this affair. Since the secrets of the

Savages are public talk, the report which was being circulated about the death of two Frenchmen became known, and this Huron Captain was detained; he promised to remain a few days, but when night came he wanted to take flight with his nephew and with the other Seminarist, who threw himself down from a bastion of the fort, in order to escape. Our French people, their weapons in their hands, rushed forward and took this Captain prisoner, seeing he had violated his parole, and was trying to take away our Hurons. At this point Monsieur the Governor arrived at the three Rivers. I was with him, bringing our third Seminarist. Scarcely had we landed when some Huron canoes appeared, which dispelled these false rumors and assured us that the French were all well in their country, and that we would soon see some of them coming down. Now affairs assume quite another aspect,—the Seminary that we thought dissolved, is established, the Captain is covered with confusion, each is glad to have learned the truth. Nevertheless, as our Seminarist, *Teouatirhon*, persevered in his desire to return and visit his parents, especially his mother, who is quite old, to do what he could to make her comfortable in the general malady; we gave him leave to do so—and so much the more willingly as he promised us to go and see Father de Brebeuf, in order to continue the good instruction he had begun to receive in the Seminary. And the more to constrain him to keep this good resolution, Father Paul Ragueneau, whom I was sending to the Hurons, went with him in the same canoe. As they departed,—both very happy, the one because he was going to sacrifice himself to the cross of Jesus Christ for his glory, the other because he was returning to his own land,—lo, they encountered on the way *Taratouan*, a brave Captain who was going down to the French. He, upon seeing our *Teouatirhon*, his nephew, chided him, saying, “How now, my nephew, are you thus leaving the French, who have treated you so well?” This poor boy had nothing to say, except to assert that he was ready to return whence he had come. “Come, then,” responded his uncle, “embark in one of the canoes which are following me, for I wish myself to take you back.” He obeyed, without a word; took leave of Father Ragueneau, who continued on his way with the other Hurons who were conducting him, and placed himself in company with *Taratouan*, to return to us. As they were coming slowly into the great lake of St. Pierre, which is not far from our Settlement, they fell into an ambuscade of the Hiroquois, their enemies and ours. *Taratouan*, as he was in the lead, was the first one surrounded. These half-demons emerge, as it were from their hell, and fall with loud cries upon this brave man, who finds himself captured before he is aware of the enemy. As soon as the news was brought to us that *Taratouan* and *Teouatiron*, our Seminarist, were prisoners, we all thought that Father Ragueneau was of the band; but a few Hurons, who had escaped this danger, told us how, a little while before, *Teouatirhon* had left him to come down here with his uncle. I forgot to say that our Fathers who were in the residence of the Conception, at the three Rivers, hearing the reports which I have mentioned above of the massacre of two Frenchmen among the Hurons, and aware that *Teouatirhon's*

efforts to get away would ruin the Seminary, addressed themselves to God through the mediation of our Father, St. Ignace, offering a novena of sacrifices in his honor, that he might be pleased to direct this affair to the glory of our sovereign Master. They prayed at the Altar, and this grand Patriarch operated in heaven, but almost against our expectations, for we all thought this Seminarist would never return. At first we supposed he would go to ruin in his country, notwithstanding all his good resolutions, for the temptations there are too importunate. Then, having heard that he had fallen into the hands of the Hiroquois, we thought of course he would be burned and eaten by those devouring wolves. While these thoughts were afflicting our hearts, and an alarming report was smiting our ears, that the enemy formed a body of five hundred men, lo, there appears upon the river an Hiroquois canoe, in which is seen a single man, armed only with a long pole. No one knew what to think of it. The day before, another one had been seen, hovering before our eyes as if to brave us, knowing well that we were only a few persons in our fort. So when this canoe was seen approaching, guided by a single man, certain ones said it was some fugitive prisoner; others imagined that it was an Hiroquois who came to divert our attention, while the main body of their men would come and surprise us from within the woods. Some of the Savages went forward to reconnoitre; having perceived that it was a canoe, neither of the Hurons nor of the Montagnez, but of the Hiroquois, they fled as rapidly as they could, crying, "Hiroquois, Hiroquois, Hiroquois! the enemy, the enemy!" The cannoneer, seeing this man within cannon-range, wished to fire, but Monsieur the Governor stopped him. We were all upon a platform, watching this poor boy, who, having landed, turned toward us. Then we saw plainly that it was some poor Huron escaped from the claws of those tigers. "Would to our Lord," (we said) "that this were our poor Seminarist *Teouatirhon*." Scarcely had we uttered the words when Monsieur our Governor exclaimed, "It is he indeed; I know him by his walk and his figure." It was really he, coming to throw himself again into our arms as into a port of safety. He was as naked as one's hand, except for a ragged clout which covered what the eyes cannot behold without shame. When he reached us, he related how, having seen his uncle *Taratouan* attacked by a strong force, he and his companions had striven to escape by strong thrusts of the paddles. "We were pursued," said he, "by several Hiroquois canoes; but, having a little start of them, we were the first to land on the Southern shore; and, abandoning our canoe and all our baggage, even our robes, so as to be less encumbered, we rushed into the woods, each taking a different direction. The enemy followed us on the run; night concealed us and gave us our lives; for when these robbers lost sight of us, they also lost hope of capturing us. Having remained in hiding one day, I stealthily crossed over towards the great river in the direction of the three Rivers. As I approached its banks I perceived an Hiroquois canoe; I stood there horrified, imagining that I had again fallen into the clutches of those ferocious beasts. I listened, to hear some noise. At last, perceiving that all was silent, I

approached noiselessly: I looked all around, and, seeing no one, I took a pole and sprang into the canoe, to escape to the place I had abandoned." We received him gladly, as a poor wandering sheep. Father Daniel asked him if he had not commended himself to God in his calamity. "Ah," said he, "how heartily I prayed to him." This adventure of this poor young Huron was considered so remarkable that some, seeing that he had escaped, believed that he had become a spy, and that the Hiroquois had saved his life that he might come and betray us, or rather the people of his nation. But ah, the poor boy made the contrary very apparent by wishing to go posthaste to Kebec, to get there some rest and to have a wound attended to that he had received in his flight, for the nettles and thickets had lacerated his flesh while running through the woods.

When Father Daniel expressed to him his regret for the loss of his uncle *Taratouan*, who had not yet been instructed, he replied that he had imparted to him the chief articles of our belief as it had been taught to him at the Seminary. Besides, some days later, a fugitive Huron related that he had lain concealed in the rushes, motionless, whence he heard these butchers tormenting his poor captive comrades. "I heard," said he, "*Taratouan* singing as loudly and as gayly as if he were among his friends. As I was lying naked in the mud, hidden only by the rushes, and in a very cramped position, this poor Captain gave me so much courage, by his steadfastness and by the firmness of his voice, that more than thrice I was tempted to rise and become his companion in his torments." This is truly a strange adventure; the young Seminarist will be severely chastised if he does not recognize the hand of God in this guidance. It is not the first time that his goodness has delivered him from the hands and teeth of his enemies. As he is already tall and daring, he desired to follow some Montagnez who were going to war this Spring; we forbade him, representing to him that he ought to be obedient, since even in his own country they did not think much of a young man who did not obey his Captain. If he had gone with them, it would have been to lose his life, as did the others, who were surprised, and part of whom were killed.

JR, 12:145 [**A sorcerer's prediction incites war panic.*]

On the 26th of February [*1637] the Savages, who were encamped only a quarter of a league from us, drew very near Kebec. One of their sorcerers had seen seven fires in his sleep, which were so many Hiroquois cabins; they were already this side of the three Rivers, in his opinion. Fear had taken so powerful a hold upon them that they encamped within a stone's throw of our house, asking me why we did not keep arms with us, to resist in case their enemies should appear. They saw Frenchmen encamped on all sides, and yet continued panic-stricken and terrified. *Fugit impius nemine persequente*. These are the devil's doings, who disquiets them by bringing before their minds the horrible torments which their enemies make them suffer when they capture them....

On the first day of March...toward evening, a troop of little Savages, boys and girls, came rushing into our house to spend the night there; these poor

children trembled from fear of their enemies, the Hiroquois. We told them that we would receive the boys, but that girls did not sleep in our houses; these poor little Savage girls were loth to depart, so we finally decided to ask Monsieur Gand to receive them, which he did willingly, having them sleep near a good fire. They did the same thing at other times; and we always took the boys, and the girls withdrew to Monsieur Gand's room. In the morning we had them offer prayers to God, and sent them away well satisfied.

JR, 12:153 [**A Montagnais and Algonquin war party heads off to fight the Iroquois and is defeated.*]

On the 24th [*of April, 1637], as a Captain from Tadoussac was passing through Kebec on his way to war, he went to salute Monsieur the Governor, who gave him a few presents, and then sent him to us to learn something about our holy faith. This good man, already old, found our maxims very reasonable, and promised that he would come back and see us. Two days later he came to tell us that he was about to depart, and begged us to take him to the fort to take leave of his friend,—thus he called Monsieur the Governor. Father de Quen and I accompanied him; having entered, he began immediately to sound his own praises, saying that when he was present all was peaceful at Tadoussac. He enumerated at length the peoples in that country, and in conclusion protested that there were none of them so quiet and steady as he and his tribe. Taking a pencil in his hand, he sketched the country of the Hiroquois where he was going, "Here," said he, "is the river which is to take us into a great lake; from this lake we pass into the land of our enemies; in this place are their villages." When this Captain had left the fort, I said to him, "Nikanis, I have not a good opinion of your war; I fear some misfortune will happen to you." "Why so?" he asked. "You are taking with you a wicked man, a sorcerer, who has mocked at him who made all. I fell into conversation with him yesterday, and he blasphemed, saying that God could not prevent the success of your war; this is enough to ruin you. If you are killed, the blame must be laid at his door; if thou dost believe me, thou wilt send him back to Tadoussac." This poor man, who does not understand the judgments of God, answered, "He has no sense, I shall tell him that he is doing wrong." "That is not enough," I replied; "if he were French, he would be put to death; for, if we protected the enemies of God, he would get angry at us." This did not make much Impression upon his mind, and he went off with some Algonquins to find some poor wretch alone; but God chastised them. Seeing an Hiroquois, they pursued him so far that, in disorder, they penetrated into the enemy's country. That region was all on fire, and the smoke hid from view those who were, according to their custom, setting the fires with which the fields were smoking. At the noise made by this man who fled, the others rushed forward and, seeing their enemies, seized their weapons, surrounded part of these poor wretches, and killed them with their arrows; they captured some, who will be made to suffer extraordinary cruelties. The others saved themselves by flight. One of them, having

returned, told me that in escaping he had been five days without eating or sleeping, that he was as naked as a worm, and that he was paddling night and day. Another, not being able to retrace his steps, as the Hiroquois closed the way, advanced farther into their country; night coming on, he stole quietly back past their village, where he heard their cries and shouts of joy while they were burning his companions; this so greatly increased his terror that he leaped into a river, swam across it, and fled as fast as he could. To be lighter, he had thrown away his robe, so he was entirely naked. At the end of nine days he reached the three Rivers, where he told his people that he had eaten nothing during all that time, and that at night he only took a little sleep upon a pile of last year's dry leaves, with which he covered himself, having no other clothes. He took a piece of bark which he shaped in the form of a canoe, and floated upon it, with more fear of his enemies than of shipwreck. Finding himself in the great lake of Champlain, and the wind preventing his progress, he landed and continued his way through the thickets and brambles of the woods, so that his legs were covered with blood, and lacerated as if they had been gashed with knives. I myself saw him afterwards at Kebec, where he related all this to me. At the same time that these poor stragglers were returning to Kebec, I encountered among the cabins the blasphemous sorcerer, who had not taken the foremost place in the fight, but had been one of the first to retreat. I told him publicly before all his people that he had been the cause of their defeat, that he had caused the death of his countrymen; that I had urged him to ask God's pardon for his blasphemy, and he had not been willing to believe me. "Thy Captain, not having wished to banish thee from his company, has died in thy place, it is thou who hast slain him; be very careful to talk no more as thou hast done; the love I bear thee caused me to give thee good advice, but thou hast not been willing to follow it." This poor wretch did not say a word; but some one else, beginning to speak, excused him, saying, "He will never do that again; he does not know him who made all." Father du marché wrote at this time to Father Lallemant, from the three Rivers, that the return of those poor warriors was a very mournful sight. This is the way he speaks: "They returned yesterday from their war, not singing as they did last year, but so cast down with mourning and sadness that they had not the spirit to draw their canoes out of the water, nor did their wives, who made the shores resound with their sad and mournful lamentations. The two Captains who led them were both killed in the battle. Both are to be regretted, but especially he of the Algonquin nation, who loved us, and who seemed inclined to receive instruction. He had passed the winter near us, and had permitted us to baptize his wife, and to bury her after her death, in our cemetery, with the ceremonies of the Church. She is blest, as we believe, and he is very miserable." This is what the Father wrote about them.

I have learned that the Captain of Tadoussac bore himself very bravely; for, when he saw that they were unequal in number and strength to the enemy, he said to his people, "Retreat and save your lives, while I bear the brunt of

the fight, dying for you.” He was immediately obeyed by the most cowardly; having received an arrow in his thigh, he fell to the ground; but getting upon his knees, he defended himself a long time with his javelin; yet at last he had to lose his life.

Father Buteux adds some particulars: “I send you no account,” he says, “of the death of the warriors; those who are coming to see you will describe how the affair took place. It is pitiful to see them in their cabins; they did not return in a body, as they did last year, but the Canoes came down one after the other, all in confusion. One of them came ahead of the others to announce the disaster, who cried out in a mournful voice, very much like those who commend the departed in France, mentioning by name all those who were dead, or captured by the enemy. They had killed some animals on the way, and their canoes were filled with meat; but they were so dejected that this food remained there without being removed by any one. Having entered their cabins, they remained for some time in a mournful silence; then one of them, beginning to speak, described the whole Catastrophe. They said that the Hiroquois were only four days’ journey from the three Rivers, and that a troop of one hundred and fifty of them had come this Winter to within about two days’ journey of the French settlement; they had learned this from the little sticks which they fasten to a tree to make known to those who shall pass that way how many of them there were.

JR, 12:161 [**The Montagnais seek closer alliance with the French.*]

On the 27th [**of April, 1637*], a Captain of the Montagnez came with *Makeabichtichiou* to see me, requesting that I go with them to see Monsieur the Governor, to speak with him about their affairs; I accompanied them. The latter opened the conversation, saying that they had learned from their dead Captain that, in an assembly which had been held by their nation with the French some years before, Monsieur de Champlain had promised to help them enclose a village at the three Rivers, to clear the land, and to build some houses; that they had often thought about it, and that they had resolved, at least a part of them, to locate there, and to live in peace with the French. “We have,” said he, “two powerful enemies who are destroying us,—one is ignorance of God, which is killing our souls; the other is the Hiroquois, who are slaughtering our bodies; they force us to be wanderers. We are like seeds which are sown in divers places, or rather like grains of dust scattered by the wind,—some are buried in one place, some in another. The country is failing us; there is now scarcely any more game in the neighborhood of the French. Unless we reap something from the earth, we are going to ruin. Consider, you people,” said he, “whether you wish to help us, according to the promise made to us by the late Monsieur de Champlain.”

Thereupon Monsieur the Governor asked sieur Olivier and sieur Nicolet, who were present, if it were true that Monsieur de Champlain had made this promise. They answered that, in fact, Monsieur de Champlain had told them

that, as soon as the settlement at the three Rivers was founded, they would be assisted. Now, as I was present at that assembly, I begged Monsieur the Governor to let me answer the Savages; this being granted to me, I told them that they were forgetting part of what had been decided at that meeting. They replied that they had not the use of the pen, as we had, to preserve upon paper the remembrance of what was discussed among them. Then I told them that the help which they mentioned had been promised to them, provided they would become sedentary, and would give their children to be instructed and reared in the Christian faith. When Monsieur the Governor heard this, he assured them that he was ready to abide by these conditions on his side, provided they would carry out those which concerned them. They expressed their satisfaction with this, but said they would have been very glad to have had their children instructed at the three Rivers.

JR, 12:169 [**The Montagnais build a protected village near the French fort at Three Rivers.*]

On the 18th of the same month [**May, 1637*], I received a letter from the three Rivers, dated the 16th which spoke of the Savages in these words: "Last Thursday a panic spread among our Savages, caused by their apprehension of the coming of the Hiroquois. They begged that their wives and children might be taken into the fort, to be in a place of safety. They were told that the next morning some stakes would be loaned them, with which to enclose a sort of village under the shelter of the fort. The Sun had scarcely risen when they came, small and great, to carry off these stakes; they worked with so much ardor, some carrying these heavy pieces of wood, others making ready the place where they were to be set in, and others putting them up, that in less than four hours they found themselves barricaded. Would to God that they might adhere to their resolution to settle down; there would be excellent opportunity to instruct them."

JR, 12:177 [**Fear of the Iroquois.*]

On the 18th of the same month [**June 1637*] Monsieur de saint Jean came down from the three Rivers. He related to us a pretty story, showing the fear the Savages have of their enemies. He said that when he was in a bark on the River des Prairies, they perceived a canoe prowling around the Islands on the look-out for some Hiroquois; they immediately fired several shots from the arquebuses, to summon it to them. The Savage who was in it, seeing the bark, brought his canoe alongside. After he had been questioned about various things, he was asked if he would not like to go down to the three Rivers, as Monsieur de St. Jean and sieur Hertel desired to go there. He replied that, indeed, he greatly wished to go there, but that the Hiroquois would be sure to kill him on the way. Sieur Nicolet rejoined that he ought to fear nothing when these two young men, both of them courageous and children of brave Captains, were with him; that they were armed with good arquebuses, and that

no misfortune could befall him in their company. He insisted that his death would be inevitable if he went on this journey; but at last, being strongly urged, he agreed to embark these two young men,—but on condition that at the first sight of an Hiroquois canoe on the river he would set them down upon the bank and flee into the woods, having no desire to die so soon. They accepted this condition, explaining that if they had a firm foothold upon the land they did not fear the approach of the Hiroquois. My Savage, thinking to intimidate our Frenchmen by this threat of leaving them, was quite taken aback when he saw them so determined. This put his heart in his stomach (as the saying is), and led him to utter these words: “Let us go; I will take you and, what is more, I will not leave you; I will die with you;” then, turning to sieur Nicolet, he said to him, “If thou hearest news of my death, tell those of my nation, I pray thee, that I died bravely, in the company of two valiant French Captains.” Even this poor barbarian desired to have glory, and an occasion for vanity, in his death. Accordingly, he embarked our two Frenchmen, and took them to the three Rivers, encountering nothing else than water and woods.

JR, 12:181 [**A canoe battle between the Iroquet Algonquins and Iroquois.*]

On the 27th [*of June, 1637], I was informed of a battle between the Savages of the Iroquet nation and the Hiroquois. Meeting each other in their canoes, they fought a fierce and stubborn battle upon the water. As the Algonquin canoes are lighter than those of the Hiroquois, and as besides they exceeded them in numbers, they carried off the victory, bringing back with them thirteen prisoners alive, whom they caused to suffer horrible tortures. They sent one of these prisoners to the three Rivers. Oh God! what cruelty was not exercised upon this poor wretch, by the wives of those who a little while before had been killed in the country of the Hiroquois. Father Buteux has written me the whole tragic story, describing the barbarity of these tigers. Their fury seemed to me so horrible that I have not been able to set it down on paper; what saddens me is that they give vent to this madness in the presence and in the sight of our French people. I hope, however, that in the future they will keep away from our settlements, if they wish to indulge in this mania. Monsieur our Governor had sent word to the three Rivers that they should be prevented from it, or that they should be sent away from the neighborhood of the French, but the letters arrived too late.

JR, 12:187 [**Friction over the fur trade, and right-of-passage conflicts between the Montagnais and Abenakis.*]

On the 9th [*of July, 1637], a Montagnez Captain came to see me, and asked me to go with him to see Monsieur the Governor, as he wished to speak to him. Father Lallemand was there. The subject of his speech was that, the Abenquois having come to Kebec, he had forbidden them to go up to the three Rivers, and they had paid no attention to his command. “If Monsieur the Governor,” said he, “will lend me aid, I will close all the rivers through which

they can return to their country.” As our Savages occasionally go to the land of the Abenakiouis, those also wish to come and visit them at kebec and further up. But it is not for the good of Messieurs the Associates; for those barbarians come to carry off the Beavers of these countries, to take them elsewhere. Hence Monsieur the Governor, in view of this disorder, summoned the Captain of the Montagnez and the Abenakiouis to notify them that he was displeased that these peddlers should come trafficking in the footsteps of the French,—even threatening the Montagnez that he would prohibit the store from selling them any provisions until the Abenakiouis should go away. This Montagnez Captain declared that he did not wish these strangers to go up to the three Rivers, but preferred to have them return to their own country. Those worthy people thereupon reëmbarked, pretending to turn homewards; but in fact they went straight to the three Rivers, to exchange their porcelain for the Beavers of the Algonquins and other nations, who go ashore in that neighborhood. Monsieur the Governor, upon hearing this, sent a messenger to the three Rivers as soon as possible, to break up this arrangement. He wrote to Monsieur de Chateau-fort, who brought together the leaders of the Montagnez and the Abenakiouis, who were twelve in number. He asked why they had disobeyed the command of Monsieur the Governor. They replied that they had not come for any trade in peltries, but to help their allies in their wars. However, as they found themselves hard pressed, they decided to withdraw. Monsieur de Chateau-fort had their cabins and all their outfit examined; he found no Beavers, but three arquebuses, which he took away from them; they finally tied up their baggage and went away. A Montagnez Captain had presented himself to go and block their passage, according to the way of these nations. These Barbarians have a very remarkable custom. When other nations arrive in their country, they would not dare pass beyond without permission from the Captain of the place; if they did, their canoes would be broken to pieces. This permission to pass on is asked for with presents in hand; if these presents are not accepted by the Chief, not being minded to let them pass, he tells them he has stopped the way, and that they can go no further. At these words they have to turn back, or run the risks of war.

JR, 12:199 [**The Iroquois raid up the St. Lawrence, ambushing Huron canoes.*]

On the 6th of the same month of August [**1637*], two canoes of Hurons took their departure; about ten o'clock in the evening one of them returned crying from afar, “ouai! ouai! ouai!” The Savages lent ear to this cry, which the Hurons generally utter when they are bringing bad news. In the midst of this silence these good people cry out that they have encountered the Hiroquois, and that the canoe which had accompanied them had been captured. Now all the Savages are in a state of alarm, and all the women try to crowd into the fort. Some of the bolder men are commissioned to go and discover the enemy; they return at break of day and fill all the cabins with terror.

They report that they heard a great many voices, like those of thieves rejoicing over booty; that they even heard some gunshots, and that they imagine there are fully two hundred men in ambush at the entrance to lake St. Pierre. All are in a state of suspense; the women get into their canoes at four o'clock in the morning, and flee with their children,—some to kebec, some to the three Rivers, some to other places; the men present themselves at the fort to be admitted therein. Our French knew not what to think of this panic, for these barbarians are often alarmed without cause. They assured us that the Hiroquois would come and lay siege to us in our redout; but all this made no impression upon our minds, and the greater part of the French gave no credit to the report of the Savages. Finally an Hiroquois canoe appears in the middle of the great river, now turning its bow, now its side, and continuing to hover around, as if wishing to brave us as well as the Savages: we knew by this that there were many of them. The Montagnez and the Hurons are admitted into the fort, or rather into our redout, in order to reassure them. These poor people take courage; each one seizes some weapon,—this one a sword, that one a shield, another a hatchet, a fourth a knife, a fifth a pole. They crowd together, all howling like madmen, the Captains yelling rather than haranguing. Armed in their fashion, and some of them decked with feathers, they begin to dance, shouting from their chests songs of war. As these barbarians do things only by whims, and as they are governed by passion rather than reason, one side excites the other to combat by songs and violent demonstrations; in which they greatly err, for they are half worn-out and fatigued when they must come to blows. Monsieur our Governor proceeded in quite another fashion, for he put his people in order noiselessly and had them armed by squads,—rather to keep in check the Savages inside, although he had placed them in an enclosure where they could not harm us, than to protect himself against the Hiroquois. Now as this swaggering canoe appeared from time to time,—to attract some French or Savages into their ambuscades, as we conjectured,—Monsieur the Governor, seeing that a little wind was rising, orders a bark to weigh anchor and spread its sails, to go and reconnoitre. This command was executed almost as soon as given; the bark turns toward the place where the Hiroquois were, the canoe disappears; the bark advances and discovers the enemy, who were moving about, part upon the river, part upon the edge of the woods. Sieur Nicolet, who was guiding the bark, reported that there were about five hundred men well armed; he wished to approach them, but, fearing he would run aground, he could not get within musket-range of them. As he saw some crawling into the reeds, he fired a shot from the brass cannon, so skillfully, that the other Savages were seen to pick up the bodies of the wounded or dying, as far as they could judge. They perceived also in a canoe some men, whose heads only were visible. They thought that these were the poor Hurons captured the day before, whom they were holding as prisoners.

You may imagine that we kept up a careful watch; in truth, we blessed God with all our hearts for having led Monsieur the Governor to the three

Rivers at this time. He put everything in so good order, among both the French and the Savages, that there was cause to praise our Lord for the method and resoluteness existing on all sides. The Savages awaiting the attack, uttered loud yells or shouts, to notify the enemy that they were on their guard, and that they did not fear them. But Monsieur the Governor sent word to them to keep still; and had their Captain warned that they should all remain where they had been placed, and in case three, four, or five of his people should be called for, that they might be stationed elsewhere, he should send them,—designating them by name, for fear of confusion. There were six Religious of our Society in our redout. I sent Father Pierre Pijart, who had come from the Hurons, in a bark to assist our French in case they were attacked, as I was told they [the Savages] had once attacked a Flemish bark, and had sunk it to the bottom. I appointed Father Buteux to guard the Montagnez, and take charge of any who were wounded, and Father Daniel to the Hurons. Father Claude Pijart was to be with the Surgeon to assist our French people; Father du Marché at the Chapel, to guard it, and to hear the confessions of those who might present themselves. As for me, I had decided to be in all these places, to see how things were going on, and to help those who were so badly wounded on the outposts that they could not be easily brought to the Surgeon. Now either because these barbarians were afraid of our firearms, especially as they saw that they were discovered, or because they chose to go on and meet some Hurons, in which move there would be less danger for them and greater hopes of booty,—they were satisfied to look at us from a distance without coming to blows. Meanwhile, a Huron, who was in the canoe which I have said was captured, having escaped, came to assure us that these barbarians were on the watch at the entrance to the great lake Saint Pierre, where they would surely capture all those of the upper nations who should come down to the French. This poor man said that he and his companions, seeing themselves surrounded on all sides, abandoned their canoe and rushed into the woods, but they were soon closely pursued. His companions were soon captured; he, being fleet-footed, left far behind five stout Hieroquois who were pursuing him. Finally, as the thorns and nettles lacerated his legs and thighs, for he was entirely naked, he took refuge in a hollow tree which he fortunately encountered. His enemies came close to this tree, searching and ferreting all around it,—so close that in trampling down some thistles they touched his foot; he meanwhile pointed his javelin at them, to kill at least one if he were discovered; our Lord willed that his life should be saved. As soon as he had arrived, Monsieur the Governor despatched a canoe to Kebec for reinforcements, in order to be able to pursue these barbarians and to save the lives of the Hurons and other tribes whom we were daily expecting. Toward nightfall, a canoe of Hurons appeared, who brought us sad news. “There were ten of our canoes in company,” said they; “when we were at the Islands of the great River, *Taratouan*, a brave Captain of the Hurons, followed the Northern shore, taking with him nine canoes; the rest of us kept along the Southern shore. When

we reached the opening of the lake, near the French, we were swiftly pursued by the enemy, which makes us think that *Taratouan* and his band are captured, for the body of the Hiroquois are encamped on the North shore, by which he passed." They told us also that *Teouatirhon*, our Seminarist had shared the same fate, as I have explained above. Towards midnight another canoe arrived, bringing five Hurons, who assured us that the lake was swarming with the enemy, and that they held all the avenues to the French. "There were two of our canoes together," said they; "having reached the entrance of the lake, towards the Islands, we saw two other canoes. The canoe that accompanied us wished to go and reconnoitre them; and they, covering their evil design, pretended to be continuing on their way, until, seeing our companions far distant from us, they rushed upon them. As they captured them, we escaped in the darkness. Approaching the other entrance, we heard a horrible noise; some one cries, "Who goes there? Of what nation are you?" Immediately taking flight in another direction, we were about to rush into another danger. For, as we were already on the river, quite near the French settlement, we intended to pitch our camp and obtain some rest after our toilsome efforts to escape. Approaching the shore, we discovered an ambuscade; and, trying to turn back, two canoes at once dashed after us so eagerly that they pursued us almost to your settlement." Such are the stories related to us by these poor barbarians. Monsieur the Governor took it greatly to heart, as did all our Frenchmen, that he could not drive these rovers away from us, as we had so few men, and as it was not right to leave our redout or palisade without defense.

JR, 12:213 [**The aftermath of the Iroquois attack.*]

On the eleventh of the same month [*August, 1637], two shallops, well equipped for war, arrived from Kebec. Monsieur de l'Isle, having received the letters of Monsieur our Governor, immediately armed these two shallops in great haste, sent to the ships for men, selected some from families, and sent us four other well equipped shallops, and afterwards a good bark, commanded by Captain Raymbaut. The winds interfering with our plans, Monsieur the Governor did not wait for all this help. Having seen the first two shallops in good order, one commanded by Captain Fournier, the other by sieur Des-Dames, he entered his bark, and I with him, according to his desire. We set sail as promptly as possible; the night favored us with a good wind to cross lake saint Pierre, where we heard no noise, as these barbarians had withdrawn to the river that bears their name. A Southwester which arose stopped us among the Islands of the lake; but during the night the weather became quite calm, and we ascended to the river, where we expected to find these barbarians. It was already broad daylight when we approached it. At the mouth we perceived a quantity of smoke, which led us to think that the enemy was not far off. Then every one exerted himself to row with energy, and prepared to rush upon them. But, when we reached the place whence this smoke came, we found the birds had flown thence. One day sooner, and we would have had a

battle, for we all thought they had departed only the day before. We could not make any further efforts; to follow them would have been labor lost, for their canoes are much lighter than our shallops and barks. Now finding ourselves resting at the moment when we expected to fight, and in peace when on the verge of war, we went ashore. Looking over the places these robbers had just left, we found upon the banks of the river a plank which had served as the cross-bar of a cross, which Monsieur the Commandant du Plessis had erected the year before. These barbarians had torn it down and upon this plank had painted the heads of thirty Hurons, whom they had captured. We studied it carefully. They had also fastened this picture to a branchless tree, so that passers-by could readily see it; the different lines indicated the quality and age of the prisoners, as some Savages who were there explained to us. They had pictured two heads much larger than the others, to represent two Captains whom they had in their clutches, one of whom is the brave *Taratouan*, of whom I have spoken above. We saw also the heads of two children, and of two other young lads who were being taken to the Seminary. They had made stripes in the form of plumes on the heads of the bravest ones. All these heads were scrawled in red, except one, which was painted in black,—a sign that this last one had been killed, and that all the others were victims destined, as it were, for the fire. Some Savages found the body of the one who had been slain, floating in the lake. We knew by these grotesque figures (for the Savages are not acquainted with the art of painting) the havoc wrought by these infidels, who were going away triumphant, bearing a quantity of skins that those poor Hurons were bringing to the storehouse of these Gentlemen. What still more added to our sorrow was that these rovers had not seen us. I feel very certain that if they had experienced the anger of those who followed them, they would not be likely to return soon. In short, we had to go back the way we came. As we were going down towards the three Rivers, we met in the lake the four shallops which were coming to reinforce us. Sieur Couillart was of the party, as also sieur Giffart and sieur Pinguet, and others who deserve to be praised for having embarked so promptly to come and cope with the enemy, and to defend, at the peril of their lives, the goods and lands of Messieurs the Associates. When we reached the residence of the Conception at the three Rivers, we found other Hurons who had escaped from the hands and teeth of their enemies. They arrived, one after the other, all worn out, hungrier than hunters, and with no other covering than their own skins.

JR, 12:243 [**The Hurons and French hold council after the attack.**]

When these tribes come down to see the French, they are accustomed to hold councils or assemblies. At first, it is they who speak and treat of their own affairs; towards the end, the French call them together, and recommend to them the subjects they wish to be discussed. Now having at their arrival asked to speak to the Captain of the French, Monsieur the Chevalier de l'Isle, in the absence of Monsieur the Governor, acted for him. In order to show the esteem

in which he held those who embraced our holy faith, he had our Neophyte sit near him, who was greatly astonished at seeing himself so highly honored by the French. We were seated on the benches, and the Hurons on the ground, as is their wont. Each one having taken his place, and all being in silence, two Huron Captains showed their presents. One of them, wishing to make a speech, asked first what Monsieur the Chevalier de l'Isle's name was; then he addressed him, saying: "L'Isle" (it is thus these people call everything, by its name, without other ceremony), "you and your people are Okhi"—that is to say, "you are Demons, or extraordinary beings, and more than common men." "Although our country is ruined, although pestilence and war are laying all waste, you attract us to you making us surmount all sorts of difficulties to come and see you." Then, showing us their presents, "These tell but little; but then we are in small numbers, for they are all dying in our villages, and along the way; this does not prevent us from coming to Confirm the peace and friendship which exists between us." Monsieur the Chevalier de l'Isle made reply that he was very glad to see them; that our great Captain, Monsieur the Governor, had come up there to speak with them, that he had waited a long time; that he had sent a bark to meet them, to protect them against the Hiroquois; that, for lack of supplies, the bark had come back, then had gone up a second time,—but finally, seeing that the season was passing, it had been obliged to return. He said that this great Captain, having learned that five hundred Hiroquois held lake St. Pierre, capturing the Hurons as they passed through, had sent to Kebec for aid; that he had been sent a bark and four shallops, full of brave warriors, and that he himself had tried to pursue their enemies; that, furthermore, he was very sorry he could not come up to the three Rivers again,—that there were a large number of ships and a great many Frenchmen, both at kebec and at Tadoussac; these he was occupied in dismissing, but that he had delegated him in his place, and that he would gladly come and see them next year. "As for myself," he continued, "I am very glad to see you, but very sorry about your sickness. I will thank you for your presents, which are very acceptable to me; but I have one suggestion which I wish to urge upon you strongly. It is, not to believe these false rumors, like the one that appeared, that Monsieur de Champlain had wished to ruin the whole country by his death." They said that the Algonquins of the Island had circulated these false rumors. Thereupon Monsieur the Chevalier summoned one named *Oumastikoueian* who is allied to those islanders, and had him asked why the Algonquins sowed discord between the French and the Hurons, saying that Monsieur de Champlain had wished to ruin the country and drag it down to death with him, and that a Captain of the Montagnez Savages himself had borne witness to this ill-will. "Where is this Captain?" he was asked. "Speak, now; make him come in, let him tell us if Monsieur de Champlain ever made such a speech." This poor man began to exclaim against the Hurons, saying that it was they who spread a report that the French had bewitched a cloak, to cause their death. We asked the Hurons if they had

invented these lies; those of one village accused the inhabitants of another of originating these reports, telling them to clear themselves thereof. In short, each denied these calumnies, saying there was no need to speak of it further, and that the cause of their death was being attributed to certain porcelain collars which the Montagnez had collected in order to invite them to go to war. They were earnestly urged not to listen to these impostures. "Ask your countryman here," Monsieur de l'Isle said to them, "if what we believe is bad, if we teach that men should be killed; we love you all; he knows well that what we have taught him is very good." He spoke to our Neophyte, who very modestly expressed his approval of our belief. This council or assembly having ended, these barbarians went to the store to exchange their peltries for hatchets, knives, blankets, and other wares that Messieurs the Directors and Associates send them....

Monsieur the Chevalier had these people told that he presented them a barrel of hatchets and of iron arrow-heads. Part of this was to waft their canoes gently homewards, part to draw them to us next year. The Savages are wont to use such metaphors. Then he had them bring another present consisting of a fine kettle, some hatchets, and some iron arrow-heads, which he offered to the inhabitants of *Ossosané*, because they had received our Fathers and our French in their village, having built them a fine cabin.

Father François Le Mercier. 1638. Relation of what occurred in the mission of the Society of Jesus, in the land of the Hurons, in the year 1637.

JR, 13:37 [**The Hurons torture and execute an Iroquois prisoner.*]

On the 2nd of September [*1636], we learned that an Iroquois prisoner had been brought to the village of Onnentsati, and that they were preparing to put him to death. This Savage was one of eight captured by them at the lake of the Iroquois, where there were 25 or 30 of them fishing; the rest had saved themselves by flight. Not one, they say, would have escaped if our Hurons had not rushed on so precipitately. They brought back only seven, being content to carry off the head of the eighth one. They were no sooner beyond the reach of the enemy than, according to their custom, the whole troop assembled and held a council, in which it was decided that six should be given to the Atigenonghac and the Arendarrhonons, and the seventh to this place where we are. They disposed of them thus because their band was composed of these three nations. When the prisoners had arrived in the country, the Old Men (to whom the young men on their return from war leave the disposition of their spoils) held another assembly, to take counsel among themselves as to the town where each individual prisoner should be burned and put to death, and the persons on whom they should be bestowed; for it is customary, when some notable personage has lost one of his relatives in war, to give him a present of some captive taken from the enemy, to dry his tears and partly assuage his

grief. Now the one who had been destined for this place was brought by the Captain Enditsacone to the village of Onnentsati, where the war chiefs held a Council and decided that this prisoner should be given to Saouandaouascouay, who is one of the chief men of the country, in consideration of one of his nephews who had been captured by the Iroquois. This decision being made, he was taken to Arontaen, a village about two leagues distant from us. At first, we were horrified at the thought of being present at this spectacle; but, having well considered all, we judged it wise to be there, not despairing of being able to win this soul for God. Charity causes us to overlook many considerations. Accordingly, we departed, the Father Superior, Father Garnier, and I together. We reached Arontaen a little while before the prisoner, and saw this poor wretch coming in the distance, singing in the midst of 30 or 40 Savages who were escorting him. He was dressed in a beautiful beaver robe and wore a string of porcelain beads around his neck, and another in the form of a crown around his head. A great crowd was present at his arrival. He was made to sit down at the entrance to the village, and there was a struggle as to who should make him sing. I will say here that, up to the hour of his torment, we saw only acts of humanity exercised towards him; but he had already been quite roughly handled since his capture. One of his hands was badly bruised by a stone; and one finger was not cut off, but violently wrenched away. The thumb and forefinger of the other hand had been nearly taken off by a blow from the hatchet, and the only plaster he had was some leaves bound with bark. The joints of his arms were badly burned, and in one of them there was a deep cut. We approached to look at him more closely; he raised his eyes and regarded us very attentively, but he did not yet know the happiness that Heaven was preparing for him, in the midst of his enemies, through our instrumentality. The Father Superior was invited to make him sing; but he explained that it was not that which had brought him there,—that he had come only to teach him what he ought to do that he might go to Heaven, and be forever blest after death. He approached him, and told him that we all felt a great deal of compassion for him. Meanwhile, they brought him food, from all sides,—some bringing sagamite, some squashes and fruits,—and treated him only as a brother and a friend. From time to time he was commanded to sing, which he did with so much vigor and strength of voice, that, considering his age, for he seemed to be more than 50 years old, we wondered how he could be equal to it,—especially as he had done hardly anything else day and night since his capture, and especially since his arrival in their country. Meanwhile, a Captain, raising his voice to the same tone used by those who make some proclamation in the public places in France, addressed to him these words: “My nephew, thou hast good reason to sing, for no one is doing thee any harm; behold thyself now among thy kindred and friends.” Good God, what a compliment! All those who surrounded him, with their affected kindness and their fine words, were so many butchers who showed him a smiling face only to treat him afterwards with more cruelty. In all the places through which he had

passed he had been given something with which to make a feast; they did not fail here in this act of courtesy, for a dog was immediately put into the kettle, and, before it was half cooked, he was brought into the cabin where the people were to gather for the banquet. He had some one tell the Father Superior to follow him, and that he was very glad to see him. Doubtless it had touched his heart to find (among barbarians whom cruelty alone rendered affable and humane) persons who had some real feeling for his misery. We began then to have strong hopes of his conversion....But I ought to have informed your Reverence that this prisoner did not properly belong to the enemy's country, as he was a native of Sonontouan [*i.e. Seneca]. Yet, inasmuch as a few years before the Sonontouanhronon had made peace with the Hurons, this man, not having accepted this treaty, had married among the Onontachronon [*Onondaga], in order to be always free to carry arms against them....

But let us return to the feast which was being prepared. As soon as the dog was cooked, they took out a large piece of it, which he was made to eat, for they had to put it even into his mouth, as he was unable to use his hands; he shared it with those who were near him. To see the treatment they accorded him, you might have thought he was the brother and relative of all those who were talking to him. His poor hands caused him great pain, and smarted so severely that he asked to go out of the cabin, to take a little air. His request was immediately granted. His hands were unwrapped, and they brought him some water to refresh them. They were half putrefied, and all swarming with worms, a stench arising from them that was almost insupportable. He begged them to take away these worms, which were gnawing him even to the marrow, and which made him feel (he said) the same pain as if some one had touched him with fire. All was done that could be done to relieve him, but in vain; for they would appear, and disappear within as soon as one undertook the task of drawing them out. Meanwhile he did not cease singing at intervals, and they continued to give him something to eat, such as fruits or squashes.

Seeing that the hour of the feast was drawing near, we withdrew into the cabin where we had taken lodgings,—for we did not think it best to remain in the cabin of the prisoner,—not expecting to find an opportunity to speak further with him until the next day. But God, who intended to show him mercy, brought him to us, and we were greatly astonished and much rejoiced when we were told that he was coming to lodge with us....[*T]he Father Superior happened to be there when there was a good opportunity to speak to him, and had all the leisure necessary to instruct him in our mysteries,—in a word, to prepare him for Holy Baptism....The Father Superior found him so well disposed that he did not consider it advisable to postpone longer his baptism. He was named Joseph. It was very reasonable that the first one of this nation to be baptized should be under the protection of this Holy Patriarch....This being accomplished, we withdrew from his presence, greatly consoled, to take a little rest. For my part, it was almost impossible for me to close my eyes; and I noticed, as well as I could hear, that during a good part of the night the Old

Men of the village, and some Captains who were guarding him, conversed with him about the affairs of his country and about his capture, but with evidences of good will impossible to describe. In the morning, the Father Superior again found means to speak a good word to him, to remind him of the favor he had received from Heaven, and to dispose him to bear his torments patiently. Then he had to leave us to go to *Tondakhra*, which is a league from *Arontaen*. He took the road, well escorted, and singing as usual. Now we took occasion to pay a visit to our home, to say Mass and impart this good news to our Fathers. On the same day we went to *Tondakhra*, where, through a special Providence, we unwittingly took lodgings in the cabin that had been assigned to the prisoner. In the evening he made a feast, at which he sang and danced, according to the manner of the country, during a good part of the night....

The next morning, which was the 4th of September, the prisoner again confirmed his wish to die a Christian, and his desire to go to Heaven, and he even promised the Father that he would remember to say, in his torments, “*Jesús taïtenr*,” “Jesus, have pity on me.” They were still waiting for the Captain *Saouandaouascouay*, who had gone trading, to fix upon the day and the place of his torment; for this captive was entirely at his disposal. He arrived a little later; and, at their first interview, our Joseph, instead of being disquieted from fear and apprehension of his approaching death, and of such a death, said to him in our presence that the Father had baptized him, “*haiatachondi*,” he used this expression as showing that he was very glad thereof. The Father consoled him further, saying that the torments he was about to suffer would be of short duration, but that the joys which awaited him in Heaven would have no other limit than Eternity.

Saouandaouascouay looked at him pleasantly and treated him with incredible gentleness. This is a summary of the talk he had with him: “My nephew, thou must know that when I first received news that thou wert at my disposal, I was wonderfully pleased, fancying that he whom I lost in war had been, as it were, brought back to life, and was returning to his country. At the same time I resolved to give thee thy life; I was already thinking of preparing thee a place in my cabin, and thought that thou wouldst pass the rest of thy days pleasantly with me. But now that I see thee in this condition, thy fingers gone and thy hands half rotten, I change my mind, and I am sure that thou thyself wouldst now regret to live longer. I shall do thee a greater kindness to tell thee that thou must prepare to die; is it not so? It is the *Tohontaenras* who have treated thee so ill, and who also cause thy death. Come then, my nephew, be of good courage; prepare thyself for this evening, and do not allow thyself to be cast down through fear of the tortures.” Thereupon Joseph asked him, with a firm and confident mien, what would be the nature of his torment. To this *Saouandaouscouay* replied that he would die by fire. “That is well,” said Joseph, “that is well.” While this Captain was conversing with him, a woman, the sister of the deceased, brought him some food, showing remarkable solici-

itude for him. You would almost have said that he was her own son, and I do not know that this creature did not represent to her him whom she had lost. Her countenance was very sad, and her eyes seemed all bathed in tears. This Captain often put his own pipe in the prisoner's mouth, wiped with his own hands the sweat that rolled down his face, and cooled him with a feather fan.

About noon he made his Astataion, that is, his farewell feast, according to the custom of those who are about to die. No special invitations were given, every one being free to come; the people were there in crowds. Before the feast began, he walked through the middle of the cabin and said in a loud and confident voice, "My brothers, I am going to die; amuse yourselves boldly around me,—I fear neither tortures nor death." He straightway began to sing and dance through the whole length of the cabin; some of the others sang also and danced in their turn. Then food was given those who had plates, and those who had none watched the others eat. We were of the latter, since we were not there to eat. The feast over, he was taken back to Arontaen, to die there. We followed him, in order to assist him and render him all the service we could....

Those who were present there had very different thoughts. Some looked at us, and were astonished to see us so strongly attached to him,—following him everywhere, losing no occasion to speak to him, and to give him some word of consolation. Others, it seemed, thought of nothing else than of doing him some good. Many were arrested by his condition, and contemplated the extremity of his misery. Among others, a woman,—thinking, it is to be supposed, that this poor victim would be happy and would be spared a great deal of his suffering if he could kill himself, and anticipate the insolence and cruelty of the young men,—asked the Father if there would be any harm in this act.... The Father instructed them fully upon this point, and showed them that God alone was the master of our lives, and it was for him only to dispose of them; that those who poisoned themselves or made away with themselves by violence, committed a grievous sin; and that Saouandanoucoua—speaking of our Joseph—would lose the fruit of his baptism, and would never go to Heaven, if he hastened by a single moment the hour of his death.

Meanwhile the Sun, which was fast declining, admonished us to withdraw to the place where this cruel Tragedy was to be enacted. It was in the cabin of one Atsan, who is the great war Captain; therefore it is called "Otinontsiskiaj ondaon," meaning, "the house of cut-off heads." It is there all the Councils of war are held; as to the house where the affairs of the country, and those which relate only to the observance of order, are transacted, it is called "Endionrra ondaon," "house of the Council." We took, then, a place where we could be near the victim, and say an encouraging word to him when the opportunity occurred. Towards 8 o'clock in the evening eleven fires were lighted along the cabin, about one brass distant from each other. The people gathered immediately, the old men taking places above, upon a sort of platform, which extends, on both sides, the entire length of the cabins. The young men were below, but were so crowded that they were almost piled upon one another, so that there

was hardly a passage along the fires. Cries of joy resounded on all sides; each provided himself, one with a firebrand, another with a piece of bark, to burn the victim. Before he was brought in, the Captain Aenons encouraged all to do their duty, representing to them the importance of this act, which was viewed, he said, by the Sun and by the God of war. He ordered that at first they should burn only his legs, so that he might hold out until daybreak; also for that night they were not to go and amuse themselves in the woods. He had hardly finished when the victim entered. I leave you to imagine the terror that seized him at the sight of these preparations. The cries redoubled at his arrival; he is made to sit down upon a mat, his hands are bound, then he rises and makes a tour of the cabin, singing and dancing; no one burns him this time, but also this is the limit of his rest,—one can hardly tell what he will endure up to the time when they cut off his head. He had no sooner returned to his place than the war Captain took his robe and said, “Oteiondi”—speaking of a Captain—“will despoil him of the robe which I hold;” and added, “The Ataconchronons will cut off his head, which will be given to Ondessone, with one arm and the liver to make a feast.” Behold his sentence thus pronounced. After this, each one armed himself with a brand, or a piece of burning bark, and he began to walk, or rather to run, around the fires; each one struggled to burn him as he passed. Meanwhile, he shrieked like a lost soul; the whole crowd imitated his cries, or rather smothered them with horrible shouts. One must be there, to see a living picture of Hell. The whole cabin appeared as if on fire; and, athwart the flames and the dense smoke that issued therefrom, these barbarians—crowding one upon the other, howling at the top of their voices, with firebrands in their hands, their eyes flashing with rage and fury—seemed like so many Demons who would give no respite to this poor wretch. They often stopped him at the other end of the cabin, some of them taking his hands and breaking the bones thereof by sheer force; others pierced his ears with sticks which they left in them; others bound his wrists with cords which they tied roughly, pulling at each end of the cord with all their might. Did he make the round and pause to take a little breath, he was made to repose upon hot ashes and burning coals. It is with horror that I describe all this to your Reverence, but verily we experienced unutterable pain while enduring the sight of it. I do not know what would have become of us had it not been for the consolation we had of considering him, no longer as a common Savage, but as a child of the Church, and as such, of asking God to give him patience, and the privilege of dying in his holy grace. As for me, I was reduced to such a degree that I could hardly nerve myself to look up to see what was going on; and yet I do not know that, if we had not made some effort to withdraw from this crowd and to go out, these cruelties might have had some delay. But God permitted that on the seventh round of the cabin his strength should fail him. After he had reposed a short time upon the embers, they tried to make him arise as usual, but he did not stir; and one of these butchers having applied a brand to his loins, he was seized with a fainting fit, and would never have risen again if the young men had been permitted to have their

way, for they had already begun to stir up the fire about him, as if to burn him. But the Captains prevented them from going any farther, and ordered them to cease tormenting him, saying it was important that he should see the daylight. They had him lifted upon a mat, most of the fires were extinguished, and many of the people went away. Now there was a little respite for our sufferer, and some consolation for us. How we wished that this swoon might last all night!—for to moderate these excesses of cruelty in any other way would have been impossible to us. While he was in this condition, their only thought was to make him return to his senses, giving him many drinks composed of pure water only. At the end of an hour he began to revive a little, and to open his eyes; he was forthwith commanded to sing. He did this at first in a broken and, as it were, dying voice; but finally he sang so loud that he could be heard outside the cabin. The youth assemble again; they talk to him, they make him sit up,—in a word, they begin to act worse than before. For me to describe in detail all he endured during the rest of the night, would be almost impossible; we suffered enough in forcing ourselves to see a part of it. Of the rest we judged from their talk; and the smoke issuing from his roasted flesh revealed to us something of which we could not have borne the sight. One thing, in my opinion, greatly increased his consciousness of suffering—that anger and rage did not appear upon the faces of those who were tormenting him, but rather gentleness and humanity, their words expressing only raillery or tokens of friendship and good will. There was no strife as to who should burn him,—each one took his turn; thus they gave themselves leisure to meditate some new device to make him feel the fire more keenly. They hardly burned him anywhere except in the legs, but these, to be sure, they reduced to a wretched state, the flesh being all in shreds. Some applied burning brands to them and did not withdraw them until he uttered loud cries; and, as soon as he ceased shrieking, they again began to burn him, repeating it seven or eight times,—often reviving the fire, which they held close against the flesh, by blowing upon it. Others bound cords around him and then set them on fire, thus burning him slowly and causing him the keenest agony. There were some who made him put his feet on red-hot hatchets, and then pressed down on them. You could have heard the flesh hiss, and have seen the smoke which issued therefrom rise even to the roof of the cabin. They struck him with clubs upon the head, and passed small sticks through his ears; they broke the rest of his fingers; they stirred up the fire all around his feet. No one spared himself, and each one strove to surpass his companion in cruelty. But, as I have said, what was most calculated in all this to plunge him into despair, was their raillery, and the compliments they paid him when they approached to burn him. This one said to him, “Here, uncle, I must burn thee;” and afterwards this uncle found himself changed into a canoe. “Come,” said he, “let me talk and pitch my canoe, it is a beautiful new canoe which I lately traded for; I must stop all the water holes well,” and meanwhile he was passing the brand all along his legs. Another one asked him, “Come, uncle, where do you prefer that I should burn you?” and this poor sufferer had

to indicate some particular place. At this, another one came along and said, "For my part, I do not know anything about burning; it is a trade that I never practiced," and meantime his actions were more cruel than those of the others. In the midst of this heat, there were some who tried to make him believe that he was cold. "Ah, it is not right," said one, "that my uncle should be cold; I must warm thee." Another one added, "Now as my uncle has kindly deigned to come and die among the Hurons, I must make him a present, I must give him a hatchet," and with that he jeeringly applied to his feet a red-hot hatchet. Another one likewise made him a pair of stockings from old rags, which he afterwards set on fire; and often, after having made him utter loud cries, he asked him, "And now, uncle, hast thou had enough?" And when he replied, "onna chouatan, onna," "Yes, nephew, it is enough, it is enough," these barbarians replied, "No, it is not enough," and continued to burn him at intervals, demanding of him every time if it was enough. They did not fail from time to time to give him something to eat, and to pour water into his mouth, to make him endure until morning; and you might have seen, at the same time, green ears of corn roasting at the fire and near them red-hot hatchets; and sometimes, almost at the same moment that they were giving him the ears to eat, they were putting the hatchets upon his feet. If he refused to eat, "Indeed," said they, "dost thou think thou art master here?" and some added, "For my part, I believe thou wert the only Captain in thy country. But let us see, wert thou not very cruel to prisoners; now just tell us, didst thou not enjoy burning them? Thou didst not think thou wert to be treated in the same way, but perhaps thou didst think thou hadst killed all the Hurons?"

Behold in part how passed the night, which was a most dolorous one to our new Christian, and wonderfully harrowing to us, who compassionated all his sufferings from the depths of our hearts.... Let us add this, that God furnished to the Father Superior 3 or 4 excellent opportunities to preach his Holy name to these barbarians, and to explain to them the Christian truths. For when some one asked him if we felt compassion for the prisoner, he affirmed that we did, and that we greatly longed that he might be soon delivered from his sufferings and go to Heaven, there to be forever blest. This gave him occasion to speak of the joys of Paradise and the grievous afflictions of Hell, and to show them that if they were cruel to this poor wretch, the Devils were still more so to the condemned. He told them that what they made him endure was only a very rough picture of the torments suffered by lost souls in Hell, whether they considered the multitude of them, or their magnitude and the length of their duration; that our having baptized Sa[o]juandanoncua was only to deliver him from those punishments, and to enable him to go to Heaven after his death. "How now?" retorted some of them, "he is one of our enemies; and it matters not if he go to Hell and if he be forever burned." The Father replied very appropriately, that God was God of the Iroquois as well as of the Hurons, and of all men who are upon the earth; that he despised no one, even if he be ugly or poor; that what won the heart of God was not the beauty of the

body, the graces of the mind, or the abundance of wealth, but, indeed, an exact observance of his holy Law; that the fires of Hell were lighted and burning only for sinners, whatever their nation might be; that at the moment of death and at the departure of the soul from the body, he who was found with a mortal sin, was condemned for it forever, whether he were Iroquois or Huron; that, as to them, it was all they could do to burn and torment this captive to death; that until then he was at their disposal, that after death he fell into the hands and under the authority of him who alone had the power to send him to Hell or to Paradise. "But thinkest thou," said another, "that for what thou sayest here, and for what thou doest to this man, the Iroquois will treat thee better if they come some time to ravage our country?" "That is not what concerns me," replied the Father, "all I think of now is to do what I ought; we have come here only to teach you the way to Heaven; as to the rest, and as to what regards our persons, we leave that entirely to the providence of God." "Why art thou sorry," added some one, "that we tormented him?" "I do not disapprove of your killing him, but of your treating him in that way." "What then! how do you French people do? Do you not kill men?" "Yes, indeed; we kill them, but not with this cruelty." "What! do you never burn any?" "Not often," said the Father, "and even then fire is only for enormous crimes, and there is only one person to whom this kind of execution belongs by right; and besides, they are not made to linger so long,—often they are first strangled, and generally they are thrown at once into the fire, where they are immediately smothered and consumed."...All listened very attentively, except some young men, who said once or twice, "Come, we must interrupt him, there is too much talk," and they immediately began to torment the sufferer. He himself also entertained the company for a while, on the state of affairs in his country, and the death of some Hurons who had been taken in war. He did this as easily, and with a countenance as composed, as any one there present would have showed. This availed him at least as so much diminution of his sufferings; therefore, he said, they were doing him a great favor by asking him many questions, and that this in some measure diverted him from his troubles. As soon as day began to dawn, they lighted fires outside the village, to display there the excess of their cruelty to the sight of the Sun. The victim was led thither. The Father Superior went to his side, to console him, and to confirm him in the willingness he had all the time shown to die a Christian. He recalled to his mind a shameful act he had been made to commit during his tortures,—in which, all things rightly considered, there was but little probability of sin, at least not a grave sin,—nevertheless, he had him ask God's pardon for it; and, after having instructed him briefly upon the remission of sins, he gave him conditional absolution, and left him with the hope of soon going to Heaven. Meanwhile, two of them took hold of him and made him mount a scaffold 6 or 7 feet high; 3 or 4 of these barbarians followed him. They tied him to a tree which passed across it, but in such a way that he was free to turn around. There they began to burn him more cruelly than ever, leaving no part of his body to which the fire was

not applied at intervals. When one of these butchers began to burn him and to crowd him closely, in trying to escape him, he fell into the hands of another who gave him no better a reception. From time to time they were supplied with new brands, which they thrust, all aflame, down his throat, even forcing them into his fundament. They burned his eyes; they applied red-hot hatchets to his shoulders; they hung some around his neck, which they turned now upon his back, now upon his breast, according to the position he took in order to avoid the weight of this burden. If he attempted to sit or crouch down, some one thrust a brand from under the scaffolding which soon caused him to arise. Meanwhile, we were there, praying God with all our hearts that he would please to deliver him as soon as possible from this life. They so harassed him upon all sides that they finally put him out of breath; they poured water into his mouth to strengthen his heart, and the Captains called out to him that he should take a little breath. But he remained still, his mouth open, and almost motionless. Therefore, fearing that he would die otherwise than by the knife, one cut off a foot, another a hand, and almost at the same time a third severed the head from the shoulders, throwing it into the crowd, where some one caught it to carry it to the Captain Ondessone, for whom it had been reserved, in order to make a feast therewith. As for the trunk, it remained at Arontaen, where a feast was made of it the same day. We recommended his soul to God, and returned home to say Mass. On the way we encountered a Savage who was carrying upon a skewer one of his half-roasted hands. We would, indeed, have desired to prevent this act of lawlessness; but it is not yet in our power, we are not the masters here; it is not a trifling matter to have a whole country opposed to one,—a barbarous country, too, such as this is. Even if some of them, and a goodly number of the more influential ones, listen to us, and admit that this inhumanity is entirely opposed to reason, the old customs thus far continue to be in vogue, and there is much probability that they will reign until the faith is received and publicly professed.

JR, 13:177 [**A Huron belief regarding war and the afterlife.*]

[*December 7, 1636] The Father, upon this occasion, having spoken to them of Heaven and of the great rewards that God reserves for his faithful servants, an old man named *Tendoutsahoronc* told him that they were rather sorry we had baptized that Hiroquois prisoner, inasmuch as he would be ready to drive them from Paradise if they should undertake to enter there. The father having replied to him that Paradise was a place of peace,—“How?” said he, “we people think that the dead make war among themselves as well as the living.”

JR, 13:265 [**Hurons prepare for war, February 11, 1637.*]

The Captain *Andahiach* made a round of all the cabins, and in a loud voice exhorted the women to take courage and not to allow themselves to be cast down with sorrow on account of the death of their relatives; and that, when the young men should come to bring them some hemp to spin, they

should willingly render them this little service; that it was their intention to make weapons to go to war in the Spring against the Hiroquois, and to place them in security and in a position to be able to work peaceably in their fields. However, these weapons [shields] are not proof against muskets, as Your Reverence knows, and it is quite enough if the arrow cannot indent them.

JR, 14:9 [**Huron belief regarding the pestilence as punishment for war.*]

On the 20th [*of February, 1637], we learned from Anons [Aënon] a new opinion concerning the malady,—that a report was current that it had come from the Agniehenon [*Mohawks], who had brought it from the *Andastoerhonon* [*Susquehannocks], a nation in the direction of Virginia. These tribes, it is said, had been infected therewith by Ataentsic, whom they hold to be the mother of him who made the earth; that she had passed through all the cabins of two villages, and that at the second they had asked her, “Now, after all, why is it that thou makest us die?” and that she had made this answer, “Because my grandson, Iouskeha, is angry at men,—they do nothing but make war and kill one another; he has now resolved, as a punishment for this inhumanity, to make them all die.”

JR, 14:15 [**Political disunity among the Hurons.*]

On the 17th [*of March, 1637], I again accompanied the Father Superior to Iahenhouton, where resides the chief of the council of this place. The object of this journey was to make them 3 propositions: 1st, whether they had not at last resolved to believe what we taught, and to embrace the faith; 2nd, whether it would be acceptable to them that some of our Frenchmen should marry in their country as soon as possible; 3rd, whether there was any probability of a reunion between them and the people of *Ossosané* and some of the surrounding villages. Your Reverence knows the cause of their division; we wrote to you about it fully last year, on the occasion of their feast of the Dead....

As regards the reunion of this whole nation of the Bear, it is a matter still undecided. The Father Superior has made several journeys with this in view, in the hope they had given us of a general council; he had even given them his word that, if it were only a question of a present, we were resolved to spare nothing to this end. And very recently, being at *Ossossané*, where some of the old men regarded the matter as already accomplished, he had sent word to us to send him twelve hundred porcelain beads to present to the two parties which were to assemble at *Andiataé*. In fact, the majority of the Captains of the villages in that quarter started to go thither; but the one who was the author and chief of this division having refused to be present, the matter has remained hanging on the hook. Nevertheless, it is not yet regarded as hopeless.

JR, 14:33 [**An attempt to achieve Huron unity.*]

On the 5th [*of April, 1637], a Captain of *Ossossané* sent to invite the Father Superior to a general council to be held there; he departed on the 6th, I

accompanying him. In passing through *Ouenrio*, he had the old men assemble to treat of their reunion with the people of our village; but they came to no conclusion, only promising to confer again about it, more in detail, among themselves. Having arrived at Ossossané, we waited two days for the council, and after that we were obliged to return as we had come, the absence of the Captain of the village Angouteus, being the cause of this. However, the Captain of Ossossané greatly praised our plan of bringing them all together, saying that this would be a new occasion for endearing ourselves, and rendering ourselves influential in the country; that, if this affair were successful, it would be mentioned forever in all the solemn assemblies, and at the Feasts of the dead.

JR, 14:39 [**Rumors of war in Huronia.*]

On the 21st [**of April, 1637*], it was reported to us that a Savage, lately come from *Sonontouan* [**i.e. Seneca*], had warned our Hurons to remain boldly upon the watch,—that the enemy was raising an army, either to pounce upon the country while they were away trading, or to await them at the passage when they were going down to Kebec. Every year at this season similar rumors are sure to circulate, which are so much the less credible that they are so common, and all the more to be feared since our Savages give themselves little concern thereat. It is said that the old men and those most influential in the country are often the authors of these false alarms, in order to keep always in the villages a good part of the young men and of those capable of bearing arms, and to prevent them from going away, all at the same time, to do their trading.

Father François Le Mercier. 1638. Relation of what occurred in the Mission of the Society of Jesus in the Country of the Hurons, in the Year 1637 and 1638.

JR, 15:31 [**English rumors about the Jesuits gain currency among the Hurons.*]

There were, indeed, other rumors. Four barks, it was said, belonging to those who are not our relatives (they meant the English) ascended, in spite of all the French, as far as the river des prairies, and those who commanded them maintained that the black robes were the cause of all the sickness. It was in vain that we remonstrated with them, forcibly arguing how incredible the thing seemed; they persevered in their own notions.

JR, 15:37 [**Huron assembly meets to discuss war, pestilence, and the Jesuits.*]

It pleased God to hearken to us, in so far as finally to create an occasion for a general assembly, that we might inform the Chiefs of the country of our purposes among them.

It was a question of some war, that was to be taken into mature consideration, the Old Men of each village having previously come to a mutual agreement upon it in their special councils. Being invited to this assembly, we made

them a present of three or four hundred porcelain beads, (these are the pistoles of the country) in order to give them some proof of how much we shared in the public interests. Now we were well aware that they were to speak of us in this general assembly. The Father Superior endeavored to clear us, in private, with various persons, from the slanders, that had been loaded upon us; but they were already so bitter that the Captains most favorable to us told him plainly that the greatest favor we could hope for was to be driven from the country and sent back to Kebec.

Finally, the opening of the great assembly took place towards evening on the 4th of August [*1637], where, after the usual compliments, they discussed for that time only the subject of peace with their allies, upon which they consulted nearly all night, with a prudence that can hardly be imagined....

The other assembly opened about eight o'clock in the evening. This council was composed of three Nations, namely, of that one called the Bear,—our first hosts, who comprise, in all, fourteen villages, large and small; they occupied one side of the cabin, and we were placed in the middle of the same side. Opposite were the two other Nations, each numbering four very populous villages. It was here that they were to deal with the affair of the black robes, who were everywhere believed to be the cause of all the misfortunes of the country....

One of them [*the Huron Captains] spoke about in these terms:

“My Brothers, you know well that I hardly ever speak except in our war councils, and that I concern myself only with affairs of arms; but I am obliged to speak here, since all the other Captains are dead. Now before I follow them to the grave I must free my mind; and perhaps it will be for the good of the country, which is going to ruin. Every day it is worse than before; this cruel malady has now over-run all the cabins of our village, and has made such ravages in our own family that, lo, we are reduced to two persons, and I do not yet know whether we shall escape the fury of this Demon. I have seen maladies in the country before, but never have I seen anything like this; two or three Moons sufficed for us to see the end of those, and in a few years, our families being restored, we almost lost the memory of them. But now we already count a Year since we began to be afflicted, and we see as yet no probability of soon beholding the end of our misery. What has caused us the most uneasiness, up to the present, is that we cannot at all understand this disease, and that we have not yet been able to discover its origin. I will tell you what I have learned about it within a few days; but first you must know that I am speaking without passion, and that I intend to tell only the plain truth. I neither hate nor love the French; I have never had anything to do with them, and we see each other for the first time to-day. I do not intend to do them any wrong; I shall only report faithfully the speech of one of our nation recently returned from the trade at Kebec.”

It would take too long to report here the chief points of his accusation, which consisted in I know not what pretended sorceries of which we had knowledge. Moreover, he embellished it all with so many fine words, and

argued it so passionately, that the whole company received these falsehoods as truths....

Our Father Superior [*Jean de Brebeuf], intending to speak, let this Captain discharge his rage for some time; then, having asked a hearing, he closed his mouth in a few words, with arguments for which he had no answer. The confusion of this accuser did not prevent another old man from taking us to task, with as much cunning as the objections he offered were far from the truth....

One old man, among others, upon leaving, saluted the Father thus, "If they split thy head for thee, we will not say a word." The principal men remained, although it was already after midnight. In short, they postponed the conclusion of the whole matter to the return of the Hurons who had gone down to Kébec. This was an act of the most gentle providence of God in our behalf, considering the good news the latter were to bring back from the French....

The evil reports increased yet more after this council. A certain man of the nation of the Arendahronons, it was reported, having a little while before returned to life, stated that he had encountered in the other world two women, who said they were from England, and who warned him that he should not yet go into the land of Souls; but that, having returned to life, he had to burn his robe in order to cure the disease; that, furthermore, the black robes who lived with them had evil designs, having resolved not to return to France until they had killed every one in the country.

Father François du Peron. 1639. Letter of Father François du Peron of the Society of Jesus, to Father Joseph Imbert du Peron, his Brother Religious of the Same Society. At the village of la Conception de Nostre Dame, April 27, 1639. [*in Huron country]

JR, 15:171 [**Christianity begins to affect the torture of prisoners by the Hurons.*]

During the two months that our Fathers remained there [*the St. Joseph Mission in Huronia, winter of 1638], they baptized twenty persons, six or seven of these with solemnity, who made profession of the faith. During that time, a wonderful thing happened;...The other seminarist, having gone to war, had an encounter with the enemy, thirteen of whom were taken, who were distributed in different villages to be cruelly put to death. On his part, he captured two: and when one of them was about to be put to death, he exhorted him to believe in God and to consent to be baptized; as he no longer remembered the form of baptism, he repeated the *Pater* while baptizing him. God favored the prisoner baptized in this way: he permitted some dispute to arise which deferred the execution of his death sentence, and he was taken to another village near one of our residences; so that two of our Fathers, having heard the news of this, repaired thither immediately, and instructed and baptized him, without knowing what this brave seminarist had done. A little while before my arrival, they had baptized seventeen in different villages. On the 4th or 5th of

December [*1638], besides the above-mentioned prisoners, four others had the same blessing of baptism; three of these were burned at the village of St. Michel. Our Fathers had considerable trouble in baptizing them, the Hurons trying to prevent this from being done, saying that baptism made them happier in death. They exercise unparalleled cruelties upon these captives; they cut off their fingers, they have them walk seven times over various glowing fires, which are lighted in the largest cabin of the village, where all the inhabitants are gathered to torment them; every one torments the prisoner as he chooses; while he is walking over the fires, each one has a firebrand in his hand to apply to some part of his body. They use everything they can think of to torture him; they heat hatchets, arrows, and pothooks till they are red, which they apply to the victim; in all these torments they exhort him to have courage, and the victim is obliged continually to sing. One of these had scars upon his hands and feet. The night having been passed in these cruelties, they took him outside the village, to a platform, where they bound him to a stake, and there burned him alive by inches with their lighted torches; if he fell into a swoon, he was restored to consciousness by a drink. Sometimes they ferociously bit off pieces of his ears and made him eat them. When the fire suffocated him, they put him in large kettles to cook, and then ate him.

JR, 15:185 [*Hurons capture, torture, and execute more Iroquois.]

On the 27th of May [*1639], we returned to the Residence of la Conception, to be present at the coming of twelve prisoners, and to prepare them for baptism. Truly, what I have told you before about the cruelties that our barbarians exercise upon prisoners, is nothing, as I knew of them only through the report of the Fathers who were present. I myself was present at the preliminary tortures of these prisoners; the rage of the demons against the damned cannot be better represented than by that which these peoples exercise upon these poor captives. Imagine at their arrival the whole village, or rather the whole country, going to meet them at five hundred paces from the village, and to welcome them, but in a strange way; every one is armed—one with a club, another with a handful of thorns, another with a knife and a firebrand; they form in lines on both sides, and mercilessly strike the prisoners until they have reached the platform prepared for the exhibition of their cruelty. They walk one after the other, each one having behind him a savage, who holds his arms bound by a cord; their feet are bound also, so that they can only walk slowly; they are naked, and each has a collar of porcelain around his head to designate him as a victim. Now when they arrived at the stage, they were made to dance and sing, one after the other; and all the time they were singing, at intervals, various persons cut them—one cut off one finger, another three; another crushed their fingers with a blow from his club; others gashed them to the bone with knives in the fleshy part of the leg and the arm, most of them in both arms and both legs. When this was over, they were taken to a cabin to rest, so that they might afterwards be tormented more cruelly by fire

during the night. The next morning, one was driven upon the platform, that they might finish burning him with firebrands. They renewed all the tortures of the preceding night, and, when he finally succumbed, they cut off his head. I was present at these cruelties; they are far more horrible than one can imagine. Of those twelve, we have already baptized nine here; three remain, who are going to other villages. I leave presently, with one of our Fathers, to go to them, and try to baptize them.

Father Paul le Jeune. 1640. Relation of What Occurred in New France in the Year 1639.

JR, 16:51 [**Montmagny moves unsuccessfully against the Iroquois, ca. 1638 or 1639.*]

I have mentioned above the evil reports and the war that delayed the course of the Gospel. Monsieur our Governor went up to the three Rivers with a bark and some shallows, well armed, and removed these obstacles. For, although contrary winds and the precipitation of the Savages robbed him of the opportunity of defeating their enemies against whom he was proceeding.

JR, 16:65 [**Effects of Christianity on Algonquin/Montagnais war rituals.*]

Here is a matter which has afforded me much consolation. The Hiroquois having made their appearance near the three Rivers, the Savages were gathered from all sides. Having met together, they made several war feasts, at which they must sing, dance, and yell,—all this through superstition, to obtain advantage over their enemies. As they dance, one after another, they give each a signal, selecting him whom they wish to have dance after them. It happened that one of these dancers gave the bouquet or signal to François Xavier, one of our new Christians, who refused it, renouncing these superstitious dances. It was tendered to Ignace Amiskwape, who did the same. It was presented to some other Christians who all imitated the courage of these brave Athletes, deriding the follies of their Countrymen who placed their hopes in these ridiculous actions.

JR, 16:149 [**A sorcerer goes to war.*]

I have often said that the name “sorcerer” is given here to certain Jugglers or charlatans who engage in singing, blowing upon the sick, consulting Devils, and killing men by their charms. I am inclined to think that there are, really, some among them who have communication with the Demons; but the majority of them are only impostors, practicing their enchantments to obtain presents from the poor sick, to render themselves popular, or to make themselves feared. The one of whom I am about to speak was in the last category; he was dreaded by his people, and looked upon as a wicked man....But God, who is the Master of hearts, touched him inwardly, and disposed him to a goodness that surpasses our understanding. When he left us to go to war, he

assured us that he would have recourse to God, and that he would believe in him, without pretense. He knew very well that we took his words as the compliment of a Savage, who does not scruple to lie; hence, finding himself afterward in trouble, and addressing himself to God, he said to him, "The Fathers do not think that I have recourse to thee, and that I pray to thee, but they are mistaken; do not fail, however, to succor me." Now, as many events happened during the two years in which he sought for his Baptism, I will concisely report a part of them. See, then, what he related to us:

"When we left you to go to war, I told my comrades, towards evening, that we must offer the prayers that had been taught us; they laughed at me, and this was the reason why I only prayed to God in my heart. When we reached the country of our enemies, having advanced too far, we found ourselves instantly surrounded on all sides; then I made the sign of the Cross, and said to God, 'Thou art all-powerful; help me,—thou canst do it.' The combat suddenly grew fierce; the arrows flew through the air as the hail falls to the ground,—they flashed around me like lightning, without touching me; I saw my comrades fall at my feet,—some killed, others wounded, but I received no injury. At last, finding an opening through the enemy, I escaped with some of my people, and being pursued, we went like the wind. Those who accompanied me often told me that they could go no farther; for myself, I often lifted up my heart to God, and it seemed as if he so fortified me that I never felt any weakness,—either from hunger, or from the hardships that we endured."

JR, 16:173 [**The Christian religion causes a Huron convert to shun war.*]

He [**Pierre Ateiachias*, a Huron, over 50 years of age] admired the beauty of our Faith, and, seeing our truths so in harmony with reason, he gladly approved them. Finding himself sufficiently instructed for Baptism, he asked for it with so cordial interest that one could not refuse him. Our Lord gave us a fine opportunity for ascertaining his constancy. Fifteen or sixteen Hurons, his compatriots, finding themselves stranded among the French in the beginning of winter, and not being able to return to their own country, remained for some time near the Seminary. As the greater part of them were thinking of war, where they still wished to go, and whence they had come, rather than of Gospel peace, they ridiculed our Neophyte, who gave them good advice, with a prudence and skill that were very remarkable. But, seeing that his words fell to the ground, he quietly withdrew from their society so as not to participate in their follies. They reproached him with being no longer a Huron, and with renouncing his own country. But this good Catechumen, caring little for their censure, mildly answered them that he was not casting off his love for his nation, but that he was giving up its vices.

JR, 16:201 [**The transference of the names of those killed in war for the purpose of revenge.*]

I do not know whether I have mentioned a custom the Savages have, of

resuscitating or bringing to life again their departed friends, especially if they were men of influence among them. They transfer the name of the dead to some other man, and lo, the dead is raised to life, and the grief of the relatives is all past. Observe that the name is given in a great assembly or feast; a present is added, which is made on the part of the relatives or friends of him who has been brought back to life; and he who accepts the name and the present binds himself to take charge of the family of the deceased, so that his wards call him their father. This custom seems very commendable for the good of poor orphans.

They observe the same ceremonies when some brave man has been slain by their enemies. If he had a porcelain Collar, or something else of value, his friends offer it to some good warrior, or make him some presents from their own means. If this man accepts them, together with the name of the dead man, which they publicly give him, he binds himself to go to the war, to take with him such men as he can, and to kill some of the enemy, in place of the deceased who lives again in his person.

JR, 16:213 [**Women captured by the Iroquois escape ca. Spring 1639.*]

The Iroquois, having carried away a poor old woman more than seventy years old, tore out her toe-nails and finger-nails, and applied burning torches to several parts of her body; they took her away with other prisoners to their country. When they came to pass a rapid or waterfall where every one went on shore, this poor woman, without seeming to take any notice, picked up a shell that she found on the strand, and held it tight, not uttering a word. That night, when all were asleep, she quietly cut her cords with this shell, and fled stealthily into the woods. She succeeded so well that her enemies could not find her again; and she reached the three Rivers on the sixth day after having left the Iroquois, having traveled—partly on foot, and partly by water, in a wretched Iroquois canoe that she found—during all that time, and this without eating. In truth, it is really astonishing that a woman nearly eighty years old could traverse so many thickets,—almost entirely naked, her feet throbbing with pain, her toes without nails, her sides all burned, assailed by armies of thousands of mosquitoes, with which these countries are infested,—and endure these hardships for five or six days without taking any food....

Another woman, not quite as old as this one, seriously endangered her life in the defeat of her people. When she saw that the Iroquois were fighting with them, she ran into the depths of a great clump of firs, where she heard the cries and the blows of the combatants; and, lest her footsteps or tracks should appear, she concealed herself in some muddy and stagnant water that she found there. As she was not far from the Iroquois Fort, she dared not leave this gloomy abode. At last, the enemy having departed, she emerged from it, two days after the fight, to repair to our French settlement. She had not gone far when she heard a loud cry; thinking that it was still the Iroquois, she ran back into her den, where she passed another whole day. The next day, think-

ing that all was at peace, she left these cold and miry waters: but, as she approached the French, she heard some loud cannon-shots. This poor creature imagined that the Hiroquois were attacking the Fort, and that they were having a fierce fight. She again plunged into the mud, and passed there the two following days. In brief, her misery compelling her to emerge therefrom, she returned cautiously, trying to discover by stealth whether the enemy were visible. She was greatly astonished, when, upon approaching our dwelling, she saw her people encamped in safety. She accosted them, and related her misfortune; and they explained to her how the cries she had heard were those of the people of her own Nation, and not of the Hiroquois; and that the cannon she had heard was discharged in honor of the coming of Monsieur our Governor to the three Rivers. This wandering would have been enough to kill a strong and healthy man; and this woman experienced no other harm from it than what she endured in her gloomy solitude.

Father Hierosme Lalemant. 1639. Relation of the occupations of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, who are in the Huron land, a country of New France. From the month of June, 1638 to the month of June 1639.

JR, 17:27 [**The Wenros break off their alliance with the Neutrals and move to Huronia.*]

The Wenrôhronons formed in the past one of the associate Nations of the Neutral Nation, and were located on its boundaries, toward the Hiroquois, the common Enemies of all these Peoples. As long as this Nation of Wenrôhronons was on good terms with the people of the Neutral Nation, it was sufficiently strong to withstand its Enemies, to continue its existence, and maintain itself against their raids and invasions; but the people of the Neutral Nation having, through I know not what dissatisfaction, withdrawn and severed their relations with them, these have remained a prey to their Enemies; and they could not have remained much longer without being entirely exterminated, if they had not resolved to retreat and take refuge in the protection and alliance of some other Nation.

All things considered, they decided that they could not do better than to choose that of our Hurons. Accordingly, they deputed the most intelligent among them to come and make such proposal, which was done in the councils and assemblies, both special and general, of the whole Country; here, finally, it was concluded to receive them, their arrival serving not a little for the defense and preservation of the country.

In consequence of this resolution they took the time to go after them and assist them in their journey, both to relieve them in carrying their household goods and children,—as they have in all these countries no other conveyance on land than the heads or shoulders of men and women,—and also to defend them from their common enemies and act as escort for them.

Notwithstanding the help that could be given them, the fatigue and inconveniences of such a voyage—of more than eighty leagues, made by over six hundred persons, of whom the majority were women and little children—were so great that many died on the way, and nearly all were sick when they arrived, or immediately afterwards.

JR, 17:63 [**Huron victories over the Iroquois and torture of captives, December 1639.*]

The first one baptized in this village [**Teanaustayaé*] was a poor unfortunate Hiroquois, a prisoner of war, who was taken to another village, near this, to be given as a recompense to the relatives of that brave Taratwane who was captured during these last years by the enemy, as has been mentioned in previous Relations. I do not know if I should not tarry for a moment to consider and admire the adorable Providence of God towards this poor wretch, and his fellow prisoners, to the number of 12 or 13, baptized by the Fathers of this Residence; but I prefer to leave these reflections to those who shall cast their eyes over this Narrative, and to stop only to observe some circumstances of these events which render them more important. For a long time, the Hurons had no more good fortune or advantage over their enemies until last year. Having gone to war, together with some Algonquains, their neighbors, they captured at one stroke, about eighty of their enemies, whom they brought home alive. Besides this victory, the most notable of all, they had others of less importance, which in all gave them more than a hundred prisoners.

All those who were assigned to the Villages where we have residences, or which are near these, were, thank God, instructed and baptized, and hardly one without circumstances so peculiar that there is reason to believe that there was, in their cases, some special guidance of divine Providence and of their predestination. In many instances, we had only the exact time necessary for their instruction and baptism; others, after having been baptized, were so comforted that they could not refrain from putting into song the cause of their consolation,—that thenceforward, at least, they were sure of going to Heaven. Others nobly refused to imitate foul and immodest actions to which their captors tried to incite them. Others afterward displayed so much fortitude in their torments that our Barbarians resolved no longer to allow us to baptize these poor unfortunates, reckoning it a misfortune to their country when those whom they torment shriek not at all, or very little....

Among those who showed most fortitude, and most appreciation of their good fortune, was one Ononelwaia, in baptism named Pierre, who was one of the prisoners at that principal defeat of which we have just spoken, a Captain of the Oneiouchronons, a nation of the Hiroquois. This man, being fastened to a stake upon a platform, not very far from his companion fastened to another,—where our barbarians, every one according to his pleasure, tormented them, by the application of flames, firebrands, and glowing irons, in ways cruel beyond all power of description, and beyond all imagination of those

who have not seen it,—Pierre, I say, seeing this companion of his lose patience in the midst of these torments, comforted and encouraged him by representing the blessedness they had found in their misfortune, and that which was prepared for them after this life. Finally seeing him dead, “Ah, my poor comrade,” said he, “didst thou ask pardon of God before dying?”—fearing that the evidence of suffering he had given was some grievous sin.

This brave spirit, who merited a better fate, was more tormented than ever by our barbarians after the death of his companion; for, the latter having died sooner than they expected, they all wreaked the rest of their fury upon him who remained. Accordingly, the first thing they did to him afterward was that one of them cut with a knife around his scalp, which he stripped off in order to carry away the hair, and, according to their custom, to preserve it as very precious.

After such treatment one would hardly believe that there could remain any sensation of life in a body so worn out with tortures. But lo! he suddenly rises, and, seeing upon the scaffold only the corpse of his, dear companion, he takes in his hands, which were all in shreds, a firebrand, that he might not die as a captive, and that he might defend the brief liberty he had recovered a little while before death. The rage and the cries of his enemies redouble at this sight; they rush towards him with pieces of red-hot iron in their hands. His courage gives him strength; he puts himself on the defensive; he hurls his fire-brands upon those who come nearest him; he throws down the ladders, to cut off their way, and avails himself of the fire and flame, the severity of which he has just experienced, to repel their attack vigorously. The blood that streamed down from his head over his entire body would have rent with pity a heart which had any remnant of humanity; but the fury of our barbarians found therein its satisfaction. Some throw upon him coals and burning cinders; others underneath the scaffold find open places for their firebrands. He sees on all sides almost as many butchers as spectators; when he escapes one fire, he encounters another, and takes not one step without falling into the evil that he flees.

While defending himself thus for a long time, a false step causes him to fall backward to the ground. At the same time, his enemies pounce upon him, burn him anew, then throw him upon the fire. This invincible spirit, rising again from the midst of the flames,—all covered with cinders that were imbed in his blood, two flaming firebrands in his hands,—turns towards the mass of his enemies, to inspire them with fear once more before he dies. Not one is so hardy as to touch him; he makes a way for himself, and walks towards the Village, as if to set it on fire.

He advances about a hundred paces, when some one throws a club which fells him to the ground; before he can rise again, they are upon him; they cut off his feet and hands, and, having seized the rest of this mangled body, they turn it round and round over nine different fires, which he almost entirely extinguished with his blood. Finally they thrust him under an overturned tree-trunk, all on fire, so that, at the same time, there may be no part of his body which is not cruelly burned. It was then that nature, before yielding to the cru-

elty of these torments, made one last effort, that could never have been expected. For, having neither feet nor hands, he rolled over in the flames, and, having fallen outside of them, he moved more than ten paces, upon his elbows and knees, in the direction of his enemies, who fled from him, dreading the approach of a man to whom nothing remained but courage, of which they could not deprive him except by wresting away his life.

This they finally did, one of them cutting off his head with a knife. Happy stroke which gave him freedom! For we have reason to believe that this brave spirit is now enjoying in Heaven the freedom of the children of God, since even his enemies loudly exclaimed that there was something more than human within him, and that without doubt baptism had given him his strength and courage, which surpassed all that they had ever seen.

Several Savages have reported with wonder, and a sort of conviction of the truths that we preach to them, that, shortly before he received the last blow which caused his death, he raised his eyes to Heaven and cried out joyfully, "Let us go, then, let us go," as if he were answering a voice that invited him.

JR, 17:71 [**Another account of the Huron/Algonquin victory.*]

Some Adventurers from the band of our Hurons and Algonquains having, in that most important defeat, gone on ahead of their troop of three hundred men to discover if there were any of the enemy in ambush, found themselves rather nearer than they thought. They were not, however, so greatly taken by surprise that the majority of them could not retreat to the main body; only one of them was caught by the enemy, who, finding that they were discovered, decided to return with this one trophy, although they were a hundred in number. But the captive, seeing them in this mind, gave them to understand that those who were coming against them were not so numerous that they could not easily overpower them. He told them this in such a manner and such a tone that they believed him, and resolved to make a fort, and there await the entire body of their enemies. But they were utterly astounded, when our Barbarians approached, to see the multitude of these, and to find themselves so surrounded that they hardly had a chance to flee. However, there being still a certain place through which they could escape, they began—after having vented their wrath upon their captive, whom they immediately tore to pieces—to consider what was to be done.

The majority advising flight, Ononkwaia, or Pierre, he of whom we have just spoken, casting his eyes on the Sky and seeing the unclouded Sun, said, "This resolution would be passable if the Sky were covered and if the Sun were not a spectator of this cowardice; but as it is, we must fight as stoutly as we can, and then each one shall decide what he ought to do." No sooner said than done. But our Hurons and Algonquains played their parts so well that, having killed upon the spot only 17 or 18, they took alive all the rest, except four or five who escaped them; and all these, having been brought to this country, were distributed through all the villages, where they were made to endure sufferings which it is not possible to describe.

I cannot, however, omit here one detail of the cruelties that were practiced upon the first captive tormented after my arrival in this country, who had been brought hither as a prisoner of war. It was the first day of December, which gave us reason to name him, at his Baptism, François, in honor of saint François Xavier, whose feast we celebrated the next day. This poor wretch on the night of his tortures (for it is essential to employ therein at least one, whole night) was, among others, taken in hand by one of our Barbarians, who, having commanded him to put his hands to the ground, pierced them one after the other with a heated iron, and did not cease raising and lowering them, and sliding them along the iron, until its glow was quenched. It was said that some one else did the same thing to his feet. Nothing more was wanting, except to open his side, to make him in some sort like him whose blood a little while before had been applied to him through Holy Baptism,—that, likewise, did not fail him, for shortly before expiring, it was opened to tear out his heart. If this kind of torture did not serve this poor wretch as a consolation,—in seeing himself in this respect like him whom he knew simply in not being ignorant of him, and only as much as was necessary to experience him as his Savior,—at least it availed with the others, who experienced a special sense of the obligation laid upon us by this good Lord and Master, who, by the wounds that he consented to receive for us, has delivered us from the fires and torments, of which those that our Barbarians exercise upon their captives are only transient shadows and images.

Our Barbarians,—who know the displeasure that we feel at these cruelties, and particularly at their inhumanity in eating the bodies of these poor victims after their death,—found means, in order to annoy us, of throwing one of the hands of this poor dead man into our cabin, as if giving us our share of the feast. We were surprised to see at our feet this pierced hand; and considering that it was the hand of a Christian, we buried it in our Chapel and prayed to God for the repose of his soul.

One could make a Romance of the adventures of this poor captive. He was of the Agnierhonon Nation [*Mohawk], which forms one of the five Nations of the Hiroquois, the one farthest from our Hurons. He left his own country to come to the Hiroquois nations nearer to us, intending to trade some porcelain that he had brought for some beavers. But, when he arrived, instead of doing this for which he had come, he began to gamble and lost all he had brought with him. Ashamed to return home without any other achievement, he decided to remain there for some time; and, a little while afterwards seeing some people from that place who were undertaking a raid into our region, he became one of the party; but, their plans having resulted unsuccessfully, he was one of the captives, and was brought to this village, where he came to the end we have just described.

JR, 17:97 [*An Iroquois prisoner is killed at the Huron village of Scanonaenrat, ca. 1639.*]

Some days later, a few others were baptized, and thereafter others besides, on different occasions, and on visits which were afterwards made in this vil-

lage, so that at present the number of Christians amounts to about twenty. A few more, either children or elderly persons, were baptized in the extremity of sickness or misery, as, among others, a poor Hiroquois prisoner, who was taken thither while the Fathers were there for the first time. This poor unfortunate having held out 24 hours after his baptism, it was learned that during his last and fatal night he had made an effort to choke himself. This obliged them to go and visit him a little while before the final cruelties were exercised upon him, to make him acknowledge his fault, to lead him to accuse himself thereof, and ask pardon for it. Having done this, he was granted absolution; and two hours later he was boiling in a kettle, of which the inmates of the Fathers' cabin were invited to come and take their share.

JR, 17:101 [**Hurons torture and execute an Iroquois prisoner.*]

Two days later, the day of the feast of St. François Xavier [*December 3, 1639], authentic news was brought of the arrival of a prisoner of war, a Hiroquois by nation, to that village, who had been brought thither from the frontier villages of the country, that he might be given to some relative of those who had been formerly captured by the Enemies. The same Father who had been there two days before was appointed, with another, to go promptly to the execution of this poor wretch, and to labor, on their part, for the welfare of his Soul....Passing farther on, they arrived at the cabin where this poor prisoner was. He was a young man of 22 years, as graceful and well-made a savage as one could meet, seeming to have nothing of the barbarian about him except the wretched condition in which he was. Both of his hands were all covered with blood, because, as a jest and for diversion, two of his fingers had been cut off, in anticipation of the treatment that his captors expected to give him the next night.

This poor young man, at the first words our Fathers said to him, appeared so depressed by the pain he was suffering, and by his misfortune, that they doubted whether they could look for much satisfaction from him. They bethought themselves to take out a picture of Our Lord; at this sight the young man's interest was aroused; he listened to what was said to him, and, to be brief, he gave all the satisfaction necessary for their purpose—even beginning to chant his act of contrition, and evincing much satisfaction and consolation; he was, therefore, baptized.

But behold where divine Providence appeared especially adorable toward this poor unfortunate. For, since affairs were not found to be in the condition necessary to leave him at the disposition of the people of this village, it was decided to take him back to the place whence he had come, to consider again what should be done with him. But, having once reached that place, he did not leave it again, and there passed through the cruelties common to the Barbarians of these countries,—as if he could not die until he had been baptized, and as if he had no other business in our quarters than to meet there this blessed fate, by which he was enabled to exchange his extreme misery for Eternal happiness.

JR, 17:105 [**More Iroquois prisoners are baptized and killed. The war between the Hurons and Senecas is recommenced in earnest.*]

Among others baptized by the Fathers appointed to the Missions, were eleven prisoners of war, out of twelve that were brought into the country toward the end of the month of May of this present year. It was not without difficulty and hard work that they succeeded in this undertaking, on account of the hindrances that are encountered in the baptisms of such persons, as we have more fully stated in chapter 5; but it must be acknowledged that there is nothing that charity will not conquer....

Of the 12, two were assigned to this village whence I am writing, and abandoned, as usual, by those who were their masters, to the customary cruelties of the country. Both were of the number of the baptized; one of them, especially, showed a constancy in his torments beyond not only anything that one had ever seen, but perhaps beyond what one could have imagined if one had not seen it. During the first two hours of the night, while he was tormented in every way,—with burning brands, glowing hatchets, and other iron tools, red-hot, that were applied to every part of his body,—he did not tremble or flinch any more than if he had been of marble. He never complained or cried out, or even sighed, as an indication of his suffering,—which threw into a fury those who tormented him, who count it a great misfortune when they encounter such steadfastness. They strove in vain,—they sooner became weary of tormenting him than he of suffering; he himself stood still, and offered himself to those who most desired to torment him; and, while they did this, he conversed as coolly with all those who chose to question him as if it were some one else that was being tortured. And, when he was not talking, he never ceased to sing, often repeating in his song, “Aronhiac Eskenonteta,” “I am going away to Heaven, then,”—although there was not one of ours present to remind him of his good fortune. When they first accosted him to give him instruction, you would have said that they brought him tidings for which he had been waiting thirty years, and for which he was long since prepared, so readily did he accept and grasp all at once the essential points. All these occurrences make us see close at hand the adorable secrets of God’s predestination concerning his Elect. Finally, when morning came, our Barbarians quickly put him to death, seeing that the prolongation of his tortures was that of their own confusion, and that their exertions were only thrown away, without obtaining therefrom, or giving to the public, any pleasure, which consists above all in hearing these poor victims of their fury shriek....

I do not know whether the misfortune our Savages apprehend, as pre-saged by the fortitude of their prisoners, will happen; I pray God that he may avert it from their heads,—but I know very well that they have every reason, on other accounts, to apprehend it. These 12 prisoners are the first fruits of the war that they have undertaken anew this year against a powerful Tribe, named Senontouerhonons [**Senecas*], the nearest of all their enemies, with whom they were at peace for several years. They see clearly that this can only bring

them misfortune; but, some of their young men having last year recommenced hostilities, by killing some member of that Nation, the bitter memories and the resentment of those of their kindred who were formerly badly treated by those tribes, have caused a determination throughout the country to resume war against them, and to attack them, rather than to make amends for the fault.

JR, 17:119 [**Suspicion of the Jesuits grows in Huronia and is fanned by rumors from the English.*]

Because we predict to them the Eclipses of the Moon and Sun, which they greatly fear, they imagine that we are the masters of these, that we know all future events, and that it is we who order them. And with this idea, they address themselves to us to know if their crops will succeed; where their enemies are, and in what force they are coming,—being unable to persuade themselves that we are not wiser in all things than their sorcerers, who profess to discover such secrets. And what confirms them still more in their notion is that,—it being the custom of the country in public necessities to have recourse to the most famous Sorcerers, and these not hesitating to promise wonders, provided they are given presents,—we cannot, at such times, keep silent, especially since we have Christians who are found to be engaged and involved in such matters; we speak, therefore, and say what we ought. But forthwith, according to them, we are declared arraigned and convicted of that of which they accuse us,—of intending nothing else than the destruction and the ruin of the world, since we will not deliver them from their troubles, nor permit them to provide themselves with the ordinary remedies employed in their country from all time against their misfortunes, especially when, in their belief, it is we who are the cause of these. And consequently, there are threats of nothing less than blows with the hatchet, and every kind of murder....

The Demons, to fan and heat this furnace more, seem to have despatched some strangers to these countries at the outer confines of the earth. These are barbarians of the countries near the Ocean, dealing with certain European Islanders who have settled on the seacoast towards the South, and are persons that have always seemed alike hostile to the Roman Church and to those of our robe. These outlying barbarians, I say, finding themselves in these quarters through I know not what chance, have stated that these Europeans of whom we have just spoken, having learned that we were here, told them that we were associated to destroy and ruin the world!—that there were some like us in their own country in Europe, but concealed there without daring to show themselves; and that, as soon as any of them were caught, they were put to death.

Section Three

“They Have Thirty-Six Arquebusiers as Skillful as the French”

The Growing Iroquois Advantage and a Tentative Peace

1640–1646

In the beginning of the 1640s, war between the Iroquois and the Hurons, Montagnais, and Algonquins continued to rage. During this time, the Iroquois employed a new strategy against their enemies by attempting to make a separate peace with the French. In 1641, a large Iroquois war party arrived at Three Rivers to negotiate just such a treaty with Montmagny. The effort broke down due to French distrust of the Iroquois' motives and the Iroquois demand for a gift of arquebuses. The situation quickly devolved into renewed warfare.

Rather than abandon their Huron, Montagnais, and Algonquin allies, the French embarked on a different course. First, they began granting arquebuses to those among their allies who converted to Christianity. Second, Montmagny constructed a fort to guard the Richelieu River (or River of the Iroquois), the main thoroughfare used by the Iroquois to reach the St. Lawrence River. This fort, while still unfinished, was the site of a sharp encounter between the Iroquois and the French in 1642.

Raids and counter-raids were frequent, though by this time, the Hurons, Algonquins, and Montagnais were regularly getting the worst of such encounters. In 1642, Father Isaac Jogues and a party of Hurons coming down to trade were ambushed, captured, and tortured by the Iroquois. Fr. Jogues was able to escape with the help of the Dutch in 1643. By 1644, Iroquois raiding had effectively closed the St. Lawrence, cutting off the Hurons from their only source of European goods and weapons.

In 1645, an exchange of prisoners sparked peace negotiations between the Mohawks and the Algonquins, Hurons, and French. These talks were successful, though fighting between the allies and the other Iroquois nations continued. Father Jogues was sent back to Mohawk country in 1646 as an ambassador, but was killed later that year, once again rupturing the fragile peace.

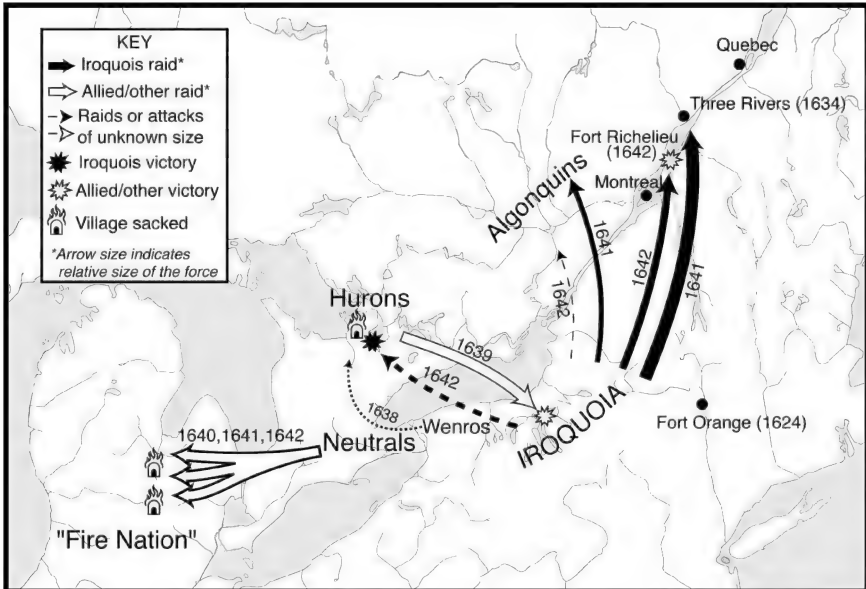
Father Hierosme Lalemant. 1640. Letter from Father Hierosme Lalemant of the Society of Jesus, to Monseigneur the Most Eminent Cardinal, Duke de Richelieu. From the Hurons in New France, March 28, 1640.

JR, 17:223 [**Lalemant requests aid from France against the English, Dutch, and Iroquois.*]

Among the difficulties that we apprehend to be more formidable than ever to the progress of the affairs of his divine Majesty, is the proximity of the English and Flemish, who line the seacoasts on our side, and who excite and strongly fortify the courage of the enemies of the tribes allied to us, among whom we live, and by whose means alone we can advance farther, either to the south or to the west. The enterprises of these hostile nations having succeeded, especially within a few years, according to their desires, they have reduced these poor peoples here to such a degree that I do not think, unless the evil be stopped at its source, that they can much longer exist. This will be readily granted, when one considers that in less than ten years they have become reduced from thirty thousand souls to ten thousand; so that if in the past, when their numbers were great, they were unable to resist their enemies, what can we expect for them in the future?

And although they might prove strong enough to resist them for some time yet in their own country, we must at least expect soon to see their trade with our French entirely broken off—for the enemies become every year stronger and more formidable upon the river, which is the only road they have for access thither. This rupture would be, for us, equivalent to their ruin, since it would render us unable to subsist here longer, and to carry on among them the affairs of our Master, which cannot be done without communication with our France.

Might I dare, Monseigneur, to express thereupon to Your Eminence one of my thoughts,—that it seems as if heaven expects from your zeal and generosity that, as you could not suffer heresy and foreigners to take deeper root in France, so you will not permit them to gain a foothold in this new jewel of the crown? It would seem that, hitherto, God has been pleased to reserve to Your Eminence the execution of all the desires and wishes of France, even as regards new France. Some time ago, the expulsion of the Huguenots, who occupied the midst of these lands, was so eagerly desired; without Your Eminence, who for this object sacrificed your own interests, the thing would still remain to be done, to the great detriment of the welfare of this country. I regard it as certain, that not for a hundred years hence, and perhaps never, shall we see ourselves rid of these other enemies of God and of the State, if Your Eminence do not put your hand to this work. Perhaps the advantages that might accrue to some individual assisted by your favors, Monseigneur, and by the authority of his Majesty, would remove many of the difficulties that may be encountered in this plan; but it is enough for us to hope that it may be acceptable to Your Eminence.



Map 3. The beginning of Iroquois dominance, 1638–1642. The movement of the Wenros in 1638 was a retreat toward Huronia, seeking protection from an unnamed enemy—likely the Iroquois.

Father Joseph Chaumonot. 1640. Letter of Father Joseph Marie Chaumonot to the Reverend Father Philippe Nappi, Superior of the Professed House at Rome. From the country of the Hurons, May 26, 1640.

JR, 18:29 [*An Iroquois captive is tortured.*]

Our Savages [*the Hurons*] captured, less than a month ago, one of their enemies; but, before being put to death, he was baptized by one of Ours, who by chance had just arrived in the village. While the Savages were tormenting this captive, he sang that he was to go to heaven. I would I could describe the tortures which they inflict upon those of the enemies who fall into their hands; but it is not possible to see in this world anything that better represents the way in which the demons torment the damned. As soon as they have taken a prisoner, they cut off his fingers; they tear his shoulders and his back with a knife; they bind him with very tight bonds, and lead him,—singing, and mocking at him with all the contempt imaginable. Having arrived at their village, they have him adopted by some one of those who have lost their son in the war. This feigned parent is charged with caressing the prisoner. You will see him come with a necklace in the form of hot iron, and say to him: “See here, my son; you love, I am sure, to be adorned, to appear beautiful.” While thus deriding him, he begins to torment him from the sole of the feet even to the crown of the head, with firebrands, with hot cinders,—piercing his feet and his hands with reeds or with sharp irons. When weakness no longer permits the captive

to stand upright, they give him to eat, and then they make him walk over the coals of several fires placed in a row. If he is exhausted, they take him by the hands and the feet, and carry him over these fires. Finally, they conduct him outside the village, and make him ascend a platform, so that all the Savages, seeing him in this lamentable plight, may satisfy their heart's rage. In the midst of all these tortures, they invite him to sing, and the sufferer sings in order not to pass for a coward. Very rarely do they complain of the cruelty which is practiced upon them. To crown all this infernal rage, they remove the scalp from these unfortunates. After their death, they cut their bodies to pieces, and give to the principal captains the heart, the head, etc. The latter make presents of the same to others, to season their soup, and to feed themselves therewith, as if it were the meat of some stag or other wild animal.

We now run the risk of being captured and treated in the same manner as the Hurons, with whom we live; for we pass, each year,—either while going down to Quebec, or in coming up,—by the very places where the enemies of our Savages are on the watch to seize them in their journey; and there is hardly a year when several Hurons are not captured or killed as I have just described.

Father Joseph Chaumonot. 1640. Letter of Father Joseph Marie Chaumonot to the Reverend Father Philippe Nappi, Superior of the Professed House at Rome. From Sainte Marie of the Hurons, August 3, 1640.

JR, 18:43 [**A Huron war party is ambushed, ca. 1640.*]

Our savages, having gone to fight, were surprised by the enemy in an ambush. Seeing the impossibility of defending themselves, the elders said to the younger men: "Since you can render services to our nation, take flight, while we shall check the enemy." This is what happened: those old savages were taken, led away captive, cruelly tormented, burned, roasted, and devoured,—according to the custom of this country, inhabited by cannibals, as I have already written to you.

Father Paul le Jeune. 1641. Relation of what took place in New France in the Year 1640.

JR, 18:183 [**The exploits of a Christian Algonquin, Pierre Trigatin.*]

I have spoken above of a Christian who was lame in one leg [**Pierre Trigatin*]. I can say that grace effected a miracle in this young man. I think I have described his baptism in preceding relations, but that will not prevent me from incidentally mentioning here one or two of his actions. He is of a hasty and proud disposition; but, if blood softens diamonds, grace subdues hearts. He related to us one day that, having gone to war, he saw himself pursued by three stout Hiroquois. As he then had good legs, he considerably outran them. At last, perceiving that they were not all three together, he turned around, attacked the first one and stopped him by an arrow shot. This done, he pre-

tended to flee, and the others pursued him; he turned again, and pierced the nearest one through; then, having thrown down his bow and quiver, he ran after the third, javelin in hand; but as he was afraid of encountering others, he withdrew, greatly rejoiced at having escaped such danger.

JR, 18:217 [**An Algonquin woman captured in her youth by the Iroquois is rescued years later by her countrymen.*]

Here are some observations taken from the memoirs of Father Buteux: "A band of Algonquins, dragging with them many poor widows and orphans, came to throw themselves into the arms of our charity, which were only too wide open to receive them.... We have baptized some of them who are a comfort to us,—among others, a good widow, who seems to have been reserved for Heaven by a special providence of our Lord. The Hiroquois, coming to make war against her country, carried her off in her childhood with some other prisoners. She was reared among them, and afterward reputed as a woman of their nation. Once, after she had grown up, the Algonquins went to war in company with the deceased Monsieur de Champlain [**in 1609*], and throwing themselves upon a Hiroquois village where this woman was, massacred all those whom they encountered. This poor creature, finding herself in the conflict, tried to make the Algonquins understand that she was of their nation; but she had forgotten her own language, except this one word, which she reiterated with all her might, *nir, nir, nir*, 'me, me, me.' This word saved her life. An Algonquin drawing her aside, she made him understand, as well as she could, that she had been captured in her youth by the enemy.

JR, 19:71 [*An Iroquois war ritual as told second-hand to the Jesuits.*]

Here is a strange Hiroquois custom: We have been told that they sometimes take a newborn child, stick arrows into it, and throw it into the fire; when the flesh is consumed, they take the bones and crumble them to powder; and when they intend to go to war they swallow a little of this powder, believing that this beverage increases their courage. They also use these ashes for their charms and superstitions. The mother who gives her child for this abominable sacrifice is rewarded with some valuable present. Is not this horrible?

Father Hierosme Lalemant. 1640. Relation of what occurred in the Mission of the Hurons, from the month of June in the year 1639, until the month of June in the year 1640.

JR, 19:81 [**Overview of the Huron military situation in 1640.*]

As for the war, their losses have been greater than their advantages; for, the whole matter consisting of a few broken heads along the highways, or of some captives brought into the country to be burned and eaten there,—without other purpose than to ruin and exterminate their enemies by killing them, and to frighten them from coming to war against them, by treating them cruelly in their tortures,—in all that, they have lost more than they have gained.

We note here the fulfillment of the word of the Prophet, that the wicked flee, though no man pursue,—these poor wretches being in almost continual terrors and alarms, lest their enemies be at their gates, and come to carry off their villages.

JR, 19:83 [**Huron sorcerers and their war predictions.*]

What the principal ministers of Satan, or the Magicians of the country work for, is to predict the results of war, to discover by their spells the hostile bands which take the field, and the number of the same, with the places where they are concealed,—intimidating by their threats those who have not recourse to their art, and on the contrary giving assurances of powerfully protecting those who acknowledge by some gift the demon that they adore. These impostors hold up their heads, and are acknowledged in public as Angels of light, and the country's defenders; they are loved and honored in this capacity; they are obeyed in all that they command, when they have once obtained credit. But there are others of them who conceal themselves like Angels of darkness, and dare not appear,—being accounted the country's misfortune, and the instruments of the demon for procuring the death of those whom they are supposed to bewitch. These are in abomination, and, even when they are only suspected, they are slain with impunity. It is quite assured that the one set is not whiter than the other, all being imps of satan; but yet, in order not to confound them, we will call the first set, by a name more honorable among the powers of hell, Magicians; and the second, Sorcerers, who are merely the valets of the devil.

In this connection, something remarkable happened at the Village of la Conception, about the end of the month of July [*1639]. A Magician—being consulted about the fears which prevailed, lest some enemies were in the field,—after having enacted many ceremonies, said that he saw so many, of such and such guise, and that in so many days they would arrive in the country. I know not what took place, but he acted in such a way that they had no faith in him. This wretched man, finding no better means for utilizing his trade and for maintaining his credit, bethought himself one evening to follow his wife, who was going to the woods, and taking her aside, he split her head. Then, to inspire terror in the village, he hastens thither all out of breath, uttering the cry of one who had discovered the enemy; the young men rush to arms, everybody is in awe and in the dread lest some one has been killed. There is visiting through the cabins, and, in fact, they soon ascertain the missing one; but the fright and the darkness of the night prevent them from pursuing the enemy, and from seeking this poor woman. The next morning they found her corpse bathed in her blood; but, having perceived no trail of an enemy, they soon suspected the assault, and so many circumstances so greatly increased the suspicion that they no longer doubted it. Nevertheless, those of the village dared not reveal the secret of the matter, in their fear lest, if it came to light, they would be obliged, according to the laws, to make satisfaction for this

murder to the relatives of the deceased, who was from another village. But that adorable eye which sees everything, and whose justice sometimes makes itself felt even in this life, did not permit this wretched man to proceed further; twenty days later, while going through the villages to raise the cry of another massacre, committed in fact by the enemies, he was assailed by a man of the country,—who, accusing him of being a sorcerer, split his head, without any complaint or investigation having been made.

JR, 19:91 [**Smallpox stirs up anti-French/Jesuit anger among the Hurons.*]

The villages nearer to our new house having been the first ones attacked, and most afflicted [**with smallpox*], the devil did not fail to seize his opportunity for reawakening all the old imaginations, and causing, the former complaints of us, and of our sojourn in these quarters, to be renewed; as if it were the sole cause of all their misfortunes, and especially of the sick. They no longer speak of aught else, they cry aloud that the French must be massacred. These barbarians animate one another to that effect; the death of their nearest relatives takes away their reason, and increases their rage against us so strongly in each village that the best informed can hardly believe that we can survive so horrible a storm. They observed, with some sort of reason, that, since our arrival in these lands, those who had been the nearest to us, had happened to be the most ruined by the diseases, and that the whole villages of those who had received us now appeared utterly exterminated; and certainly, they said, the same would be the fate of all the others if the course of this misfortune were not stopped by the massacre of those who were the cause of it.

JR, 19:219 [**A Huron brother's bravery.*]

“At the village of saint Xavier, I [**Fr. Ragueneau*] find three sick brothers; I instruct them; their mother opposes their baptism. ‘One of their brothers,’ she says, ‘died last Summer for having been baptized;’ she adds other blasphemies against God....

“Howbeit, that other brother who had died among them the Summer before, after having received holy baptism, had shown us a very special providence of God over him. Father Garnier fortunately arrived in this village at the very hour when they were bringing home this young man, who was already nearly dead; while they were fishing, two days’ journey from their own country, an unknown nation had come to fall upon their cabin, and had killed on the spot three or four of our Hurons, some others having escaped. This man, seeing a shower of arrows burst upon them like hail, instead of taking flight, seized in his arms a little brother that he had, and parried all the darts which they were letting loose upon this little innocent,—receiving them upon his own body with a courage and a brotherly love which seems to be marked by something more than nature. In fact, he preserved this little brother, but himself was pierced through with arrows, and fell, as if dead, upon the one whom he tried to cover with his body in dying. The enemies having with-

drawn, those who had taken flight returned to the place where the attack had occurred, and, having found this man with some remnants of life, they brought him to their village.

JR, 20:39 [**The ferocity of a Huron war captain.*]

Lately, a war Captain, when we spoke to him of hell, mocked those fires. ‘Those flames do not burn for me,’ said this braggart; ‘death dreads me; I seek it everywhere, and it shuns me; my most usual provision is the flesh of our enemies.’ This poor wretch was soon carried off by death, without ever consenting to acknowledge himself in error.

JR, 20:43 [**Huron relations with the Petun.*]

The Khionontateronons, who are called “the nation of the Tobacco,” from the abundance of that plant there, are distant from the country of the Hurons—whose language they speak—about twelve or fifteen leagues toward the West. These nations formerly waged cruel wars against one another; but they are now on very good terms, and have recently renewed their alliance, and made a new confederation against some other peoples, their common enemies.

JR, 20:59 [**Fire Nation identified as enemies of the Petun.*]

In another village, where some days before our Fathers had been quite well received, every one refused them shelter; and yet the night was very near, while they knew not where to go, being chilled through with cold, and all wet. A good old man whom they had formerly instructed, and who had relished the word of God, approaches them. “How now,” they said to him, “will your door be closed to us also?” “Come, and be welcome,” answered this old man. He was a stranger,—from a hostile nation which they call Atsistachronons, “Nation of fire,”—who, having been taken captive in his early years, received his life, and came to be at home among them.

JR, 20:77 [**Huron convert Joseph Chihouatenhoua is killed by the Iroquois.*]

I [**Hierosme Lalemant*] was preparing to write to Your Reverence for the last time in this current year, by the hand of Joseph Chihouatenhoua, our good Christian: and now the same paper of which he should have been the bearer is used to carry to Your Reverence the news of his death.

Yesterday, toward evening, the second of this month, while he was working in his field to cut down some trees, two Hiroquois, enemies of the Hurons, issued from the neighboring wood, where they lay in ambush, and having rushed upon him, pierced him with a long javelin. Then, having felled him with two blows of a hatchet, they promptly retreated in flight, after having removed his scalp according to their custom, in order to carry it away in triumph to their country. When it was seen, in his house, that he was late in coming back, they suspected what had happened; and in fact, having gone to look for him they found at the very place his body outstretched, stone-dead, and

covered with his blood. There are indications that they did not take him without resistance; and the elders of the village, after visiting the place, have inferred by the marks of feet round about, and from the trampling of the corn, that he had shown fight, and that the enemies would not have succeeded if they had not had a long javelin with which they reached him.

Father Barthelemy Vimont. 1641. Relation of what occurred in New France, in the years 1640 and 1641.

JR, 20:167 [**Christianity causes friction among Algonquin warriors.*]

These Algonquins [**of the Isle*] having returned to the three Rivers, sent to invite the Savages of Saint Joseph to go with them to war: he who brought the word, used these terms: "Here is a Masterly stroke for the prayers and the faith that you have chosen; the Algonquins of the Island and of the petite Nation say that, if you will accompany them to the war, they will all be baptized on their return, and they will adopt the prayers." Jean Baptiste Etinechkawat responded in the name of all: "Your argument is not properly stated,—you have inverted your words: you say, 'Let us go to the war, and then we will be baptized,' reverse your language, and say: 'Let us be baptized, and then let us all go together to the war.' If you speak thus, your speech will be straightforward; you will not put yourselves in danger of being lost, and God our father, seeing his children together, will have favorable opinions of us." This speech, in his own language, was not at all barbarous; and these sentiments are found only in a truly Christian heart.

Some of our Neophytes, however, accompanied them,—although with sorrow, on account of their superstitions. This is what one of them related to us on his return: "Setting out from Saint Joseph, we went to the Chapel to pray to God; passing through the three Rivers, we who were baptized confessed; and a little further on the unbelievers made a feast of two dogs; they chanted and howled according to our old customs, and all that for the sake of killing the enemy. I said plainly to them that that would avail nothing, but they mocked at it; five times they consulted the Devils in their tabernacles. During all that time we withdrew apart, kneeling in prayer; a Savage not yet baptized sided with us, renouncing the Sabbath of the infidels. At the last consultation, the enemies surrounded us; as soon as we had wind of it, my Jugglers quitted their tents, and took to their heels. I cried aloud to them and asked them of what use their demons had been to them; my speech was not long, for I had to escape, as well as the others. Some made for the woods, others for the water; we embarked upon the great lake, on which the Enemy was paddling; we passed and repassed each other in these dangers, without being discovered. I prayed to God in silence with all my heart; it seemed to me that I felt within me an unknown power which sustained me, and which gave me hope for my safety. So this is the way our war ended," said this good Neophyte.

JR, 20:213 [**A Huron is baptized and the French grant him an arquebus.*]

Father Jean de Brebeuf having come down from the country of the Hurons with Father François du Peron, was conducted as far as Kebec by the Savages, partly Christians, partly Catechumens. There was among them a man of importance and of good sense, a son of the Captain of his Village;...[A]s he is clever, and recognized as a man of ability, he is listened to and is much beloved by his Countrymen. Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny having learned from the lips of Father de Brebeuf the fine qualities of this good Catechumen, asked if they could not properly baptize him before his departure; the Father answered that this worthy man had not the most ardent desires for it, that they delayed it only to test him further. "He has never," said the Father, "positively opposed the faith....Having gone to the war, he became acquainted with two Christians; and, seeing them retire to the woods to flee the idolatrous rites of their Countrymen, and offer up apart their little prayers, he followed them and prayed as they did....Monsieur the Governor seeing a soul so well disposed, said for this good Neophyte what the Eunuch of Queen Candace said to saint Philip: *Ecce aqua: quid prohibet eum baptisari?*" "There is sufficient water in the country, what then should hinder his baptism since he believes with all his heart in Jesus Christ?" The Fathers readily acquiesced; Monsieur the Governor wished to be his Godfather, and the day was fixed for the twenty-sixth of June. The news was carried to this good Catechumen, and he was told that the great Captain of the French had interceded for his baptism; he was enraptured,—joy wholly possessed his heart. The ceremony took place in the Church of saint Joseph, to which the Savages go...Monsieur de Montmagny named him Charles, making him bear his own name; he was called in his own language Sondatsaa, of the Village Ososane. As soon as the sacred waters had touched his body, and purified his soul, his godfather caressed him, and said to him: "I rejoice to see you now in the number of God's children; inasmuch as you are freed from the bonds of the Demons, fight valiantly, and keep the word that you have given to God. Baptism has given you arms and strength against your unseen enemies,—use them courageously; and since the people that make war upon you desire to destroy you, I will arm you against them." Thereupon he presented him with a handsome arquebus, which astonished this good Neophyte, for these arms are wholly new to them. "Go," said he to him, "exhort your Countrymen to embrace the faith which you have received; and assure them, for me, that I will protect them if they put themselves within the pale of the Church."...

To these harangues the good Charles Sondatsaa responded: "*Onontio, great Mountain*" (it is thus that the Hurons and the Hiroquois call Monsieur our Governor, because his name is de Montmagny), "the name you have given me is a rich present,—it is an obligation that is peculiar to me, and which I shall feel all my life. This gun which you have added will make a great talk in our country,—it will show the regard that you have for believers; this affair is important, your power will touch many, and your present will never be forgotten."

JR, 20:257 [**Rumors of war among the tribes at Three Rivers.*]

I believe that the poor Church of the Three Rivers has been beaten this year by more kinds of winds than pilots and mariners have marked on their wind roses or on their charts. There has occurred there, from time to time, a gathering of different Nations, who have indeed given exercise to our Fathers. They have seen there Savages from the Island, those of the petite nation, of the Attikamegues, of the Montagnais, of the Oukotoemis, of the Ounatchataronons, and many others,—in peace, in war, and in little jealousies, one toward another; so that the bad harmed the good, and the Demons revived superstitions that are no longer seen at Saint Joseph, and which seemed to be extinguished at the Three Rivers. But let us listen to what Father Jacques Buteux and Father Jean de Quen write of this in the letters which they have sent to our Reverend Father Superior, and in the accounts they have transmitted to me. “The Christians of Saint Joseph who have come up here are doing very well. The fewer of them that can come, for the present, the better it will be for them; for the Savages recently arrived from lands of divers countries, not having yet had any instruction, resuscitate the old superstitions; they make the drums rattle, of which there was almost no longer remembrance; they revive the belief in dreams, that had been almost wholly forgotten. Those who have come from places nearer to the Hurons have brought I know not what dance or diabolical superstition, which has given us much trouble. Pride is reigning here, and the famine which is pinching these poor wretches will not succeed in bringing it down. The fear that they have of their enemies, prevents their going to the hunt so that their lives may be sustained. Every day and every night they have visions; they see, so they say, the Hiroquois behind their corn, they see them in the woods; they see canoes floating, they see them lying still; they see those that pursue them; they observe attentively the tracks of their enemies on the sand; they identify the place where they have slept, the trees from which they have gathered fruit, they even hear them yelling in the depth of the forest,—they give a thousand false alarms to our Frenchmen. And in all this there is but a single truth—to wit, that a vain fear of death engenders all these phantoms in their imagination, and turns them from the true fear which they ought to have of offending Him who alone can strengthen their hearts.

JR, 20:269 [**The Attikameks and their relations with the Iroquois.*]

What I am going to say of the Attikamegues, concerns this Residence, because the Fathers who are here instruct them,—but very seldom, for they make their appearance only like flashes of lightning.... They dwell in the lands to the North of the Three Rivers; they have dealings with other Nations still more distant from our settlements; they come down by the river which we call in the Savage tongue, “Metaberoutin,” and in the French, “the Three Rivers,” to trade at the warehouse of the Gentlemen of New France.... These good people had promised that they would come nearer to us, in order to be instructed; but the fear of the Hiroquois, the common enemy of all the Savages, who have

relations with the French, has made them abandon this idea; so much so, that, having come down to the Three Rivers this Spring, this is what they said to Father Jacques Buteux: "We promised thee last year," said their Captain, "that we would come and dwell a day's journey from your Settlement, as much in order to learn the way to heaven as to cultivate the land. We had a meeting concerning this subject in our country, and every one approved of this design; but the boasts of the Hiroquois made us suspend its execution. We are not men of war,—we handle the paddle better than the javelin; we love peace; that is why we keep as far as possible from occasions for fighting. If we could overcome these people who wish to massacre us, we would very soon be near you, for we have a great desire to be instructed." In fact, these good people are more often with us than at the warehouse where they buy their provisions.

JR, 21:21 [**War between the Mohawks and the French, Hurons, and their allies.*]

Under the name of Hiroquois we include six Nations, who are enemies of the Hurons, of the Algonquins, of the Montagnais, and now of the French. We have these people at the South, stretching from the coast of Acadia; they extend from Virginia Westward into the interior. Now, as their Villages are distant from one another, there is only the one Nation of the Agnieronons [**Mohawks*], properly speaking, which has declared itself the enemy of the French; this nation has three well-peopled Villages, situated rather near each other, on three little mountains; it is true that these Nations lend a hand to one another in their wars, as do also those who have some intercourse with the French. Several years ago, the Agnieronons killed a Frenchman in their own country, contrary to the common law of peoples, for he had been sent with some Savages to negotiate a peace with them. On the second day of June, in the year 1633, they treacherously killed three other Frenchmen, very near the stream which we call the Three Rivers. Since that time, they have massacred many Hurons and Algonquins, as I have shown in preceding Relations: in a word, they have reached such a degree of insolence, that we must see the country lost or bring to it a prompt and efficacious remedy. If the French were gathered near one another, it would be very easy for them to master these Barbarians; but being dispersed, some here, some there, gliding at all hours over the great river in shallops, or in canoes, they can be easily surprised by these traitors, who hunt men as we do wild beasts, who can injure and scarcely be injured,—for, when they are discovered, they do not ordinarily await attack, but are beyond the reach of your arms before you are in readiness to discharge them. Let us see now what they have done within the last year.

Toward the end of Autumn about ninety men set out from their country; they scattered themselves, some here, some there, by the little streams and by the rivers, where they know that our Savage allies go in search of beavers. About thirty of them having found their prey above Montreal, carried it away to their own country; the others came to prowl around the Settlement of the

Three Rivers. Two young Frenchmen,—one an Interpreter of the Algonquin Tongue for the Gentlemen of New France, named François Marguerie; the other called Thomas Godefroy, who is brother to a worthy inhabitant of the country, having gone on a hunting trip, were discovered by these Barbarians, who, following the track of their snowshoes imprinted on the snow, approached them with stealthy steps during the night, and suddenly attempting to spring upon them, uttered frightful shrieks and howls. One of the two Frenchmen had time to present his arquebus to the first one who endeavored to seize him; but by good luck, or rather by a providence of our Lord, it flashed in the pan. If it had taken fire, and he had killed this Barbarian, both of them would have lost their lives; he came off with only the stroke of a javelin which the enemy thrust into his thigh. The other Frenchman, having promptly risen at the noise, seized his sword; a Hiroquois shot an arrow at him, which passed under his arm. Another, intending to approach him, made a false step and fell into the snow; immediately the Frenchman presented his naked sword at his throat; the Hiroquois saw him do this without stirring,—not one made a show of hindering him, or of killing him, for fear he might transfix his enemy whom he had at his feet. At length this young man seeing that he would be massacred in a moment, if he went further, threw down his sword and surrendered, in order that he might have leisure to examine his conscience, although he had confessed and received communion the preceding Sunday,—preferring to be burned, roasted, and eaten, to dying in this headlong haste without thinking upon God. Behold, then, these two poor victims in the hands of these Tigers; they bind them, pinion them, and take them away into their own country with shrieks and yells, or rather with the howling of wolves. Nevertheless, having recognized that they were Frenchmen, they did not treat them as they do the Savages, but used greater gentleness; for they neither tore off their fingernails, nor mutilated them in any part of their bodies.

However, as they did not return on the day appointed, their friends began to suspect that some misfortune had happened to them; they were awaited some time longer, but as they did not appear, the French went to seek them in the place where they said they were going to hunt; they found a pole fixed in the snow, to which was attached a wretched paper, scribbled upon with a coal; they took it, read it, and found these words written: “The Hiroquois have captured us: go into the woods.” They entered the woods, and found a large tree from which the bark had recently been removed, and on which were written these words with charcoal: “The Hiroquois have captured us to-night; they have not yet done us any harm,—they are taking us away to their own country;” there were some other words which could not be read. This happened about the twentieth of February. This blow somewhat bewildered our Frenchmen, who fervently commended to God these two poor captives; all possible ways were sought to deliver them, but none seemed feasible. Our neighboring Savages told us, that it was all over with them, that they had been boiled or roasted, and eaten; but God, who is pleased to grant the prayers of

those who have confidence in his goodness, disposed of them otherwise; he restored them to us, and, from their own lips, we learned what follows:

"We arrived at the Village of those who captured us, after a journey of seventeen or eighteen days. At the report of our arrival, every one ran to see us,—not only the neighboring Villages, but also the other Nations wished to have the satisfaction of seeing the captive Frenchmen; they made us stand up at all hours, that they might look us over from head to foot. Some derided us, others threatened to burn us, others had compassion on us; some Hiroquois who had been prisoners at Kebec, and at the Three Rivers, and who had been favorably treated by the French, looked kindly on us, and told us that we should not die. One among them, to whom François Marguerie had been very kind, and whom our Fathers had aided in his necessity, said aloud that the Frenchmen were good, and must not be put to death." An act of kindness is never forgotten by God,—he knows how to reward it in his own time; it is well to practice acts of charity and mercy, for the sake of his love.

A young Algonquin prisoner, whose life had been spared by the Hiroquois, recognizing our Frenchmen, said to them: "Take courage, you will not die; inasmuch as you know how to pray to God, he will not fail to succor you." I do not know whether that young man had any confidence in his sovereign Lord; but, at all events, he escaped from the hands of his enemies.

Notwithstanding all these declarations, these young men had every reason for fear, seeing themselves in the midst of barbarism and of cruelty, without help from any creature. The question was of nothing less than fire, and of the fury and teeth of these barbarians, who practice strange tortures on their prisoners.

Some Savages of the upper Nations, not wishing to irritate the French, made presents that these two poor captives might be set free. At length a council was held in the country, and they concluded to negotiate peace with the French; that being done, they promised the prisoners that in the Spring they should be taken back to the Three Rivers. In the meantime, they were given in keeping to two heads of families, who treated them like their own children. One of these, seeing that his prisoner prayed to God night and morning, and that he made the sign of the Cross before each meal, asked him what this sacred sign meant; having had for answer that the God who had made heaven and earth, the animals, and all the grains, preserved those who honored him and who had recourse to him,—*"I wish then to do the same,"* responded he, *"that he may preserve me and feed me."*

Another time several of these Barbarians invited one of their prisoners to sing after the French fashion. "Then," answered he, "be respectful; for the God of Heaven and of earth, whom we honor by our voices and by our Hymns, could punish you severely, if you should begin any scornful actions;" they all promised not to laugh, and to conduct themselves discreetly. The Frenchmen intoned the *Ave maris stella*, to which they listened, their heads being bowed with much modesty and respect; they declared afterward that the song had pleased them. The blessed Virgin who caused that Hymn to be sung

every day at Kebec for the deliverance of the prisoners, foresaw from that time their liberty, and perhaps also asked from her son the conversion of these tribes, who will very soon hear the clarion of the Gospel, if old France love the New, as an elder sister should love the Younger.

Now, these two poor Frenchmen being distressed by the severity of the cold,—for, partly through force, and partly out of good will, they had given the best of their clothing to these Barbarians,—one of them, having a knowledge of the English language, wrote to the Hollanders who have seized a part of Acadia, which belongs to the King, begging them to have pity upon their poverty; he used a beaver skin for paper, a little stick for a pen, and some rust or soot sticking to the bottom of a kettle, for ink. The Savage to whom the beaver belonged carrying it to the Dutch, they understood this writing, and, touched with compassion, they sent to these two poor prisoners a couple of shirts, two blankets, some provisions, an inkstand, some paper, and a short letter. The Savage delivered all faithfully except the letter, saying that the writing of the French was good, but that of the Hollanders was worth nothing. François Marguerie, having paper, wrote the whole history of their capture; and, as they feared the Hollanders might not understand the French language, he inscribed his letter in French, and in Latin as he was able, and in English. He believed that it was carried; but he saw no reply,—the Hiroquois doubtless were not willing to deliver one. Neither would they ever permit them to visit the Dutch. “Those people,” said they to them, “are cruel,—they will put us into irons, they will plunder our Countrymen, if they come into these quarters to liberate you.” The Frenchmen believed nothing of all this; besides, they did not wish to escape from the hands of these Barbarians, in order that, being with them, they might better incline them to an advantageous peace.

Toward the end of the month of April, the decision to seek this peace with the French having been made, five hundred Hiroquois, or thereabouts, set out from their country, well armed, taking with them the two Frenchmen. Some went back, others broke from the ranks in great numbers to go and meet the Hurons and the Algonquins, with the design of pillaging, killing, and massacring all those whom they could surprise; the remainder went directly to the Three Rivers. On the fifth of June [*1641?], at daybreak, twenty canoes appeared below the habitation of the French, all laden with well-armed men; others appeared in the middle of the river, equipped in like manner; immediately there was an alarm among the French, and among the Algonquins who dwell near us; these last cried out that all was over with their people who had gone to hunt beavers. At that moment, an Algonquin canoe, going out of the mouth of the stream which we call the Three Rivers, was taken by its enemies in the sight of the French and of the Savages, without any one being able to render it assistance. While we were in this alarm, another canoe appeared, guided by a single man, coming out from the quarter of the enemy and advancing toward the fort of the French; this canoe carried a little flag, as a sign of peace. We cast our eyes upon the pilot; in dress he appeared to be a Savage, but

by the voice we recognized that it was, François Marguerie, one of the two prisoners. Having set foot on land, he was conducted to the fort, that he might pay his respects to the sieur de Chanflour, who commands there. Every one ran, each one embraced him,—he was looked upon as a man raised from the dead, and as a victim escaped from the knife that was ready to sacrifice him, and from the fire that was ready to consume him; they made him abandon his rags, and re clothed him like a Frenchman. All were full of joy, and treated him affectionately, and after the first caresses every one became silent, in order to listen to him. He said then, that the Hiroquois, desiring the alliance of the French, had treated them mildly; that they had set out from the country five hundred in number, of whom three hundred and fifty were seen prowling along the river, in sight of the fort; that they had deputed him to speak concerning peace with the French, but not with the Savages,—the Algonquins, and the Montagnais, whom they hate unto death, and whom they wish to exterminate entirely. “They have,” said he, “thirty-six arquebusiers, as skillful as the French,—the remainder are very well armed in Savage fashion; they are abundantly furnished with powder, with lead, with bows, arrows, and javelins, and with provisions. They are hoping that a present will be given them, of thirty good arquebuses; they are resolute people, whom you must trust only with reserve, since an Algonquin woman,—who has lived for some time in their country, and from whom these Barbarians concealed little,—warned us in secret that these people wished to use our bodies as a bait, in order that they might take all the Savages, our confederates, ruin the whole country, and make themselves absolute masters of the great River. I am commissioned,” said he, “to return without delay; they have retained with them my companion as hostage, and I have given them my word that I will see them again as soon as possible.” The sieur de Chanflour gave as answer, that, this matter being of great importance, it was necessary that the great Captain of the French should be notified of it,—that they did not doubt he would approve of the pursuit of peace, that they were going to send Messengers to him, and that he would shortly be at the Three Rivers. Our prisoner, and a Frenchman who accompanied him, reëmbarked with this answer, set off by a quantity of provisions and little presents, in order to win these Barbarians. They approved our procedure, but they did not neglect to fortify themselves well, while awaiting the coming of Onontio,—it is thus they call Monsieur the Governor. They again sent back François Marguerie and Thomas Godefroy his fellow captive, beseeching the Captain of the Three Rivers to come and parley with them while awaiting the arrival of the great Captain. Father Paul Ragueneau and the sieur Nicolet,—both well versed in the Huron Language, which is related to the Hiroquois Language,—went to them instead of the Captain, who, with reason, was unwilling to leave his fort. Having arrived at the rendezvous of these Barbarians, they stated to them that the French had had great satisfaction in seeing their Countrymen: that they all took pleasure in the news of peace; and that they themselves had been sent to learn what was desired from the Captain whom they had asked to come. They replied

that they wished to talk,—that is to say, that they wished to make presents,—not only about restoring our prisoners, but about inviting us to make a Settlement near their country, to which all the Hiroquois Nations could come for their trade. They were answered, that they would be willingly heard, but that we were awaiting the great Captain, who had been informed of all that had occurred. They made long harangues upon the condition of their country, and upon the desire that all the Hiroquois Nations had to see themselves allied with the French; and, as evidence of their sentiments, they made a little present beforehand, while awaiting the coming of Onontio.

The next day three hostile canoes moved up and down before the fort, within hearing; one of the oldest men belonging to this squadron cried with a loud voice, speaking to the Savages: “Listen to me! I come to treat for peace with all the Nations of these parts, with the Montagnais, with the Algonquins, with the Hurons; the land shall be beautiful, the river shall have no more waves, one may go everywhere without fear.” An Algonquin Captain, perceiving the knavery of this impostor, answered him in a louder voice, and in a harsh tone: “I represent, in their absence, all the Nations thou hast named; and I tell thee, in their name, that thou art a liar. If thou camest to treat for peace, thou wouldst deliver at least one of our prisoners, according to our custom, and thou wouldst commit no act of hostility; but every day thou art on the watch to surprise us, and thou massacrest all whom thou canst entrap.” This being said, each one retired to his own quarters.

In the meantime, the canoe that had been sent to Kebec made all possible haste. Monsieur the Governor, having received the news, armed in a trice a bark and four shallops, took with him Father Vimont, our Superior, and voyaged against winds and against tides; but, seeing that the bark did not advance, he took the lead with his shallops, the sailors and soldiers rowing with all their might. At length they arrived at the Three Rivers, sooner than they had hoped. As soon as the enemy perceived them, they withdrew into their stronghold; they were, however, so enraged against the Algonquins that, an hour before Monsieur the Governor went to them, they fell upon an Algonquin canoe, managed by two men and one woman; the latter was killed, one of the men was taken prisoner, and the other escaped. On the preceding day, Anerawi, a war Captain of the upper Algonquins, had escaped from their hands, having seen them far off at the mouth of the large Lake near the Three Rivers, all the avenues of which they guarded with a multitude of their canoes.

*Of the deliverance of the French prisoners and the parley
concerning peace with the Hiroquois.*

Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny, having learned from the French prisoners, the mood of these Barbarians, and having discovered their malice by their actions, conducted himself with great prudence and tact. He cast anchor before their fort, within musket-range; these Barbarians made, very adroitly, a salute of thirty-six or forty shots from their arquebuses. That being

done, two canoes came from the Hiroquois to meet him, on board of which were put Father Ragueneau and the sieur Nicolet, that they might go and speak for the two prisoners, withdraw them from their hands, and hear the propositions for the peace which they came to seek. All four then entered the stronghold or fort of the Hiroquois, whom they found seated in a circle, in very good order, without tumult and without noise. They had the two negotiators of the peace sit upon a shield, and the two prisoners on the ground, binding these as a matter of form, to show that they were still captives. Thereupon, one of the Captains, named Onagan, arose, took the Sun as a witness of the sincerity of his proceeding, and then spoke in these terms:

"These two young men whom you see, are Hiroquois, they are no longer Frenchmen, the right of war has made them ours; formerly the mere name of Frenchmen struck terror to our hearts, their look appalled us, and we fled from them as from Demons, whom one does not dare to approach; but at last, we have learned to change Frenchmen into Hiroquois. These two whom you see before your eyes were taken this winter by a squad of our young men. Finding themselves in our hands, they feared lest they should be ill treated; but they were told that the Hiroquois were seeking the alliance of the French, and that no one would harm them. 'If that be so,' said they, 'let one of us return to the French, to inform them of your good intentions, and let the other go away into your country.' We replied that it would be more to the purpose if both of them should come to comfort all the Hiroquois Nations by their presence, since these all had affection for the French. Indeed, the more distant tribes made us presents; in order to save their lives. Their attractions were not needed to inspire in us love and affection towards you, our hearts were already wholly inclined thereto; you will learn from them that they have been treated as friends, and not as slaves. As soon as Spring appeared, we set out upon our way to bring them back; they are still Hiroquois, but immediately they will be French; let us rather say that they will be French and Hiroquois at the same time, for we shall be only one people." Saying that, he took the hands of Father Ragueneau, and of the sieur Nicolet, the delegates to negotiate peace, then touching them on the face and on the chin, he said to them: "Not only shall our customs be your customs, but we shall be so closely united that our chins shall be re clothed with hair, and with beards like yours." After some other ceremonies, he approached the captives, broke their bonds, and tossed these over the palisades of their fort, exclaiming: "Let the river carry these cords so far away that there may never be a remembrance of them; these young men are no longer captives,—their bands are broken, they are now wholly yours." Then taking a Porcelain collar, he presented it to the Negotiators of the peace with these words: "Keep forever this collar, as a sign of their full and entire liberty." Then causing two packages of beaver skins to be brought, "I do not wish," said he, "to restore you wholly destitute to your brothers; here is something to make for each of them a beautiful robe." He made then a number of presents, according to the custom of the country, in which the term "present" is called "the word," in order to

make clear that it is the present which speaks more forcibly than the lips; he made four of these in the name of the four Hiroquois Nations, as a sign that they desired our alliance. Lifting up a beaver robe, "Behold," said he, "the standard that you shall plant upon your fort, when you shall see our canoes appear upon this great river; and, when we see this signal of your friendship, we shall land with confidence at your ports." Taking another porcelain collar, he put it on the ground in the form of a circle; "See," said he, "the house that we shall have at the Three Rivers, when we come there to trade with you; we shall smoke therein without fear, since we shall have Onontio for a brother."

The peace Deputies expressed to these Barbarians a great satisfaction in all that had taken place in this council; they added that they were going to make a full report of the whole to Monsieur the Governor, who would not be able to speak to them until the following day, because it was already late; they carried away their presents, and took back the two liberated prisoners. As they were going away, this Captain called to them: "Say to Onontio that we beg him to conceal the hatchets of the Montagnais and of the Algonquins under his robe, while we are negotiating peace." They promised, on their part, that they would chase no Algonquin canoe, and that they would set no ambush for them; but their promise was only perfidy, for the Frenchmen had hardly withdrawn to the port of the Three Rivers before they pursued four Algonquin canoes, which were returning from the chase well laden with provisions and with pelts; the men were scarcely able to escape, all their baggage was plundered, and a poor woman, burdened with her child, was taken.

Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny judged from the report that had been made to him, and from the behavior that he had observed in this crafty and treacherous enemy, that the fear of the French arms made them desire peace with us in order that they might be able to massacre with more liberty, even before our eyes, the tribes which are our confederates; nevertheless, as he is prudent and skillful, he sought means of inducing these Barbarians to enter into a firm, universal peace with all the Nations which are allied to us. The next day, the feast of Saint Barnabas, these Barbarians, who did not dare to approach the fort, for fear of the Algonquins, awaited with impatience Monsieur the Governor; but the winds and the rain detained him, so that it was not until the following day that he set out in his shallops, laden with seventy men, well armed. He came to anchor before their fort; but the bad faith of these Barbarians making them guilty, aroused in them distrust, based upon a day's delay which was caused by the bad weather, and upon the acts of hostility which they themselves had committed, suspecting with reason that we had knowledge of them. We expected that they would come for the Deputies, to the peace, as they had already done, but their mistrust hindered them. They pushed an empty canoe towards our shallops, inviting Monsieur the Governor, Father Ragueneau, and the sieur Nicolet to embark and come to them; their design was to slay them, as a young Algonquin who had escaped from their hands told us afterward. This wholly brutal proceeding caused us to be more than ever on

our guard. The Captains were invited to come and listen to our words, as we had listened to theirs; no news from that! They were urged to send some Hurons, those who had been naturalized among them, and had become Hiroquois; to this they raised great objections. At last, two approached our shallops in a canoe; they looked around on all sides, to see if some Algonquin might not be concealed among us; but not perceiving any, three Hiroquois Captains embarked in another canoe; when they had approached within pistol-shot, they invited Onontio, that is, Monsieur our Governor, to speak,—in other words, to offer his presents.

I shall not relate the speech he made to them by his interpreter; it will suffice to say a few words of the manner in which he offered his presents to them, in compliance with the code of these peoples; his gifts surpassed by far those of the Barbarians.

He made one as thanks for the good cheer that had been given to our Frenchmen in their country,—he offered blankets, for the mats that had been spread under them during the nights; he gave hatchets, for the wood that had been cut in order to warm them in the time of winter; robes or hoods, for having reclothed them; knives, in the place of those that had been used in cutting off the heads of deer, of which they had made them feasts. Some other presents were for the Nations who sought our alliance, and others still, as a sign that they should see upon our bastions the standards of peace, and that they should find a house of security near us.

All these gifts were accepted by these Barbarians—apparently with great evidences of affection; but as they saw no arquebuses, for which they have a strange longing, they said we had not spoken of breaking the bonds of our captives whom they had set at liberty. Thereupon, still other presents were made to them for having struck off these bonds; but as we did not mention firearms, which was the most ardent of their wishes, that incited them to speak again. They then presented a porcelain collar as an invitation to us to make a settlement in their country; they gave a second one to serve as a conveyance, or as oars to our barks, that we might ascend thither; they offered a third one in the name of the Hiroquois youth, that their uncle Onontio, the great Captain of the French, might present to them some arquebuses; they brought forward a fourth one as a pledge of the peace which they wished to make with the Montagnais, with the Algonquins, and with the Hurons, our allies. They produced some beaver skins, as security that on returning to their Villages they would call a general assembly of the most distinguished persons of all the Hiroquois Nations in order to publish everywhere the generosity and the liberality of the French; in short, they made a last present to declare that they would give a kick to the Dutch, with whom they no longer wished to have any intercourse, they said. Observe, I beseech you by the way, the procedure of these people and no longer tell me that the Savages are brute beasts; certainly they do not lack good training. Their design was to make a patched-up peace with us, so as to be free from the dread they have of our arms, and to massacre, without fear, our con-

federates. Could they more artfully induce us to give them arms? could they more ingeniously insinuate themselves into our friendship, than by restoring to us our prisoners and offering to us gifts, than by indicating their willingness to be on good terms with those whom we protect in their presence, than by inviting us into their country, assuring us that they prefer us to the Dutch, extolling us above the generality of men? Such is their conduct, which lacks indeed the true Spirit of the children of God, but not the spirit of the children of the world. Monsieur our Governor, more discreet and prudent than these simple people are crafty, asked the advice of the Reverend Father Vimont, and of Father Ragueneau, on the present occasion; but, they having excused themselves from speaking upon a matter of war, he concluded, after having gathered the opinions of the leading men who accompanied him, that he ought not to make peace with these people to the exclusion of our confederates,—otherwise, we might enter into a more dangerous war than that which we wished to avoid; for if these peoples, with whom we live day by day, and who surround us on all sides, attacked us, as they might do, should we abandon them, they would give us much more trouble than the Hiroquois. Moreover, if the Hiroquois had free access to our ports, the trade of the Hurons, of the Algonquins, and of the other tribes who come to the warehouses of the Gentlemen of New France, would be entirely stopped; I say still more,—that from this very moment the trade is going to be ruined unless the inroads of these Barbarians be prevented. After all, neither Monsieur our Governor, nor any of the Frenchmen, could decide on throwing into the jaws of the enemy the new Christians who publicly profess themselves Frenchmen: it is also true that our good King, whom may God bless in time and in eternity, looked upon them and recognized them as his Subjects in the gift that he made of these regions to the Gentlemen of New France.

Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny, apprehending the force of these reasons, judged that it would be necessary to make the Hiroquois speak plainly; he gave notice to them that, if they wished a universal peace, it would be granted to them with great satisfaction by the French, and by their confederates; and that, if the present which they had made to the Algonquins for the purpose of entering into a peace with them were without pretense, they would immediately deliver one of the prisoners they had recently seized, such being the custom of friendly and allied nations. They replied that on the following day they would cross the great river, in order to come and treat of this affair with the Algonquins in our fort, and that we should withdraw. Monsieur the Governor, seeing well that their design was to escape in the obscurity of the night, replied that he desired to take back with him an Algonquin captive in order to restore him to his allied brothers, as an evidence of the peace which they wished to conclude. They pretended a willingness to give up one; but they finally replied that we should retire, and that, this affair being important, they would confer upon it among themselves during the night. Monsieur the Governor had them told that they might treat of it at their pleasure, but that he would not withdraw until he had seen the course of their resolution. While they

were parleying, lo! seven Algonquin canoes,—ignorant of the coming of the enemy, and filled with men, and game, and beavers,—appeared above on the great river. The young Hiroquois warriors, having perceived them, with difficulty restrained themselves,—their hands itched, as one says; but the presence of our armed shallops and of the bark—which, not having yet been able to ascend, began to appear drawing toward us with its sails unfurled—stopped them, and caused them to retire into their fort with some talk of setting at liberty, as soon as possible, an Algonquin captive. The execution of their promises was awaited; a full half-hour slipped by in profound silence; then suddenly was heard so horrible and frightful an uproar and clashing of hatchets, a fall and wreck of so many trees, that it seemed as if the whole forest were being overthrown; and then we were more than ever aware of their knavery. Monsieur the Governor, wishing to put them completely in the wrong before coming to hostilities, decided to spend the night on the water with his bark and shallops, in order to prevent their flight, and to sound them yet once more on their opinions concerning peace.

Of the war with the Hiroquois.

The next morning, Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny had a canoe equipped with a flag, in order to invite the Captains to a parley; they despised the canoe, the flag, and the herald. They assailed us with jeers and barbaric yells; they reproached us that Onontio had not given them arquebuses to eat—this is their way of speaking, to say that he did not make them a present of these; they erected above their fort, as a flag denoting war, a scalp which they had taken from some Algonquin; they shot arrows at our shallops. All these acts of insolence made Monsieur the Governor resolve to give them arquebuses to eat, but not in the way that they asked: he ordered to be discharged upon their fort the brass pieces of the bark, the swivel guns of the shallops, and all the musketry; all this was done by the French with such ardor, and so repeatedly, that although the enemy, by a stratagem that would not be expected from the Savages, indeed put themselves in safety, they nevertheless took such fright that, as soon as they were shielded by the darkness of the night, they carried their canoes through the woods, that they might embark a quarter of a league further above us and escape from our hands. When this was discovered, we resolved to pursue them; the shallops were rowed with all force, but the adverse wind and tide hindered them. Some Algonquin canoes attempted to give them chase; but, as they were few in number compared with the Hiroquois, Monsieur the Governor called them back. A young Algonquin, who had been for two years among the Hiroquois, and who escaped in this retreat, reported to us that these Barbarians were afraid of our cannon, and that if we had been able to approach them they would have been defeated,—that is to say, we should have put them to flight in the woods; for, as to killing many of them, that is something to which the French cannot pretend, inasmuch as they run like deer, they bound like harts, and they know better the ways of these vast and dreadful forests than do the

wild beasts, whose dwelling they are; the French did not lightly venture to entangle themselves in these dense woods.

After their retreat we saw, more than ever, their cunning and ability; they had a fort rather near the shore of the great river, from which they spoke to us; they had another, hidden further within the woods, but so well constructed and so well supplied that it was proof against all our resources. Now, mistrusting that we might come to hostilities with them, on account of the resolution they had made to continue war with our Savage allies, during the night they put their canoes in safety; they transported all their baggage to their second fort, to which they themselves secretly retired; and, to the end that we should believe them to be in the first one at which we were firing, having no knowledge of the second, they kept therein a fire continually burning. They left there also their arquebusiers, who, after having fired some shots, came out to take closer aim at us, skulking behind trees and shooting very skillfully. They let loose their whole fury upon our bark, knowing that Monsieur the Governor was therein; and truly, if it had not been well shielded, they would have wounded and killed several of our men,—a French sword, being visible above the screens, was carried away by an arquebus shot, many ropes were cut, and all the screens were filled with balls. They effected their retreat with good management, for they had charged their arquebusiers to fight valiantly, as they did, so that they might not be perceived while they carried across marshes and woods their baggage and their canoes. When night came they made their escape, as I remarked above. Thus the war with these tribes has broken out more fiercely than ever; but let us see what followed.

They had set out from their own country five hundred warriors strong, as I have already said; one band had gone to meet the Hurons, in order to set ambushes for them, and to await them as one awaits a wild beast in its flight. While these were on the watch, they perceived two canoes which were bringing to us Father de Brebeuf and some Frenchmen, but having descried them rather late, in a place where it was possible to escape by vigorous paddling, they let them go on without pursuing them or revealing themselves. It was a great proof of the goodness and of the providence of our Lord towards the Father, and towards those who accompanied him; for five other canoes filled with Hurons, coming shortly after, were attacked by these robbers, who massacred some of them; others escaped, and others fell alive into their hands, to be the sport of flames and of their rage, and to be the food of their wretched stomachs. Such is the funeral and such the tomb that awaits us, if ever we happen to die by the claws of these tigers, and the fury of these Demons.

One of those who had escaped from this ambushade went at once to the Three Rivers, the others ascended towards the country of the Hurons, to warn those who were coming down of the danger by which they might be lost. Some time after this defeat, Father Paul Ragueneau and Father Rene Menard, while reascending to the country of the Hurons, escorted by some canoes, met eight or ten Savages who told them that their lives would be lost if they went further,

as the enemy had not yet withdrawn. At this unexpected news, these canoes returned to the Three Rivers for the purpose of asking assistance from the Algonquins; these last exhorted them to go as far as Kebec in order to procure arms from the fort, and aid from the Christian Savages of Saint Joseph,—promising themselves to meet that escort. Father de Brebeuf, Father Ragueneau, and the good Charles Sondatsaa undertook this commission; they came to Monsieur the Governor, who shipped some well-armed and very resolute soldiers, commending them to the new Christians of Saint Joseph, who on their part armed eight canoes for the same purpose. When they were ready to set out, two Savages arrived from the country of the Abnaquiois, who told as news that the whole country of the Hiroquois breathed only war; that the English had abandoned the settlement they had made at Quinibequi; and that a man named Makheabichtichiou, of whom I have spoken above, had been wretchedly slain in their own country, by an Abnaquiois nearer to the sea. They said that this deed was done in drunkenness; that all his Countrymen had strongly disapproved of it, and that they had been sent to give satisfaction to the parents and to the relatives and to the whole Nation of the deceased. Now, as his relatives were for the most part at the Three Rivers, these two Abnaquiois had embarked with the fleet to go to them; the report of their arrival having already spread, our warriors, who had taken into their own canoes these two Ambassadors, met a rather unfriendly reception from the Algonquins.

They were told at first, that these Algonquins were inclined to seize the Abnaquiois, that they might put them to death, contrary to the law of all Nations; for they came to treat of peace. Jean Baptiste Etinechkawat and Noël Negabamat, who are the two principal Chiefs of Saint Joseph, seeing that the Algonquins were crowding together, and that some were armed, commanded those who were following them to make a halt and to load their arquebuses with balls. At these words, a young Algonquin advanced, knife in hand, to thrust it at one of the Abnaquiois, but this last, taking a step, backward, presented to him the muzzle of his arquebus. The Algonquins exclaimed that it was a feint,—that their custom is to terrify those who bring news of the death of any one of their Nation, even though they come as Delegates and as Mediators of peace.

At these words, each one stood still; they looked, although rather coldly, on the Abnaquiois discussing their affair; and an Algonquin Captain, a near relative of one of our Saint Joseph Christians, approaching and addressing him, said: "My nephew, I am very glad at thy coming." "And I," said this young Christian, "was much astonished, on landing at the Three Rivers, to see that arms had been seized. 'Indeed,' said I to myself, 'have we already arrived in the country of the enemy?' When I left Saint Joseph, I said in my heart, 'I shall find my relatives at the Three Rivers,—I shall surely be consoled by seeing them;' but as soon as I had set foot on land I found the country of the Hiroquois, for we were commanded to load with balls." "Didst thou load?" said his uncle to him. "Yes," responded he, "I put two balls into my arquebus." "Wouldst thou have fired on thy relatives?" "I would have obeyed our Captains, and fired right

and left: I am on the side of those who believe in God." These responses made me see the strength of faith so much the more as these Savages are closely bound to their relatives: but Jesus Christ came to break this bond. *Veni separare hominem adversus patrem suum.*

When this tumult was appeased, the sieur de Chanflour ordered the chief Montagnais and Algonquin Savages to be called, and to be asked when they would set out to escort the Hurons. The Algonquins made a sign to Jean Baptiste Etinechkawat, a Montagnais Captain, that this was for him to say; his speech was comprised in a single word,—“I am a Frenchman,” said he, “I have nothing more to say.” This word was worth ten thousand; he meant that he was a Christian and a Frenchman at the same time, that he was ready to obey the will of him who commanded the French, and that, in so urgent an affair, it was not a question of much speaking, but of marching without delay.

The Apostate Oumasatikeie began to speak with a thousand impertinences; at last he came to the conclusion that the enemy had departed, and consequently that there was no need of giving an escort to the Hurons.

Charles Sondatsaa, a Huron, thereupon vigorously harangued,—he pictured the danger and urged the Algonquins; but he spoke to those who had closed ears, and who rushed from the assembly as soon as they had inflicted their blow. The question now was, to see if the Christians in these eight canoes, which also bore a few French soldiers, would go on with the Hurons; their small number in comparison with the enemy was enough to terrify them. The French soldiers were asked if, seeing themselves destitute of help from the Algonquins, they were willing to go on further; they answered with a truly generous firmness that, Monsieur the Governor having commanded them to accompany the Christian Savages of Saint Joseph, they would never abandon them on account of any danger. Faith has an indescribable bond which unites hearts. The soldiers, on their return, spoke in the highest terms of our Neophytes, and our Neophytes could not sufficiently praise the soldiers. Here then were our French soldiers ready to embark, if the Christians in these eight canoes wished to go on. They were asked what their opinion was; they answered that it was not for them to decide it, that they were wholly disposed to receive the orders and commands of the French. This troubled the sieur de Chanflour, and all those who were present; not even one voted that they ought to command this voyage, no person was willing to expose these good Neophytes to the great dangers that were dreaded. “This small number of Christians,” said some one, “is like the yeast which ought to leaven the whole mass of Christianity in these regions; if they are defeated, the Unbelievers will become more troublesome than ever, and will accuse us of having forced to their death those who have received our belief.” On account of these objections, the poor Hurons, seeing themselves abandoned by all aid, were much distressed, and we as well as they; for Father Paul Ragueneau and Father René Menart were to accompany them.

At length, our Lord consoled us; for, at the very time they had resolved to set out, a Huron canoe arrived, and we learned that the enemy had retired; so

that the Fathers went on with the good Charles Sondatsaa and the other Hurons without any other discomfort than the great fatigues of a most frightful road.

A short time after their departure, some other canoes arrived, bearing Hurons, who greatly slandered poor Father de Brebeuf; they said that, having met a Huron who had escaped from the hands of the enemy, they had learned from him what I am going to relate. "Being in the hands of the Hiroquois," said this escaped prisoner, "one of them spoke to me in this wise: 'We have an acquaintance and a good understanding with the black-robed Frenchmen who are in your country, and especially with a certain man whom you call Echon,'"—it is thus they name Father Jean de Brebeuf, "'this man spent the winter among the neutral Nation, where he had communication with the Hiroquois, our confederates; he combined with them and with us that he might ruin you. 'Take courage,' said he to them; 'we entered into the country of the Hurons in order to exterminate them; we have already caused a great number of them to die by our prayers, as by powerful charms; but we have not been able to destroy them entirely. You must give the finishing stroke to them, by your wars and by your sudden attacks; when they shall be wholly destroyed, we will dwell with you in your country.'" When our confederates had informed us of all this, we came to lie in ambush for you. We recognized Echon, and visited him at night; he made us presents, and we let him go away. He apprised us of the canoes which were following him, and thus you have fallen into our hands,'" said the Hiroquois to this prisoner, according to the report of the calumniators who contrived these impostures in order to ruin us.

JR, 21:117 [**Iroquois interference with French plans for settlements and missions, ca. 1641.*]

First, I expect that Saint Joseph will be peopled by Abnaquois, by Bersiamites, by Savages, from Tadoussac, by the Porcupine Tribe, by the Oupapinachiwekhi, and the Oumamiwekhi; these are unimportant tribes in the Interior, who will rally about our Neophytes of Saint Joseph, and who will also, by degrees, call others. These Tribes have heard of Jesus Christ,—his Doctrine seems to them beautiful and desirable; the example of their fellow tribesmen who have become Christians, touches them powerfully; but the little assistance that we can give them, and the fury of the Hiroquois, hinder their coming to join us.

Secondly, the Attikamegues, and other Tribes of which I do not know the names, who are in the Interior, will settle at the Three Rivers; they would already have done so, but for the fear of their common enemy, the Hiroquois. They are good and docile peoples, very easily won to Jesus Christ.

In the third place, the Algonquins,—as well those of the Island as of the petite Nation, the Onontchataronons, and many others who are in those quarters,—some Hurons, and even also some Hiroquois, will one day dwell on the Island of Montreal and in neighboring places. This Island ought to be a great resort for many tribes. I do not say of the Hurons, the upper Algonquins, and the

Hiroquois, what I have said of the Attikamegues, of the Kakwazakhi, and of the Bersiamites; these latter are lambs, and the former are fierce as wolves; but *habitat lupus cum agno, et puer parvulus minabit eos*.

In the fourth place, after Montreal, *Videō turbam magnum quam dinumerare nemo potest ex omnibus gentibus*; I see at the South and at the West a great number of Tribes that cultivate the land and that are entirely sedentary, but have never heard of Jesus Christ; the door to all these peoples has been shut against us by the Hiroquois. In all these vast tracts there are only the Hurons, and some other neighboring Tribes, to whom we have carried the good news of the Gospel; but then we are obliged to approach them by horrible roads and long detours, and in continual danger of being boiled or roasted and then eagerly devoured by the wretched Hiroquois. We do not lose courage on account of this; we believe that God will make a light in this darkness, and that some powerful Spirit will open the door to the Gospel of Jesus Christ in these vast regions, and that old France will save the life of the New, which is going to be lost, unless it be vigorously and speedily succored; the trade of these Gentlemen, the French Colony, and the Religion which is beginning to flourish among the Savages, will be subverted, if the Hiroquois be not overcome. Fifty Hiroquois are capable of making two hundred Frenchmen leave the country,—not if they fought unflinchingly, for in that case fifty Frenchmen would rout five hundred Hiroquois, if the Dutch did not give them firearms. If these Barbarians become enraged at our Frenchmen, they will never let them sleep soundly; a Hiroquois will remain for two or three days without food behind a stump, fifty paces from your house, in order to slay the first person who shall fall into his ambush. If he be discovered, the forest serves him for an asylum; where a Frenchman would find only hindrance, a Savage will bound as lightly as a deer. What opportunity is there to take breath, in such anxieties? If we do not make friends with these people, or if they be not exterminated, we must abandon to their cruelty many good Neophytes; we must lose many beautiful hopes, and see the Demons reënter their empire.

Father Hierosme Lalemant. 1642. Relation of the most remarkable things that occurred in the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in the Huron country of New France, from the month of June in the year 1640, to the month of June in the year 1641.

JR, 21:171 [**Jesuits convert an Iroquois who is tortured by the Hurons.*]

These two Missions are sufficiently well peopled to give adequate employment to six or eight workers; but the small number that we have among the Hurons not being even ample enough to furnish two Fathers to each Mission, we have found ourselves obliged to unite these two under the care of Father Antoine Daniel and of Father Simon le Moyne. Their labor has been thereby considerably increased, were one to mention only the distance of the villages in which they are to teach, as the paths from one to the other are very often infested by the Iroquois, the enemies of the Hurons....

An Iroquois was to be burned in a rather distant village;...He was approached and instructed, even while he was groaning under the cruelty of tortures; suddenly faith found a place in his heart,—he recognized and adored, as the author of his life, him whose name he had never heard until the hour of his death. He received the grace of Baptism, and then longed only for Heaven; they increased their fires and flames, and everything that cruelty supplies to spirits maddened by rage. This new but courageous Christian,—having ascended the scaffold which was the place of his torment, in the sight of a thousand people who were his judges, his executioners, and his enemies,—raised both his eyes and his voice to Heaven, there being nothing upon the earth to attract his heart; and, shouting in a loud voice, made known to every one the cause of a joy which appeared on his brow in the fiercest tortures that he was enduring: “To sakhrihotat de Sarakountai, onne ichien aihei aronhi-ae eeth de Eihei;” “Sun, who art witness of my torments, listen to my words. I am at the point of death; but, after this death, Heaven shall be my dwelling.” He repeated and reiterated often these words, and died in this sweet hope....This fortunate prisoner was named Tehondakwae, and in his baptism, Joseph—the name of the village in which he was burned.

JR, 21:181 [**Principal village of the Petun attacked and sacked by the Iroquois or another enemy.*]

At all events, it is certain that to the village of Ehwae, surnamed St. Pierre and St. Paul,—the principal village of this Mission, whence Father Garnier was driven last year,—all imaginable misfortunes happened before the end of the year. The greater part of the cabins were burned by the enemy about three months afterward. Many died of hunger, of cold, or of smallpox; others perished in the water, and many were taken by the enemy. In fact, the matter appeared so extraordinary that the Captain of a neighboring village might well notice it,—attributing the desolation of this village to no other cause than to the refusal they made to the Preachers of the Gospel, last year.

JR, 21:191 [**Assessment of the fighting strength of the Neutrals.*]

According to the reckoning of the Fathers who have been there, there are at least twelve thousand souls in the whole extent of the country, which relies upon being still able to furnish four thousand warriors, notwithstanding the wars, famine, and sickness which for 3 years have been unusually prevalent there.

JR, 21:193 [**Political standing of the Neutral Nation.*]

Our Frenchmen who were first here surnamed this Nation “the Neutral Nation,” and not without reason; for this country being the ordinary land route of some Iroquois Tribes and of the Hurons, who are sworn enemies, they keep themselves equally in peace with both. Nay, even, formerly the Hurons and the Iroquois, when they met in the same cabin or in the same village of this

Nation, were both in security so long as they did not go out into the fields; but for some time the rage of one against the other has been so great that, in whatever place they be, there is no security for the most feeble,—especially if he be of the Huron side, for which this Nation, for the most part, seems to have less inclination.

JR, 21:193 [**History of the Neutrals, Hurons, and Iroquois theorized.*]

We have every reason to believe that not long ago they all made but one People,—both Hurons and Iroquois, and those of the Neutral Nation; and that they came from one and the same family, or from a few old stocks which formerly landed on the coasts of these regions. But it is probable that, in progress of time, they have become removed and separated from one another—some more, some less—in abode, in interests, and in affection; so that some have become enemies, others Neutral, and others have remained in some more special connection and communication.

JR, 21:195 [**Enemies of the Neutral Nation.*]

These Tribes which are Neutral between the Hurons and the Iroquois, have cruel wars with other Western Nations, and especially with the Atsistachronons, or Fire Nation,—from which they took last year a hundred prisoners; and this year, having returned there for war with an army of two thousand men, they again brought away more than a hundred and seventy, toward whom they conduct themselves with almost the same cruelties as the Hurons do towards their enemies. However, they practice the further cruelty of burning the women prisoners of war, as well as the men,—which is not done by the Hurons, who either give them their lives, or content themselves with knocking them down in the heat of the moment, and bearing off some portion of their bodies.

JR, 21:201 [**A Neutral rumor regarding Iroquois government.*]

While the Fathers were in these quarters, they learned that the Oneiochronons (who form one of the five Iroquois Nations) [**the Oneidas*] had a very peculiar form of government. The men and the women therein administer alternately the affairs; so that, if now it is a man who governs them, after his death it will be a woman, who during her life will govern them in her turn, except in what regards war; and, after the death of the woman, it will be a man who will resume again the administration of affairs.

JR, 21:209 [**Rumors about the Jesuits spread by the Hurons among the Neutrals.*]

Our Hurons related that, when Echon [**Fr. Brebeuf*] set his foot in their country for the first time, he had said: “I shall be here so many years, during which I shall cause many to die, and then I shall go elsewhere to do the same, until I have ruined the whole land.” Others related that Echon, after having

caused the death, by disease, of a part of the Hurons, had gone to make an alliance with the Sonontwehronons [*Senecas], who form one of the Iroquois Nations,—the one most feared by the Hurons, and the one nearest to them, as the former are distant but a day's journey from the last village of the Neutral Nation, on the side of the East, which is named Onguiaahra, the same name as the River. They said he had gone to visit them, in order to make them a present of porcelain Collars and arrowheads and to instigate their coming to complete the ruin of the country.

Some warned us privately to beware of this undertaking, as there had been no other cause for the murder of one of our Frenchmen, that occurred here some years ago, than just such journeys which made the country uneasy and fearful of a transference of trade.

Others said that when that excellent Christian, Joseph Chiwatenhwa, was buried, Echon, turning in the direction of the country of the Sonontwehronons, who had killed him, said aloud ("Sonontwehronon, it is all over with thee,—thou art dead"); and that, immediately after, the Father had proceeded toward their district, that he might carry the disease to them,—which in truth was raging fiercely among the enemy during the sojourn of the Fathers in the Neutral Nation. Upon this, the Hurons begged us to have good courage and to cause the death of all their enemies.

Father Charles Lalemant. 1642. Letter from Father Charles Lalemant, to Father Étienne Charlet, Assistant of France at Rome. Paris, February 28th, 1642.

JR, 21:269 [*A discussion of possible French military actions against the Iroquois and Dutch.]

I have received what it has pleased Your Reverence to write me in favor of the affairs for which Father Le Jeune has just made a journey to this country. Now, although I am extremely interested in all the affairs of New France, yet it is true that what your Reverence has written me about these greatly increases my affection, according to which I have not failed to assist him. He has obtained ten thousand ecus, with which to send men over there to fortify against the Iroquois, and prevent their incursions. Indeed, he would also have desired more effectual assistance, in order to drive away those who are sustaining the said iroquois in this war, and furnishing them with firearms. But this enterprise has been deemed very hazardous: 1st, because their strength is not known. 2nd, if it were known, a considerable sum would be needed to defray the expenses of the men and ships that would be necessary for this purpose. 3rd, after all that, we would not be certain of prevailing over them; and, if the attempt failed, what great outlays we would cause the King without gaining anything, which would result in our not being listened to when we might need some lesser help. 4th, I grant that we might take the place by force; I ask, after that is done, who will secure our fleets against those that have been driven away, and likewise the country, which they will try to surprise as we

shall have surprised them? And it is to be observed that it is the Company of the Indies [*the Dutch West India Company] that occupies the settlement there, and that would resent it if that were removed. 5th, if the attempt failed, that would certainly incite them against the people of Kébec, and they would furnish more arms than ever to the Iroquois; they might, indeed, join with them to do us harm in the country. 6th, what certainty have we that that will oblige the Iroquois to make peace with our savages? and yet it is upon the assurance of such peace that this whole project is founded. Now we ask if, upon this hope alone, of the fulfillment of which we have no certainty, we should make a definite outlay of so great a sum as is necessary for this purpose, and should expose ourselves to the dangers mentioned above? I would like to request your Reverence to have your opinion of this matter written to me; and, in order that you may better give it, here are the arguments that Father Le Jeune urges in favor of undertaking the enterprise:

If these people are not driven away by making terms with them, or by force of arms, the country is always in danger of being ruined, the mission of being broken up, the nuns of returning, and the colony of being destroyed; the door of the gospel is closed to many very populous nations, and our fathers are in peril of being taken and burned.

There is hope that they can be driven away. Monsieur de Noyers has encouraged him to expect, as if on the authority of Monseigneur the Cardinal, and has almost promised, that whatever is necessary to expel them will be given, provided their forces are not too great.

Of making terms with them there is no prospect,—for he was told that it could not be expected from them, inasmuch as they were Arabs; therefore, force must be used with them. These are his arguments. I pray Your Reverence, then, to have your opinion of this matter written to me.

Father Barthelemy Vimont. 1642. Relation of What Occurred in New France in the Year 1642.

JR, 22:31 [**The Iroquois and French at war, ca. 1642. Fr. Jogues is captured by the Mohawks.*]

The state of affairs in this country having compelled me to send one of our Fathers to France, that he might represent the condition to which the incursions of the Hirocois reduce this newborn Church, I was convinced that he who had labored the most to establish it, would be the best person to explain the importance of the aid which we need to resist the efforts of these Barbarians. And, in truth, I was not mistaken; for, during the short time that he remained in France, he saw many persons of quality to whom he made known the great store of spiritual treasure that may be expected in these vast countries wherein are found a number, almost beyond count, of Nations who await but the preaching of the Gospel, to embrace the Faith and to acknowledge their Creator. He also explained to them that this would have been done,

at least in part, had it not been for the great obstacles arrayed against us by the demons, who—seeing that all the French at this far end of the world live in a much more holy manner than they did in France; and that the Savages, their former subjects, abandon them daily—arm all their forces for the defense of their Empire.

Inasmuch as vigorous aid was needed to subdue the insolence of these demons, he had to apply to persons who possessed both the desire and the power in regard to all that relates to this new world. He addressed himself, therefore to Madame the Duchess d'Eguillon, who takes such an interest in the Conversion of the peoples of this country that, through a special devotion which she has for the most adorable blood of Jesus Christ, she has founded a house of Mercy, in which the sick Savages may be received and be made to feel the effects of that precious blood. She it was, therefore, who undertook to speak of the matter to Monseigneur the Cardinal de Richelieu, and to represent to him the dangers to which the Faith of Jesus Christ, and the French Colony in these countries, were exposed, if efforts were not made to repel the Hirocois. She succeeded so well that she obtained powerful aid against our enemies....

It is impossible to conceive the joy felt by the French and Savages over here at the arrival of this help; the dread of the Hiroquois had so disheartened them that all lived in fear of death. But, as soon as news came that fortifications were to be erected on the roads by which the Hiroquois come, all fears were dispelled. Every one took courage once more, and walked about with head erect, and with as much assurance as if the Fort were already built.

It is true that these fortifications will have an excellent effect; but—as they do not strike at the root of the evil, and as these Barbarians carry on war in the fashion of the Scythians and Parthians—the door will not be fully opened to Jesus Christ, and danger will not be averted from our Colony, until the Hiroquois are either won over or exterminated.

However, I trust that your Reverence will feel real joy and consolation, at the beginning of your term of office, if you find leisure to glance at the Relation that I send you. You will see therein that the wishes expressed in the letter by which you were pleased to console and encourage us, have been piously accomplished.

It is true that this joy will be mingled with some sorrow at observing the fury of the Hiroquois,—the real scourge of our newborn Church,—who destroy and burn our Neophytes by arms and fire, and who have sworn a cruel war against our French. They block all the roads leading to our great River; they impede the trade of the Gentlemen of the Company, and threaten to ruin the whole country. Father Jogues, if not killed on the field when the Hurons were defeated, is a prisoner in their hands, with two of our French servants and twenty-three Hurons, most of whom are Christians or Catechumens. This, thanks be to God! has not made us lose courage nor destroyed the hope of converting these Peoples.

JR, 22:41 [**The danger posed to the French by the Iroquois.*]

In order to understand the good or bad state of the country it is necessary to consider not only the French, who constitute the soundest part of it, but also the Savages who are our friends, and those who are our enemies. The latter, whom we call Hiroquois, have, as usual, acted like fiends. They have been in the field Winter, Spring, and Summer. They have massacred many Hurons and many Algonqueins; they have captured Frenchmen, and have killed some of them. They hold one of our fathers as a prisoner; some of their own people have been put to death. I shall speak of all this in detail, further on. I have now but four words to say: If we do not have peace with these Barbarians or if we do not destroy them, the country will not be in a state of safety; the door will always be closed to Jesus Christ in the Nations which dwell higher up; and the roads will always be infested by these imps.

JR, 22:51 [**Algonquin converts go to war.*]

When the Neophytes of Saint Joseph heard of the death of the Algonquins slain by the Hiroquois, they sought to console those who survived the defeat, according to their old customs, which they sanctified with truly Christian zeal. They held a great feast, to which they invited all the upper Algonquins who had come to see them. They brought them three words,—that is to say, they gave them three presents. The first was given to dry the tears that they shed for the death of their people; the second, to bring back to life the nephew of one of the chief Algonquins; the third, and the finest, was given to win over to prayer those who seemed to have lent ear to it, but had not yet embraced it, and to induce them to receive the Faith of Jesus Christ. These proud Algonquins—whom God will compel to have recourse to him by the scourges which exterminate them—accepted the first two presents, and put the third aside in order to deliberate together whether they should accept it,—for whosoever takes a present, among the Savages, binds himself to do what the present expresses. One of the band—seeing that this present spoke of God, and called upon those to whom it was offered to pray to him—said in a loud voice: “I no longer have a head; I could not pray; the Hiroquois, by taking away my head, have deprived me of my mind. When I shall see great kettles boiling, filled with the flesh of our enemies, when my stomach and my belly shall be stuffed with it, then my mind will return.” Rage and revenge, which are the appanage of Demons, reign in the hearts of these Barbarians, who from wolves become lambs when Baptism has clothed them with the grace of Jesus Christ.

A small party of these good Neophytes, wishing to show that the Faith does not deprive of courage those who embrace it, resolved to go to war with the pagans. Both sides prepared for it in their own way. The Christians had recourse to God, while the pagans resorted to feasts and dances full of superstitions. They cried aloud, they sang, they yelled, they assumed a thousand postures of men enraged, in order to excite themselves against their enemies.

All started in company. Hardly had they gone halfway when the children of Belial separated from the children of God—either through a misunderstanding, or through fear of entering their enemies' country. They gave up the idea of hunting men, and took to killing animals. Our good Neophytes, pursuing their design, secretly discovered a band of Hyroquois about equal to their own forces. They stopped short, and consulted together whether they should take them alive or put them to death, in case God gave them the victory. On the one hand, the glory of bringing back prisoners alive dazzled their minds; for the sweetest pleasure that a Savage can enjoy is to drag his enemy after him, bound and fettered, to make a joyful and triumphant exhibition of him in his own country. On the other hand, these good Neophytes were very doubtful whether they could stay the anger and fury of their countrymen which would be vented on these victims of death, and decided that it would be better to kill them at once than to earn renown as valiant men at the expense of the diabolical cruelty that the prisoners would be made to suffer. They, therefore, rushed on their prey, killed those whom they met, and, finding themselves masters of their bodies and of their baggage, fell on their knees and thanked God for the victory. They then removed the spoils and scalps of their vanquished foes, and returned in triumph to saint Joseph, visiting the house of God before entering their own Cabins. This confounded the infidels, who had taunted them in their own noisy demonstrations,—saying that, unless the others imitated their yells, they could never attain their prowess.

JR, 22:89 [**The construction of Fort Richelieu elicits good feelings from the Christian Algonquins.*]

When Monsieur the Governor went up to the river of the Hiroquois to give orders for commencing the fortifications of which I have already spoken, a Christian Captain went to him and made him this speech: "We Savages, since we were not brought up in your country, do not know what honors are paid to great Captains who work for the defense of the land. Therefore, I know not what I should do, and still less what I should say. I seek, and I find nothing on my tongue but these few words: 'Go, great Captain, and may thy journey be successful. Be the Master of the land and the Preserver of the country. May he who can do all things and who is all goodness, be ever with thee!' That is what my tongue tells me, but this is what I have in my mind,—would to God that we were here in great numbers and that all our voices were united in one, loud and strong, which would make itself heard throughout the world, pronouncing these words: 'Farewell, Preserver of the country, it is well and good that thou undertake our defense. Go in happiness, and return with still greater joy, so that we may all cry out: "Our Captain has returned, the Preserver of the country has returned! It is through him that the women and children, and all the people, are still alive; for, without his protection, the enemy would have prevented us from Planting, Cultivating, and Harvesting our corn.'" That is what I would desire all the men of these countries to say to thee. But, although

we have no more voice,—for sickness and our enemies have torn out our tongues,—nevertheless, we say to thee once more: ‘Farewell, Preserver of the country! May he who has made all things be the guide and conductor of thy ship.’” Such eloquence is not derived from the Rhetoric of Aristotle or of Cicero, but from a school more lovable and candid.

Monsieur the Governor having assured them of his pleasure at their good will, asked them what they intended to do during the Summer. “Thou should not ask such a question. Thou art our Captain,—command; we have long been resolved to obey thee.”

JR, 22:93 [**The effects of the war on French missionary activity.*]

We have baptized about one hundred persons this year. If the number be not as great as in the previous one, it is not surprising; for most of the Savages in this residence are already Christians, and the Hiroquois effectually prevent the people living inland from coming to join these good Neophytes. They have frightened away a good part of the Algonquins who were at the three rivers; but the fortifications that have been commenced there may bring them back.

JR, 22:127 [**Tribes scattered from Three Rivers by the Iroquois.*]

I have stated above that the Hiroquois had caused the Savages to remove from the three Rivers, with the exception of a small number, of whom Father Buteux, who has usually dwelt at that residence, writes as follows: “We have had but few families this winter. These few have, however, given us satisfaction for they have listened with profit to the word of God....”

“The first of this little band, who is a man of consideration among his people, had for a long time requested me to baptize him....Hardly had he become a Christian when news was brought to him that a good many Savages of his nation, with whom he had wished to dwell in the Autumn, had been taken,—killed, massacred, burned, roasted, and boiled by the Hiroquois. ‘Ah, my God!’ he cried, ‘what have I done for you that you should keep me here below amid your children, among whom I have escaped the death of the body and found the life of the soul? I would have been lost forever, had I gone up there as I had intended.’

JR, 22:139 [**A Huron’s tale of capture by the Iroquois.*]

“As for me,” said Atondo, “I was once taken prisoner by the Hiroquois; I escaped from their hands, but my comrade was put to death. On one occasion, I fell from the top of a tree, and the shock was so severe that I was nearly killed. Is it possible that God willed to preserve my life, in order that I might know him, and enjoy so many blessings in the Heaven of which they tell us?

JR, 22:207 [**A comment on the fate of Hochelaga.*]

But, to return to our Island, I may say, in passing, that the aspect of a fine mountain which stands there has given it the name of Montreal or Mont-royal.

Jacques Cartier, the first of our French who discovered it, writes that he found on it a village called Ochelaga. This fully agrees with the accounts of the Savages, who call it “Minitik outen entagougiban,” “the Island on which stood a town or a village.” The wars have banished its inhabitants.

JR, 22:211 [**The foundation and fortification of Montreal.*]

On the seventeenth of May of the present year, 1642, Monsieur the Governor placed the sieur de Maison-neuve in possession of the Island, in the name of the Gentlemen of Mont-real, in order to commence the first buildings thereon. Reverend Father Vimont had the *Veni Creator* chanted, said holy Mass, and exposed the Blessed Sacrament, to obtain from Heaven a happy beginning for the undertaking. Immediately afterwards, the men were set to work, and a redout was made of strong palisades for protection against enemies.

JR, 22:215 [**The prehistory of Montreal.*]

After the Festival, we [**Fr. Vimont et al.*] visited the great forest which covers this Island; and when we had been led to the mountain from which it takes its name, two of the chief Savages of the band stopped on its summit, and told us that they belonged to the nation of those who had formerly dwelt on this Island. Then, stretching out their hands towards the hills that lie to the East and South of the mountain, “There,” said they, “are the places where stood Villages filled with great numbers of Savages. The Hurons, who then were our enemies, drove our Forefathers from this country. Some went towards the country of the Abnaquiois, others towards the country of the Hiroquois, some to the Hurons themselves, and joined them. And that is how this Island became deserted.” “My grandfather,” said an aged man, “tilled the soil on this spot. Maize grew very well on it, for the Sun is very strong there.” And, taking in his hands some earth, he said: “See the richness of the soil; it is excellent.” Thereupon we did not fail to invite and urge them to return to their country, and to inform them of the plans of the Captains who send people here to succor them, promising that assistance would be given them to build their little houses, and to till the soil, of which work they have lost the habit. One of them, named Atcheast, the father of little Joseph,—who seems a peaceable man, and who has a wife as staid as himself,—assured us that he would return in the Spring with all his family. The others were equally willing, but were afraid to give their word that they would settle here to till the soil, as the dread of their enemies, the Hiroquois, caused them too much terror. Not that they do not feel secure near our houses, but they would be afraid to leave them for the purpose of fishing or hunting. Their enemies can easily lie in wait for them and prepare ambushes for those who wander any distance from the defended places. So that I have some difficulty in believing that there will ever be a very large number of Savages at Nostre Dame de Mont-real, until either the Hiroquois are subjugated, or we make peace with them.

JR, 22:247 [**The Iroquois are at war with the French, Montagnais, and Algonquins; Fr. Jogues is captured*]

Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny, our Governor, having learned that his Majesty and his Eminence were sending out men to fortify the country, at once caused the framework of a House to be prepared, even before the ships that were to bring the workmen made their appearance,—strongly suspecting that, if he waited for their arrival, it would be impossible to lodge them before the Winter at the spot where these fortifications were to be erected. While the carpenters were working at Kebec, he ascended forty leagues higher, visited the River of the Hiroquois, and marked a most suitable site for the erection of a Fortress, which should command the mouth of that river by which it is discharged into the great river of Saint Lawrence. He caused the barks bearing what was needed for the purpose to be sent up the river. Hardly had he commenced than the Hiroquois tried to stifle the project at its birth, as I shall shortly relate, when I shall have spoken of what those Barbarians did during the Winter, and even again in the Spring, to come to their petty wars on the Island. I say “petty,” because they come by bands and by surprise; but this is so harassing, that there is no battle we would not wage rather than see ourselves always in danger of being taken unexpectedly by these robbers, who carry on war only like footpads who besiege highways, never showing themselves except when they find their advantage. Let us, therefore, follow them in their incursions.

About the end of Autumn of last year, the Savages who were at the three Rivers, fearing the baying of dogs, threw themselves into the jaws of wolves. Not considering themselves sufficiently secure in the vicinity of the French, they divided into two bands. One of these went down to Saint Joseph, near Kebec, where Our Lord preserved, for them all, the life of the body, and gave to some life for their souls. The other band ascended far into the country of the Algonquins, whither the Hiroquois followed and massacred them. Two prisoners, who escaped from the clutches of those Barbarians, related the following: “Our enemies,” they said, “have told us that they came forth from their country to the number of two hundred men, well armed, and divided into two parties. One was to lie in wait, and surprise some Frenchmen near the settlement of the three Rivers; but the death of two of the bravest of their Captains, which happened on the way, was considered a bad omen, and led them to believe that the evil presage would be fulfilled if they went any further. They therefore returned to their own country, without doing anything. The other party marched on the ice and snow as far as the Island, where they surprised some cabins of Savages, killed those whom they first met and took away alive as many as they could to their own country, to become the objects of their sport, and food for the flames and for their stomachs. We were of this number,” said the two poor wretches, “bound like the other prisoners. Our enemies put a thousand questions to us, on the way. They spoke to us of those who wear the black robes. They asked us how many Frenchmen had been killed in

the fight that they had had last year at the three Rivers. And when we told them that not only had not a single one died, but that not one had been wounded, they called us liars. ‘We killed,’ they said, ‘more than a hundred Frenchmen.’” (And yet there were only sixty-five in that skirmish.) “‘We will go back to see them in the Spring, to the number of seven hundred fighting men, to count how many of them remain. As for thee, my uncle,’ they said to the elder of the two, ‘thou art a dead man; thou wilt soon go to the land of spirits. Thou shalt tell them to have courage, that they will soon have a goodly company, for we are going to send the remainder of thy Nation to that quarter; the news that thou wilt take them will be very agreeable to them.’” Thus did they scoff at an old man who has not less malice but more cleverness than they have. “The Dutch, with whom we traffic,” they added, “have promised to assist us against the French; we shall go well armed to see them.”

These two prisoners escaped soon after their capture, but here are women to whom the Hiroquois granted their lives, and who, after spending the remainder of the Winter with those Barbarians, effected their escape at last from their hands and from their country. “Let us hear what they have to relate of their misadventure; *Quis talia fando temperet à lacrymis?*” says Father Buteux, to whom one of these poor captives related the story.

These poor Algonquins were in their own country, living in huts in the depths of their great forests, in a place where, in all probability, no Hiroquois had ever been. That is why they thought of nothing but their hunting, and not of defending themselves against those Barbarians. When the latter came upon the tracks of the hunters, they crept upon them stealthily, to massacre them in their first sleep. When night began to conceal trees and men with its darkness, and to wrap most of these good people in slumber, a woman called out as she was about to lie down: “It is all over with us; the Hiroquois are killing us.” I know not by what instinct she uttered those words; be that as it may, at the same time those tigers entered their cabin, with arms in their hands, and seized them, some by the hair and others about the body. Some who were awakened by the noise, and who tried to defend themselves, were at once slaughtered. The fight was soon over, and the Hiroquois finding the poor people already overcome by sleep and fright, bound them with strong cords,—men, women, and children; and, in less than an hour, were masters of their lives, of their little wealth, and of their cabins. Seeing themselves victorious, they prepared their supper in the house of the vanquished. Some brought wood, and others went for water. Great kettles were placed over the fire. The shambles were not far away. They dismembered those whom they had just slaughtered, cut them in pieces, and threw the feet, legs, arms, and heads into the pot, which they set to boil with joy as great as the sorrow felt by the poor captives who remained alive, when they saw their countrymen serving as the quarry of these Werewolves. The women and children wept bitterly, and those half Demons took pleasure in hearing their doleful chants. When the supper was cooked, these wolves devoured their prey; one seized a thigh, another a breast; some

sucked the marrow from the bones; others broke open the skulls, to extract the brains. In a word, they ate the flesh of men with as much appetite as, and with more pleasure than, hunters eat that of a Boar or of a Stag.

Daylight had approached during this fine feast. When those wolves had gorged themselves on a meat that they consider delicate, they took away their prisoners. A woman named Kicheuigoukwe, who was unable to keep up with the band, was at once knocked on the head. Many men and women envied her good fortune, for she had escaped from her misery very easily. "As for me," said she who told the story, "if I had been baptized, I would have considered it a mercy to die thus; my eyes would not have been forced to see the horrible sights and unnatural cruelties that they have witnessed.

"Among all the captive women, we were three who had each a little child, about two months old. We had not journeyed far before those wretches robbed us of them. Ah, my Father," she said, "be not surprised if I weep now. I shed many tears when they tore from my bosom my poor little son. But alas! if I did not know that thou wilt have compassion on us, I would say no more. They took our little children, placed them on spits, held them to a fire, and roasted them before our eyes. Did I not hope that you Frenchmen will wreak vengeance for such cruelties, I would be unable to speak. Those poor little ones knew not as yet the fire, when they felt its heat. They looked at us, and cried with all their might. Our hearts were broken when we saw them roasting, all naked, before a slow fire. We tried to drag them away, but in vain, for our bonds and those Barbarians prevented us. 'O! kill them,' we cried, 'kill them, wretches that you are. What have these poor little innocents done to you?' They had no ears, no pity; they laughed at our tears, and at our fruitless efforts. They are not men; they are wolves. After they had put the poor little babes to death by fire, they drew them off the spit to which they were fastened, threw them into their kettles, boiled them, and ate them in our presence." "I confess," says the Father who has written to us of this tragedy, "that when I saw the tears shed by that poor mother and listened to such unheard-of cruelties, *Commota sunt viscera mea*. I was touched to the heart." But let us continue our journey; let us follow these prisoners, and see what reception awaits them in the Hiroquois villages.

When the dismal band reached the great Falls of the chaudiere—this is a river which suddenly falls into the River of the three meadows, above Montreal,—a captive woman, observing a spot where the stream was not entirely frozen over, cast herself into it in her despair, preferring to perish in the water rather than to die by fire. At first the rapidity of the current threw her out. The Hiroquois ran up, wishing to save her from a precipice in order to cast her into an abyss. But when they saw her at the last extremity, they clubbed her to death and cut off her head, taking her scalp. It would occupy too much time to relate all the incidents that occurred on the way. Let us hasten.

While victors and vanquished pursued their route, two young men went on in advance, to convey the news of the victory. A great many persons came

at once to meet them a full day's journey. The women brought Indian corn and other food, which they offered to the warriors who had come to a halt on the arrival of these vivandieres. The prisoners, both men and women, were made to dance, and the night passed amid shouts of rejoicing.

On the following day, as they approached a Village, they found a large cabin all prepared; it was furnished with fires and fireplaces, prepared in various places. Some Demons were waiting there for the captives, who were brought in triumph, tied and bound like poor victims of death. A crowd of men, women, and little children surrounded them, rending the air with sounds as dismal to the vanquished as they were pleasant to the victors. When they entered this Hell, they were received with heavy blows from sticks; cords were tied around their wrists, which the strongest among their foes tightened with enraged fury. The pain of this is very severe. Their arms were slashed; their backs and shoulders were gashed; their fingers were cut off,—on some, many; on others, few,—not with knives, but with scales of fishes, so that the torture might be more cruel, more lasting, and more painful. The poor creature who escaped, had both her thumbs cut, or rather hacked off. “When they had cut them off,” she said, “they wished to force me to eat them; but I put them on my lap, and told them that they could kill me if they liked, but that I could not obey them.”

After this first reception, food was brought to them, to give them new strength,—in order to torment them longer, and to make them their playthings, as the Demons do with the souls of the damned. They ordered the men to sing, and the women to dance. “They tore and pulled off our garments,” said this poor creature; “they exposed us, entirely naked, to the jeers and howls of all their Villages, They made us dance in that condition, to the voices and songs of our countrymen.” *Musica in luctu importuna narratio*. Alas! what joy can a heart feel in a dance amid Demons?

Adrian Earimitagousitch was a worthy Christian, a powerful man, who, as if he had foreseen his misfortune, had strongly urged Father Buteux to baptize him before he returned to his own country, “because,” said he, “I might fall into the hands of my enemies.” This good Neophyte was a prisoner, as well as the others; and on being ordered to sing of women, he, with his comrades, sang only Hiroquois [*sc.* French?] songs. The Barbarians were astonished at this, and asked him why he did not sing in the Algonquin fashion. “There are no longer,” said he, “any Algonquins. We are now French; the French are our true friends.” “I think,” says the Father, “that he meant to say that all the Algonquins were becoming Christians, and that he could express his meaning only by saying that they were friends of the French.” They cut his fingers,—not across, like the others, but lengthwise, so as to make him suffer more. In a word, he was put to death like a man of importance, that is, with the most exquisite torture. He said to a young Algonquin woman whom he saw, shortly before his death: “If ever you see the French, tell them that I loved them till death, and that I shall remember them at the last period of my life, as

well as what, they have told me and what they have taught me.” The prisoners were put to death in different Villages, and that is why this good woman did not see them all suffer. Let us hear what she still has to tell us of those whom she saw.

The night passed amid joy and sorrow. In the early morning, the poor sufferers were made to ascend a large scaffold erected for the purpose, so that they might be seen by all the people, and that no one, either great or small, should fail to witness the new cruelties that they should be made to endure. Those Demons armed themselves with torches and firebrands. The smallest among them applied these to the soles of the feet of the unfortunates, through openings in the scaffold, while the others applied them to their thighs and sides,—in a word, to the most sensitive parts of the body. The captive women were ordered to burn their husbands and their countrymen. They replied that they would not. There was only the daughter of one Awessenipin—called by the French “the coal”—who burned the captive men and women indifferently. She imagined that such cruel conduct would save her life; but, on the contrary, it brought on her a more painful death than on the others. One of the prisoners manifested not the least sign of pain, in the height of his torments and sufferings. The Hiroquois were furious with rage on observing this firmness, which they consider an evil augury—for they believe that the souls of the warriors who despise them will make them pay dearly for the death of their bodies; seeing, I say, such firmness, they asked him why he did not cry out. “I do,” he replied, “what you could not, if you were treated with the same cruelty that you show me. The iron and the fire that you apply to my body would make you cry out very loud, and weep like children, while I do not flinch.” On hearing these words, those tigers threw themselves on their half-consumed victim, tore off his scalp, and cast sand, heated red-hot and, burning with fire, on his bleeding skull. They threw him off the scaffold, and dragged him around the cabins. In that condition he looked like a monster; he had only blood and hot sand for hair; his eyes and his entire face were covered with fire and gore; his body was all slashed and roasted; his hands were fingerless,—in a word, *non erat vulneri locus*. The wounds overlapped one another. Such a sight, which would have caused horror to men, rejoiced those Demons, who, as their final act of cruelty, cut open the breasts of those whom they wish to kill, tear out their hearts and their livers, which they roast; they cut off their feet and their hands, which they cook partly under the embers, partly on a spit before the fire; in short, they roast and boil them, and then they eat them with delighted rage. *Homo homini lupus*; man becomes a wolf to other men, when he allows himself to be governed by Demons. Alas! can it be possible that the Father and the Frenchmen, of whom I will soon speak, have been treated in like manner by the Barbarians who have recently taken and carried them off to their country?

I learn that they killed only the men and the more aged women, sparing about thirty of the younger ones in order that they might dwell in their country, and marry as if they had been born there. The two who escaped expected

the same torture that they saw the others suffer; but they were told that they should not die,—that their foes would rest satisfied after having burned them with torches, and gashed their bodies all over.

The fury of those lions being appeased with the blood of their enemies, these poor women remained with their wounds and their burns, without putting on any plaster or applying any other remedy but patience. They passed the Winter in suffering and sorrow, as wretched slaves, daily hearing the bluster of those Barbarians against the French and Algonquins, whom they wish to exterminate completely, so they say, knowing that they are supported and armed by the Dutch.

In the Spring, three hundred Hiroquois prepared for war, and these women were employed in carrying their meal or provisions. An opportunity for escaping presented itself; they at once seized it, and crept away into the deep forest, losing themselves as much as possible in the woods, the better to find their way home again. They had no food for the first ten days, after which they found some wild animals that a band of Hiroquois on their way to war, had killed and half consumed. They cut off long strips of flesh from these, which gave them much pleasure. They produced fire by means of fire-sticks made of cedar wood, which is very common among the Savages. Afterward, they caught some Beavers, and crossed great rivers, enduring sufferings and hardships sufficient to kill men. Finally, they reached the three Rivers almost naked; their poor bodies were all torn by the thorn bushes and by the fatigues of the journey, and their minds were filled with fear and dread of being encountered by their foes, who were beating the country or, rather, scouring the great forests. As soon as they saw their countrymen, they began to weep. Father Buteux then came up, and they said to him: "Ah, my Father! God has greatly succored us. We prayed to him every day during our captivity; it is he who has delivered us." At these words, all the Christian women who heard them gave a thousand praises to God, extolling their Faith and their belief. That is what the Hiroquois did last Winter.

In the Spring, they made raids against the Iroquet nation. This is what I have learned of the success of their arms. Having gone up to the three Rivers, I witnessed the arrival of one of the Captains of that nation, named Gariaradi. As he approached the cabins, he called out three times in a loud voice: "Hó hó." Having obtained silence, he said: "The Hiroquois, this Spring, have killed some of our people, and carried off two families. My nephew is of the number," said this Captain. It is the custom of these People to call out aloud, upon their arrival, the good or bad news that they bring.

Last Summer,—that is, on the second day of the month of August,—twelve Canoes full of Hurons returning to their country, and taking back with them Father Isaac Jogues—who had come down here on business connected with the Mission—were attacked and defeated by a band of Hyroquois, armed by the Dutch with good arquebuses, which they can use as well as our Europeans. The Father was taken prisoner by those Barbarians, with two

young Frenchmen who accompanied him. Of twenty-three Hurons, some were massacred, while some were bound and tied, with the Father, to be carried away to the country of those Barbarians who will perhaps make a more bloody quarry of them than hounds do of a stag. God be forever blessed for the courage that he has given to the Father, and for the piety that he has bestowed upon these two young Frenchmen. If those tigers burn them, if they roast them, if they boil them, if they eat them, they will procure for them sweeter refreshment in the house of the great God, for love of whom they expose themselves to such dangers. Such is the price and such the coin with which Jesus Christ has bought the salvation of Greeks and Barbarians; it is with the same coin that the application of his blood must be procured for them. A portion of the Hurons who have been made prisoners are Christians. Perhaps they will convey a good impression of the faith of the great God to those peoples, who would be won over to Heaven as easily as others, if the Dutch, who have settled on the coast of Acadia which belongs to the King, did not prevent the Preachers of the Gospel from approach and access to them....

The poor Fathers will chiefly regret the loss of the letters written to them by several persons of merit. The Hyroquois have scattered them about here and there, on the bank of the river, and the waters have carried them away; and the Fathers are deprived of pleasant communications from those distinguished and virtuous persons. The highway robbers have taken this consolation away from them.

Eleven Huron canoes, loaded with men and furs, that were going down to the three rivers, stopped at about the same time at an Island fifty leagues above nostre Dame de Montreal, to hunt deer and Wild cows. They placed a portion of their men in ambush, to fall upon the animals that might rush to the river, while the greater part of the band ran yelling about the Island to frighten the game. The Hyroquois came unexpectedly, flung themselves upon the men in ambush, and carried them away in a moment. Their comrades, greatly astonished, would have pursued them; but, fearing that their foes were in great number, and were preparing for them some ambush in the woods, they abandoned their companions to the mercy of the wolves, and, dividing into two parties, one returned to the Hurons, while the other came down to the three rivers to give information that the roads were beset in various places....

That good Joseph [*Chihwatenhwa], so distinguished among the Hurons, had no sooner begun to preach Jesus Christ to his countrymen, than he was miserably slain during an unexpected attack of his enemies. According to all human probabilities, this blow should have confirmed his brother in his dislike and aversion for our belief. At the very moment when we thought that he would storm against Jesus Christ, he asked to be baptized in his name.

Hardly had he become a Christian, than he was seized with a pious ardor, and became a Preacher like his brother. *Judicia Dei abyssus multa*. He came to see us down here, and his conduct was that of a true child of God. Having consoled us by his presence, he returned to his own country. The day after he

left us, he was taken prisoner, bound, and carried away by the Hiroquois. To add to his misfortune and to our sorrow, he was taking back with him his little niece, who had been very well taught in the Seminary of the Ursuline Mothers, in the hope that she would do wonders in her own country. This little lamb was devoured by the tigers....

On the 13th day of August, Monsieur the Governor arrived at the river of the Hiroquois, to commence the Fort on the site that he had selected. Axes were wielded in the great forest, trees were hewn down and cut in pieces, the stumps were pulled out; the spot was indicated, and the first Mass said there. After the benediction, the cannons thundered, and a salvo of musketry did honor to this first beginning under the auspices of our great King and the favor of his Eminence. Seven days after the first stroke had been given, while all were engaged in erecting a palisade for protection against the enemy, a band of three hundred Hiroquois stole like thieves through the forest and gave plenty of occupation. Had not Monsieur the Governor been present, all the workmen would have been cut to pieces. The Barbarians divided themselves into three parties, and, although they saw three Barks at anchor, they rushed upon us with so unusual fury that it seemed as if they would carry everything at the first onset. At once all rushed to arms. A Corporal named Du Rocher, who was on guard, seeing that they were already setting foot in the entrenchment, charges them with some Soldiers, and bravely repulses them. The balls from the muskets and arquebuses whistle on all sides. Monsieur the Governor, who was on the water, aboard his Brigantine, is conveyed ashore in a boat, as quickly as possible, and enters the redout, which was not yet in a good state of defense. Our Frenchmen were greatly astonished at seeing the courage and resolution of enemies who, in the minds of those who do not know them, pass for being timid, but who perform deeds of the utmost hardihood; but their attack was bravely repelled. A tall Hyroquois,—wearing a headdress or a sort of crown of deer skin, dyed scarlet, and enriched with a collar of Porcelain beads,—who advanced too far was smitten to the earth, quite dead, by a volley of musketry. Another received seven leaden balls in his buckler, and as many in his body. Our Frenchmen, full of courage, charged with such fury that they drove back the Barbarians. One of these, who was severely wounded, threw down his arquebus and fled; another abandoned all his weapons; several dropped their shields, trusting more to their feet for safety than to their bucklers. They, nevertheless, effected their retreat in good order, intrrenching themselves in a Fort that they had secretly erected, a league or so above us. Hatchets and other weapons were afterwards found, which the wounded had left behind, with the blood that reddened their tracks. Our Soldiers praised their bravery, not thinking that people who are called Savages could use their arms so well. One Hiroquois went so far as to set foot on a bark; others fired into the redout through the very loopholes. A Corporal named Des lauriers was killed; sieur Martial, the Secretary of Monsieur the Governor, received an arquebus shot in the shoulder. Three other Frenchmen were wounded; one received a blow which pierced from one cheek to the other.

This assault, which lasted quite a long while, had two good effects. The first was to check those Barbarians, and to prevent them, not only from coming to carry off our Christian Savages from our very doors, but also from coming to surprise the Hurons and Algonquins who pass down the great river daily to visit us. In the second place, our Soldiers learned that they had to be constantly on their guard against an enemy who pounces like a bird on its prey, who wars like a robber, and who attacks like a brave man.

We did not fail to communicate the news of what had happened, to the Savages assembled at the three Rivers. The spoils of the enemy were exhibited to them, and they were informed that the object of the King and of his Eminence in erecting those fortifications was merely to defend those who receive our holy Faith; that those great Captains obeyed God, and that they honored prayer; that they required nothing from the country of the Savages; that the sole and only idea that they had in giving them this help was to make them acknowledge and adore the God of Heaven and of earth. A Captain addressed us, and said: "This time you are really our friends, since you have defeated our enemies. Hitherto I almost believed that you had some secret intelligence with the Hiroquois; but the blood that your arms have drawn from their veins condemns my words." On the following day, this man, who was formerly very wicked and a very great enemy of the Faith, came to us and said: "I am going to seek the Captain of the Island. If my ears have been closed until now, they will hereafter be opened. My mouth has more wickedness than my heart had. In the depth of my soul, I found that what you taught was good, but I could not submit myself to it. Now I really wish to embrace prayer."...

Finally, this place, where fear dwelt, will now be an abode of safety. When the Barbarians returned to their own country, they painted their victories on the trees along the mouth of their River,—they set up on its banks the heads of those whom they had massacred; they made rough drawings of the faces of their prisoners. The picture of poor Father Isaac Jogues appeared there among the others. But now we see there the great Standard of the elect. It is a high Cross that Monsieur the Governor caused to be erected over the ruins of their trophies, on the very day of the Exaltation of the Holy Cross, with very manifest piety and devotion on the part of our Frenchmen. *In hoc signo vinces*; Jesus Christ will be our victory.

After the capture of Father Isaac Jogues by the enemy, with two young Frenchmen, an Algonquin made this speech to Father Jacques Buteux: "This time we will see whether the Hiroquois fear you; whether they are afraid of your arquebuses; whether they dread your cannons, or whether they despise you. As soon as thy Brother reaches their country, the Captains will assemble, and, if the French name frighten them, they will speak thus: 'Let us not eat the flesh of the Frenchmen; that flesh is not good food,—it is a poison, that will kill us if we taste it. Let us take them back to their brothers and countrymen.' That is what they will say, if they fear you; and in the Spring they will bring back thy Brother and the two Frenchmen whom they hold captive. If, on the contrary, they despise you, they will call out, on the arrival of thy Brother and

of the Frenchmen who accompany him: 'Now let us eat, let us see how the flesh of the French tastes; let us swallow them all whole.' Thereupon they will burn them; they will make them suffer a thousand torments; they will cut them in pieces and throw them by quarters into great kettles; they will eat them with pleasure; every one will want to taste them. And when they are full to repletion, they will say: 'That is good meat, that flesh is delicate; we must eat some.' A Captain will harangue, and incite the young men to go and hunt Frenchmen, so as to have similar feasts in their country. Then there will not be any French dwelling near which they will not lie in ambush, to surprise and carry them off to their shambles." This is what is called speaking and acting like a Savage. I see but few among us who are not in danger of having the stomachs of those Barbarians for a sepulchre, if God do not protect us from the high mightinesses.

JR, 22:295 [**The Indian belief in eclipses as omens of ill fortune.**]

They consider Eclipses as omens of mortality, of war, or of sickness; but this augury does not always precede the evil that it predicts. Sometimes it follows it, for the Savages who saw the Eclipse of the Moon that appeared this year, 1642, said that they were no longer astonished at the massacre of their people by the Hiroquois during the winter. They had before them the token and the sign of it, but a little too late to put them on their guard.

Father Hierosme Lalemant. 1643. Relation of what occurred in the Mission of the Hurons from the month of June of the year 1641, to the month of June of the year 1642.

JR, 22:307 [**The state of Huron country in 1642.**]

The scourges of God have fallen, one after the other, upon this poor Barbarous People; the terror and dread of War have followed the fatal diseases which in previous Years caused mourning and desolation everywhere. Of the troops raised to fight the Enemy in his own country, some were scattered in consequence of the disunion that existed among them; others were put to flight; some perished almost to a man in the ambushes prepared for them; in a word, nearly all their expeditions have ended only in disaster.

Various parties of the enemy, who have crept into the Country under the cover of the woods and of night, have everywhere and at almost all seasons of the Year committed massacres which are all the more to be dreaded since no one feels safe from them. Even women, and children at the breast, are not in security within sight of the palisades of their own Villages. Nay, more,—a foe will sometimes be brave enough—quite naked, and with only a hatchet in his hand—to penetrate alone at night into the Cabins of a Village; then, after murdering some of those who are sleeping therein, he will take to flight as his only defense against a hundred or two hundred persons who will pursue him for one or two entire days.

Moreover, when our Hurons go down to the Three Rivers or to Kebek, to convey their Beaver skins there, although the whole length of the road is full of rapids and precipices, on which they are frequently wrecked, they nevertheless fear the dangers of water much less than those of fire. For every Year the Iroquois prepare new ambushes for them, and, if they take them alive, they wreak on them all the cruelty of their tortures. And this evil is almost without remedy; for, besides the fact that, when they are going to trade their furs, they are not equipped for war, the Iroquois now use firearms, which they buy from the Flemings, who dwell on their Shores. A single discharge of fifty or sixty arquebuses would be sufficient to cause terror to a thousand Hurons who might be going down in company, and make them the prey of a hostile Army lying in wait for them as they pass.

JR, 22:309 [**Intelligence-gathering activity of the Hurons.*]

Our Barbarians, although they are Barbarians, have yet learned from the book of Nature, how to maintain and defend themselves against their Enemies. They have trustworthy agents in their pay among foreign Nations, who inform them of the plots that are laid against them, of the Armies that are in the field, and of the routes that they will follow. But the custom of the Country requires that he who gives this information should send a present of some value, to vouch for the truth of his words.

JR, 23:25 [**The exploits of a Huron warrior named Ahatsistcari.*]

The man of greatest importance among those whom we have solemnly Baptized in this House [**the permanent Jesuit residence of Sainte Marie*], has been one Ahatsistcari of the village of St. Joseph. His courage and his Yearly exploits against the Enemies cause him to be looked upon as the chief Warrior in the Country. It is not yet a year since, having encountered three hundred Iroquois, he put them all to flight, and made some of them prisoners, although on his side there were but fifty, of whom he was the Chief. And during the previous Summer, while crossing a great lake which separates the Hurons from their Enemies, having perceived a number of large Canoes filled with Iroquois who were coming to attack him, his Companions thought of nothing but flight, but he said: “No, no, my Comrades. Let us attack them ourselves.” As they approached each other, he jumped, alone and quite naked, into a large Canoe full of Foes, split open the head of the first one that he met, threw two others into the water, into which he himself leaped, upsetting at the same time the Canoe and all who were in it. Then swimming with one hand, he killed and massacred with the other all who came near him. So unexpected a sight filled the other Canoes of the Enemy with fear; and, they, finding themselves vanquished by their own conquest, even before they had fought, took to flight from fear of such Courage. But he, having regained his own Canoe, pursued those who remained in the water, and brought them back in triumph to his Country. In a word, this Man’s life is but a series of combats, and from his

childhood his thoughts have been only of war; and it was through this that God made him a Christian....

We Baptized him publicly, with some others, on Holy Saturday, and gave him the name of Eustache. When he had performed his Devotions on Easter Sunday, he started for the War with some of our best Christians, who had remained solely for the purpose of celebrating that holy Day, although the Troops whom they were to join had already departed.

JR, 23:33 [**Jesuits' ministry to Iroquois war captives incenses the Hurons.*]

Last Summer, some Prisoners of war were divided throughout the Country in order that each Nation might revenge itself upon these unfortunate Victims for the still recent loss of their Relatives, which inflamed their cruelty. Our Fathers hastened to them without delay. Some went to the Village of la Conception; others to that of saint Michel: others proceeded still further, and after a journey of thirteen or fourteen leagues through that part of the Huron Country which the ferocity of the Iroquois rendered most dangerous, they arrived by day, barely an hour before the execution. They had to force a passage through the crowd, receiving insults, and hearing a thousand blasphemies against God, from a band of impious men who were opposed to the happiness of their Enemies and who wished to make them endure as much torment in their Souls as they inflict on their bodies. But love for a Soul, to whom one desires to open Heaven, will make its way anywhere. All these unfortunate Captives soon opened their hearts, and their hopes to the tidings of Paradise. The fires, the pain from which they already felt, inspired them with still greater dread of the flames of Hell. They acknowledged God, craved his mercy, and, in this last tragic act of their lives, received a sure pledge of the happiness that awaited them in Heaven. "Alas!" gratefully exclaimed the youngest of all, who was barely nineteen or twenty years of age, "shall I alone enjoy this Blessing? Have you bad pity on my companions in suffering! Have they been told of these so important and so unknown Truths?" In a word, he was more moved by Charity than by the pain that he suffered from a recently-severed hand.

JR, 23:35 [**Hurons suspect Fr. Brebeuf of treating with the Iroquois.*]

At the same time, nearly the whole Country was incensed against us. We were denounced on all sides as Traitors, and doubtless there was very good reason for believing it. During the previous Winter Father Jean de Brebeuf had gone on a Mission to the Neutral Nation, and the rumor had spread that on that journey the Enemies had treated secretly with him, and had bribed him by presents, and that in due time the disastrous effects of this treachery would be felt. On his return from that Mission, we were compelled, in the course of our affairs, to send the same Father to Kebec. To that end we manned two Canoes with four Frenchmen and six Savages, both Christians and Catechumens, who, being the first to go down the River, fortunately escaped three encounters with

Iroquois bands, in which five Canoes of Hurons who followed a day or two after were attacked. The vague rumors of these occurrences caused them to regard as certainly true the suspicions aroused during the Winter, which had already agitated their minds. But this was still more the case when, some time afterward, a wretched Huron, who had burned his bonds and escaped from the hands of the Iroquois, asserted publicly that he had heard from the mouths of the Enemies the secret understanding that they had with us. He even added that Father de Brebeuf had spoken to them when he met them; had received new presents from them, as a reward for his treachery; and had told them to lie in wait on that very spot for the passage of some Canoes that were following him, a day's journey behind, and that these would be a sure prey for them.

After all this, is it to be wondered that evil designs were harbored against us?...Finally, time, and the return of the Hurons who had gone down in company with Father de Brebeuf, dispelled all these calumnies.

JR, 23:153 [**Ondoutaehste, the war god of the Arendaenhronons.*]

...[*E]xperience has shown us that they are full of Diabolical Superstitions, looking upon their Dreams as their Divinities, upon whom the happiness of their lives depends. Besides that, we see that they acknowledge more powerful Genii who settle Public affairs, who cause Famine, who control Wars, and give Victory to those who become most obedient to their will.

It is not only an erroneous opinion that has obtained footing in their minds, through their having received it as a tradition from their Ancestors; but frequently these Demons show themselves only too visibly, and make their appearance in such a manner that these people cannot doubt their existence. Ondoutaehste, whom they recognize as the God of War, often appears to them,—but never without inspiring fright, for he is terrible. Sometimes he assumes the countenance of a man mad with rage; again, that of a woman whose features are only those of fury.

Last Winter, a young Man about thirty years of age saw, one evening, a spectre enter his Cabin having the appearance of a Megera, armed with fire-brands and flames, who exclaimed that she would burn him. His mind is disturbed by the horrible glances of this enraged fury; he himself becomes furious, and throws himself into the fires that had been lighted, and, although he burns himself, he feels no pain. He sings continually, for several days, or rather he utters, without ceasing, terrible yells, without at all weakening his voice. At last the madman is seized, and the Demon of fury that animates and possesses him is questioned. It replies that it demands, as an offering, a set of armor, of savage fashion, which covers a man from his head to his feet; an ensign consisting of a wolf's muzzle; and certain other warlike equipment. As these things cannot be supplied her, this Megera appears a second time holding up by the hair a horrible head, and calling out that it was the head of a certain Iroquois Captain. Then he saw a man's brains, still quite gory; and at the same time he was told that they were the brains of another of their Enemies,

who is the terror of our Hurons every year. "Thus," called out the Fury, "would you have carried off the spoils of those Iroquois Captains, and of the troops that they will put in the field next Summer to make war on you.

"I had come from Onontaté" (a Nation hostile to the Hurons) "but since I am refused the honors that I expected to receive, I will go at once to Agnée" (this was another Iroquois Nation, the nearest to Kebec) "and there I shall be honored." At these words the Monster disappeared, leaving terror and fear in the hearts of the Hurons.

We shall see this Summer whether these threats will have any evil effect. In any case, it is a fact that these words of the Demons often turn out to be true.

JR, 23:159 [**Demonic apparitions and Huron war rituals.*]

Such things [**demonic apparitions*] are so common in this Country that it is no wonder that these poor Barbarians are so attached to the service of the Devil that they Sacrifice to him Bears, Stags, and Dogs, which are burned and consumed in his honor. But, if it sometimes happen that his promises are fulfilled, he more frequently deceives them and overwhelms them with misfortune.

The Arendaenhronon had an experience of this last Summer. Before they went to war the Devil promised them that they should be victorious over their Enemies, in consequence of a public act of shamelessness that they had performed in his honor, and nevertheless they were defeated. The Chiefs in that ill-fated war were a Captain who has already been mentioned, named Atironta, and one of his brothers, named Aëotahon. Both had been sufficiently instructed in matters of Faith and had frequently asked us for Baptism; but, as they still lacked some necessary preparation therefor, we had been unable to grant it to them. One was taken prisoner, and burned by the Enemies, and the other escaped [**Aëotahon—later made captain and renamed Atironta*]. We hope that the former will have found mercy with God,—at least, we have been assured that he had recourse to his Goodness, when he found himself in that misfortune.

He who escaped from the combat has acknowledged that this favor came from Heaven, whose assistance he had frequently implored before the fight, and whence he expected his most powerful aid, having constantly refused to render to the Devil the unchaste homage paid by those who were engaged in this battle. Before he left, a Demon had appeared to him in a dream and had threatened him in this wise: "Thou shalt repent of having separated thyself from me. I will make thee feel the real cruelties of the Iroquois fire, since the fear of an imaginary Hell fire makes thee tremble, and causes thee to leave my service." But God, who never abandons his own,—not even poor wretches who place their confidence in him,—by delivering this good Catechumen, who saw himself within a finger-length of the misfortune with which the Devil had threatened him, showed him that all the Demons have no power over our lives, when we despise them in order to honor him who alone in the world is to be dreaded.

A Grace from God that is well received attracts many others after it. When this Warrior returned, he prepared himself so well that we could not refuse him

holy Baptism. He was named Jean Baptiste, because he was the first Adult of the Mission dedicated to that Saint, who was admitted into the Church while in good health.

JR, 23:171 [**A Huron ritual to avert an ill-omened war.*]

I might truly say that Dreams are indeed the God of these poor Infidels, because it is they who command in the Country,—they alone are obeyed and honored by all. If they have any fears, hopes, desires, passions, and affections,—everything they do is a result of their Dreams. A certain man had dreamed, while in the soundest slumber, that the Iroquois had taken and burned him as a Captive. No sooner was he awake than a Council was held on the matter. “The ill fortune of such a Dream,” it was said, “must be averted.” The Captains at once caused twelve or thirteen fires to be lighted, on the spot where they were accustomed to burn their Enemies. Each one armed himself with firebrands and flaming torches, and they burned this Captive of a Dream; he shrieked like a madman. When he avoided one fire, he at once fell into another. In this manner, he made his way three times around the Cabin: and, as he thus passed, as naked as one’s hand, each one applied to him a lighted torch, saying: “Courage, my Brother, it is thus that we have pity on thee.” At the conclusion, they left him an opening by which he might issue from captivity. As he went out, he seized a dog that was held there ready for him, placed it at once on his shoulders, and carried it among the Cabins as a consecrated victim, which he publicly offered to the Demon of war, begging him to accept this semblance instead of the reality of his Dream. And, in order that the Sacrifice might be fully consummated, the dog was killed with a club, and was singed and roasted in the flames; and, after all this, it was eaten at a public feast, in the same manner as they usually eat their Captives.

JR, 23:177 [**Huron convert Jean Armand Andeouarahen is miraculously saved in battle.*]

On another occasion, during a war and in the heat of battle, he [**Jean Armand Andeouarahen, a former seminarian at Kebec*] fought his way so far amid the spears and arrows of the Enemies, that he was abandoned by his own people in the thick of the fray. He then commended himself more especially to God, and thereupon felt such immediate aid that ever since then, supported by this same confidence, he is always the first and foremost in all perils, and has never turned pale, whatever danger might confront him. “I saw,” said he, “as it were, a hailstorm of arrows about to pour upon me. I had no other buckler with which to stop them than this belief alone, that, as God disposed of my life, he would do so according to his will. Strange to say, the arrows parted on either side of me, as the water does when it meets the prow of a vessel advancing against the tide.” In fact, his Companions, who thought him dead, were utterly astonished when they saw him retire from so furious a discharge without a single wound.

JR, 23:197 [**Two Hurons escape from Iroquois captivity.*]

Two young Men of the Village of Saint Joseph, who had been taken Prisoners of war by the Iroquois, had already lost all hope of life, in the expectation of the same cruelties with which they had seen their Companions in misfortune tormented. Already had their nails been torn out, and some of their fingers cut off; already had their legs and arms been scorched; and they had vomited blood from the force of the blows struck with clubs on their loins and their stomachs,—when they found means to escape during the night. But, as they fled from one death, they were confronted with a more lingering one, for in addition to their fear they carried with them an internal enemy, a raging hunger that tormented them night and day. At the end of three days, they were reduced to despair. Then one of them began to think of us. “Comrade,” said he to the other, “the French are people who never lose hope; in their misfortunes and needs they have recourse to him who, they say, has made all things and who is the Master of our lives. Let us apply to him.” The other did not see that such a remedy was very efficacious in the dire necessity and for the desperate condition in which they were placed. But, nevertheless, as all other assistance failed them, he was constrained to have recourse to God, with his Companion. “Listen!” they said, “Thou who hast made the Sky and Earth; it is to thee that we now speak. We have not honored thee before, because we had no sense. Forgive our sins; and, since nothing is impossible to thee when thou wilt it, extricate us from this misery. Have pity on us.” After this Prayer, they were strengthened, and felt enough courage to continue their way. After walking a considerable distance, they found some roots in the ground, and ate some herbs, which completely relieved their hunger. “But, Comrade,” said he who had first thought of us, “remember that the French thank God after eating their meal.” “Yes, indeed,” replied the other; “I have often seen them do so, but it was after eating a great dishful of Sagamite. But, as we have only water here, and what the beasts would eat, for what should we thank God?” However, his companion prevailed; they offered their Prayer, as necessity taught them, and afterward felt stronger. Finally, after a journey of twenty days and more, they reached this Country, where, on their arrival, they met one of our Fathers, to whom they related all that had happened to them during their wandering.

JR, 23:199 [**Huron warriors seek baptism in extremity.*]

Some Infidels, who were about to go to war not long ago, began to think of their Souls as much as, if not more than, of their bodies; and, that they might be sure to find at death the Grace that they refused during life, they asked one of our Christians who was to be of their party, whether he knew well all the words that must be said in baptizing. “Yes, indeed,” said he; “but I can only avail myself of them in a case of necessity.” “That is enough for us,” they replied. “If peradventure any misfortune should happen to us, thou shalt Baptize us.” “Not at all,” said the Christian; “it is not the time to enter the service of God when we lose the hope of living. He abandons at the hour of death those who have

never wished to serve him except at that time. I will do like him. I will laugh at you in that extremity.” The zeal of this Christian was somewhat too severe, so we taught him thoroughly what he was to do on such occasions.

Those Infidels began to tremble when they heard him speak thus, and did not rest until they came to us. They begged us to teach them, and asked to be Baptized, assuring us that they believed all that we preached,—that, if they had scoffed at the fires of Hell, they had nevertheless feared them, and had considered fortunate those who have courage to do what God commands. We began therefore to teach them; they came twice, thrice, or four times a day, to hasten their instruction. But we do not grant Baptism so easily; we require a Faith tested by works, before admitting them into the Church. So we put them off until their return from the war. “At least,” they said when they saw themselves so delayed; “tell all the Christians with whom we are going, to teach us on the way, and not to be so cruel as to refuse us Baptism, if that be possible before we die. Entreat God to have pity on us, and, in case we should unfortunately die without Baptism, to enlighten our minds, so that we may first detest all the sins of our lives, as you have taught us to do.”

JR, 23:213 [**War dance among the Algonquins residing near the Hurons.*]

...[*I]t was a pleasure characterized by nothing of savagery, to witness in the midst of this Barbarism a Ballet danced by forty persons, to the sound of voices and of a sort of drum, in such harmonious accord that they rendered all the tones that are most agreeable in Music.

The dance consisted of three parts. The first represented various encounters of enemies in single combat,—one pursuing his foe, hatchet in hand, to give him the deathblow, while at the same time he seems to receive it himself, by losing his advantage; he regains it, and after a great many feints, all performed in time with the music, he finally overcomes his antagonist, and returns victorious. Another, with different movements, fences, javelin in hand; this one is armed with arrows; his enemy provides himself with a buckler that covers him, and strikes a blow at him with a club. They are three different personages, not one of whom is armed like the others; their gestures, their movements, their steps, their glances,—in a word, everything that can be seen, is different in each one; and yet in so complete accord with one another that it seems as if but one mind governed these irregular movements.

Father Charles Garnier. 1643. Letter of Father Charles Garnier to Monsieur J. M. J.

JR, 23:241 [**Christian Huron casualties of the Iroquois.*]

We also went, This last winter, Father Le Moyne and I, to the Village of St. Joseph of Teanaostriae; Which Village was afflicted Last Summer by the death of two Christian men and a Christian woman, who were greatly Esteemed by us,—namely, of Eustache ahatsistari, who was the first warrior

of This country, and who was taken by the enemies, with father Jogues; of Thomas sauenhati, who was killed toward Autumn by the enemies, with several others of his village, who had gone to Gather a Certain Kind of Hemp; and of Christine Tarihia, Mother of Estienne Totiry, chief of the Cabin in which is our little Chapel of st. Joseph.

Father Jean de Brébeuf. 1643. Letter of Father Jean de Brébeuf to the Very Reverend Father Mutius Vitelleschi, General of the Society of Jesus, at Rome. From the residence of the Conception, at the three rivers in New france, September 23, 1643.

JR, 23:247 [**Details of the Iroquois capture of Fr. Jogues and others; for a more detailed retrospective look at Fr. Jogues' capture, see page 320.*]

...[*T]hose Huron canoes which conveyed both the relations for this year, and almost all the letters of the Huron Fathers, and certain other things with them, were captured and plundered by the enemies, at the close of this summer, with the loss of nearly everything, and of most [of the men].... There were eleven canoes; 23 Hurons were in part killed, in part carried away to captivity or to the flames.... Moreover, all the merchandise and even our furniture was captured and plundered; most of the letters were either carried away, along with the relation, or torn and thrown into the water. Therefore, Your Paternity will not wonder if either you receive no letters from the Huron Fathers, or, at all events, only a few, and those torn and obliterated. Though I pass over the other incursions of the enemies, which were uninterrupted throughout this summer; though I also pass in silence the massacre of our French, who were captured and slain in the new post of Montreal,—from what I have said alone, Your Paternity sufficiently understands in what great straits are the Canadian trade and the whole Christian cause, and how great dangers those must undergo who come down hither from the Hurons, or who depart hence to go thither....

The other thing that I would have Your Paternity know, pertains to Father Isaac Jogues,—of whose captivity we have recently been informed, and of whom the Fathers who are with the Hurons write as if he were dead,—nay, more, they even send his eulogium to Your Paternity, as of one dead. But we have assuredly learned, by positive messages through his fellow captives who have fled and come hither to us,—nay, also, from his own letters,—that by the grace of God he is still alive, and freely goes about among the enemies, in the manner of the other captives. The Father, it is true, and those two captive attendants of his, when they first arrived at the habitations of the enemies, were all subjected to manifold and excruciating tortures. The Father's left-hand thumb was cut off, and the forefinger of his right hand was crushed and mutilated; one of the attendants also had a forefinger cut off. Indeed, all had their beards and nails torn out, and fire was also applied;—finally, however, all the Frenchmen were granted their lives. They now had hope that they might be led back to us, free, safe, and unharmed; but, as the barbarians' character is inconstant and fickle, their inclinations were changed, after a few days. One

of ours was suddenly killed, and their intention of conducting the others home was renounced; and, besides, from that time even to the present day, they have not ceased [to lay] snares for us and . . . just as they do for both the Hurons and the Algonquins. Indeed, even while I am writing these things, lo, a messenger reports that nine Hurons have been given over to massacre, and many wounded, and all our little baggage, which they were carrying back, totally lost. Moreover, there were not a few of these articles, and they were most necessary for the sustenance of ours who are there. May the Lord's name be blessed; the Lord Gave, the Lord has taken away.

Father Barthelemy Vimont. 1644. Relation of Occurrences in New France in the Year 1642 and 1643.

JR, 23:267 [**Iroquois raids disrupt contact between French and Hurons.*]

Your Reverence Will not this year find your usual satisfaction in the Relation; for the best part of it, which is that concerning the Hurons, was taken by the Hiroquois, together with our Fathers' correspondence, in a defeat of 40 Hurons, which occurred on the 9th of last June, near Montreal. Father Isaac Jogues, now captive among the Barbarians, writes to us, on the last day of June, that it has fallen into his hands, along with sundry letters of our Fathers among the Hurons; I know not whether he can at all convey it to Your Reverence by some way unknown to us....I send your Reverence the Relation for this region, which will furnish examples of virtue, and show notable increase of Christianity; but it must, as usual, be tempered with the bitterness of manifold evil tidings, arising from the side of the Hiroquois, who, had we not some help from France, would undoubtedly ruin here both the faith and commerce. There is hardly an open passage left for us to reach the Hurons; our baggage last year was taken going up,—this year, coming down. At this writing, I learn that it is now captured for the third time on the way upward...

JR, 23:275 [**Eulogy for Monsieur Nicollet: Interpreter, Agent, and Peacemaker.*]

I will now speak of the life and death of Monsieur Nicollet, Interpreter and Agent for the Gentlemen of the Company of New France. He died ten days after the Father [Raymbault], and had lived in this region twenty-five years. What I shall say of him will aid to a better understanding of the country. He came to New France in the year sixteen hundred and eighteen; and forasmuch as his nature and excellent memory inspired good hopes of him, he was sent to winter with the Island Algonquins, in order to learn their language. He tarried with them two years, alone of the French, and always joined the Barbarians in their excursions and journeys,—undergoing such fatigues as none but eyewitnesses can conceive; he often passed seven or eight days without food, and once, full seven weeks with no other nourishment than a little bark from the trees. He accompanied four hundred Algonquins, who went dur-

ing that time to make peace with the Hyroquois, which he Successfully accomplished; and would to God that it had never been broken, for then we would not now be suffering the calamities which move us to groans, and which must be an extraordinary impediment in the way of converting these tribes. After this treaty of peace, he went to live eight or nine years with the Algonquin Nipissiriniens, where he passed for one of that nation, taking part in the very frequent councils of those tribes, having his own separate cabin and household, and fishing and trading for himself. He was finally recalled, and appointed Agent and Interpreter. While in the exercise of this office, he was delegated to make a journey to the nation called People of the sea, and arrange peace between them and the Hurons, from whom they are distant about three hundred leagues Westward. He embarked in the Huron country, with seven Savages; and they passed by many small nations, both going and returning. When they arrived at their destination, they fastened two sticks in the earth, and hung gifts thereon, so as to relieve these tribes from the notion of mistaking them for enemies to be massacred. When he was two days' journey from that nation, he sent one of those Savages to bear tidings of the peace, which word was especially well received when they heard that it was a European who carried the message; they despatched several young men to meet the Manitouriniou,—that is to say, “the wonderful man.” They meet him; they escort him, and carry all his baggage. He wore a grand robe of China damask, all strewn with flowers and birds of many colors. No sooner did they perceive him than the women and children fled, at the sight of a man who carried thunder in both hands,—for thus they called the two pistols that he held. The news of his coming quickly spread to the places round about, and there assembled four or five thousand men. Each of the chief men made a feast for him, and at one of these banquets they served at least sixscore Beavers. The peace was concluded; he returned to the Hurons, and some time later to the three Rivers, where he continued his employment as Agent and Interpreter, to the great satisfaction of both the French and the Savages, by whom he was equally and singularly loved.

JR, 23:317 [**Effects of the death of King Louis XIII and Cardinal Richelieu on New France.*]

Toward the end of April [**1643*], all the Savages again rally together; each returns to his own quarter and sets up his cabin, prepares his little store, dresses his skins, and comes to instruction, where the same order is observed as in the autumn. When the earth is altogether free from snow, each one visits his field, and begins to till it. It was a pleasure to see them going to work after having heard holy Mass, and then coming every evening to say their prayers in the Chapel, and hear instruction. But this pleasure hardly lasted; for, scarcely had they finished planting their Indian corn, when the rumors of incursions and ravages by the Iroquois obliged them to form a small body of warriors, and go to the fort of Richelieu and to the 3 rivers, in order to confront their

enemies. But the disastrous news of the death of the King and of Monseigneur the Cardinal, and then the want of the succor of arms and soldiers which we were expecting from France, made them return to Sillery, quite sad; and as the ships were very late, and as provisions failed them, they broke up into little bands, and went hunting toward Tadoussac, continually removing from their enemies and awaiting the ships.

JR, 24:23 [**Algonquins at Sillery give presents to Montmagny after his repulse of the Iroquois.*]

The Savages are scantily grateful in their natural state, especially toward the Europeans; Christianity trains them, little by little, in this virtue. Monsieur the Governor coming back last year from the fort of Richelieu, after the severe and unexpected assault made upon it by the Hydroquois,—wherein they were very badly treated,—our Savages went of their own impulse to greet him, and carried two gifts. One was to thank him for having exposed his life for them, and having driven away their enemies; the other, to wipe away our tears for the capture of Father Jogues and our men by the Hydroquois.

JR, 24:147 [**The tribes of Gaspé and Miskou gather to make war on the Iroquois, ca. 1643.*]

The Savages of Gaspé and Miskou, whom one meets still ahead of these, on coming from France, have had the rumor of it, and begin to desire the faith, and to sigh after their salvation. Here is what Father Richard—who lives at Miskou, together with Father Lionne, arrived this year from France—writes on the subject to Father le Jeune....

“A number of our Savages, not only from this Bay, but from all the coast, are going up to Tadousac; some particularly of the youth, may proceed as far as Kebec, and beyond, in order to go to war against the Hydroquois....”

JR, 24:209 [**Christian and pagan Algonquins from Three Rivers make war on the Iroquois.*]

A small squad of Savages wishing to start for the war in the country of the Hydroquois, one of the band, who was a Christian, led them to the Fathers, in order to hear a word of exhortation; after which he himself took the floor, and, addressing himself to the Christians, said to them: “Let us take courage, my brothers; let us hold firm, let us say our prayers every day, let us not be ashamed. If one of us prays alone, shame will finally cause him to be silent; if we pray all together, we shall be the stronger for it, and perhaps by our example the Pagans will pray as we do.” When they were about to start, they went all together to the Chapel; and, their prayer ended, they betook themselves to the frozen stream. There they form in a ring, and, their Captains having harangued them, they sing and dance in the sight of the French who were in the fort. They made a smart appearance, dressed like soldiers, and somewhat as in a masquerade of France. Some had their faces painted with red, others with

blue, others with black, some with all the colors. They had javelins with handles, in the shape of a half-pike; many had corselets, stitched, and interlaced with small sticks; others had shields made of wood. There were some who had arquebuses,—all had their feet equipped with good snowshoes, to run on the snows; their legs are the purveyors of their army. They do not usually eat while on the way, save the animals which they encounter and kill. They had with them a woman, who had escaped the preceding year from the hands and the country of the Hyroquois; she was to lead them to the places where the enemy have been accustomed to carry on their hunt during the Winter. Behold them, then, setting out gayly, without apprehension of the horrible toils and of the intolerable cold,—having no other retreat than the woods, nor other bed than the snow and the ice, and being constrained to spend several days without making fire, for fear of being discovered. The Christians steadfastly said their prayers by the way; but the Pagans, who had promised to perform no superstitious rite, consulted the devil in their fashion, on approaching the enemy's country. They separated, and formed two small bands, one of which had some success; the other was surprised at night in its sleep, without keeping watch. At the noise of the enemy, and at the shots of the arquebuses, each one awakes, and seeing himself rudely attacked, takes flight. Some were killed on the spot, the others escaped, half naked; some had their feet frozen even to the bone. Fortunately, they came upon the settlement of Mont-Real, where they were received with much charity. But for that, they were dead; and it was also a happy event for their souls,—as I shall tell hereafter. That young woman who was guiding them escaped during the fight; she returned only a long time after the others, fleeing far into the woods. She had neither cap, nor shoes, nor sleeves, nor stockings; for all clothing, she had only a bit of blanket, which hardly protected half her body against the extreme cold. She walked thirty days in this condition, over the snow, without seeing a spark of fire; there is no knowing what she could have eaten during that time. She passed opposite the settlement of Montreal, on the other side of the great River, and stayed there six or seven days, shouting as loudly as she could, so that they might come and ferry her across; but seeing that she was not heard, she was finally constrained to move toward the fort of Richelieu, where she arrived half dead. The charity of the French restored her life and her strength; a hundred men (said some) would have died from the hardships which could not kill one woman.

JR, 24:231 [**A war party against the Iroquois stops at Montreal, 1643.*]

"Toward the end of February, there arrived at Mont-Real a band of twenty-five men, going to the war against the Iroquois; and the women and children stopped here. Two or three days thereafter, lo, still another band comes, for the chase, which is so excellent there that the Savages all tell us that they would have lived there long ago, in great number, if they had had there, as at present, a place of refuge against the Iroquois, our near neighbors.

JR, 24:235 [**An Algonquin convert receives an arquebus.*]

“The 9th day of March [*1643], le Borgne of the Isle, first Captain of all these countries [*Paul Tesswehat], and his wife, after the preparations requisite for Baptism, finally received it, to the admiration of all our French, and of all those people who had formerly seen that man so removed from what he was now doing,—esteeming himself happy, at present, in the name of Christian, which they were about to give him, Monsieur de Maison-Neufve, with Mademoiselle Manse, named him Paul; and his wife was named Magdelaine by Madame de la Peltrie and Monsieur de Puiseaux. All the ceremonies thereof were performed with great solemnity, on account of the great progress which is to be hoped from them for the glory of God. Father Poncet spoke to all the people of the great goodness of God toward this man; the tears of joy which appeared on several faces showed plainly that their hearts were filled with contentment. The father could scarcely speak, so much was he touched. After they had received the blessing of Marriage, Monsieur de Maison-Neufve gave a fine arquebus to Paul, with the articles necessary for its use, and had them dine with us...

JR, 24:245 [**An Algonquin convert prays for victory in battle and begins to disdain the torture of prisoners.*]

“This good man [*Paul Tesswehat] told us that, as many times as he awoke at night, he prayed for his young men who were in the war. ‘The prayer which I offer,’ said he, ‘I repeat as though after another, who teaches me within; for I know nothing, as yet, to say to God. See how I speak: “Thou who hast made everything, help our young men, and defend them against our enemies. Thou canst do everything; give them courage to overcome them. Lo, that would be good if our enemies believed in thee, so as to help them, as well as us who hope in thee; but they do not honor thee; forsake them, and defend us who wish now to believe in thee.”’...He was experiencing the gentleness of the spirit of Christianity, and told us that the cruelties which they practiced against their enemies displeased him.

JR, 24:249 [**An Iroquet convert reconciles Christianity with the warpath.*]

“A young man of the Iroquet nation, named Chinawith, deserves that a word be said of him....

[*H]e was baptized, and named Jacques. As a result, presently afterward, frightful though he was before, he appeared extremely gay and joyful. He knew not what welcome to give us; he rendered us all the services that he could; he said to Monsieur de Maison-neufve that if he wished, he would always live here, to serve as interpreter for the Hurons, in order to instruct them, so that they might be baptized. ‘May I go to the war against the Iroquois?’ he asked me. ‘Yes,’ we said. ‘And if I captured some one of them, and they wished to torture him, what would I do,—would I take part therein?—No,’ said he, of his own accord; ‘I would kill him on the spot.’

JR, 24:253 [**An Algonquin war party returns in defeat, March 1643.*]

"After the Baptism of these [**Tesswehat and Chinawith*], we felt ourselves immediately obliged, Father Poncet and I, to satisfy the urgent requests of many other persons,—and that at a time when we thought them most averse to making us such propositions. For it was at the return of a band of fifteen warriors, who had been put to flight by the enemy, who had surprised them by night,—wherein there were 4 captured or killed, and some wounded of the eleven who returned. All these were naked and wretched, and without arms, in the firm belief that Pieskaret and eight others of their people,—who formed a small detached band, half a day from them, and nearer the country of the enemy,—had all been surprised, or killed on the spot, asserting that they had seen their arms in the hands of the Iroquois, who had attacked them. This was to all a great cause of consternation, and a poor time to gain anything for the faith, with respect to the Savages; those who know them, know well enough that such accidents give them occasion to attack Christianity, as they attribute all their misfortunes to Baptism. One dare not so much as say a word to them just then, for fear of giving cause to some thoughtless fellow to say or do something inopportune for the faith. However, as the affairs of God are of such nature that, often, that which human reason thinks adverse to them is precisely that by which he derives from them more glory, we may say that he has done the same here; for we have derived more profit from their misfortune than from their prosperity. All those poor warriors have no sooner returned than they request, one after the other, to be instructed and baptized; and those, among others, who had been among the first to practice juggleries, and make use of the Devil for their throats, were among the most fervent to urge us in the matter.

JR, 24:259 [**An Algonquin war party, given up as lost, returns pursued by the Iroquois, April 1643.*]

"Toward the beginning of April, a good part of the Savages having started to go into the woods, both to hunt Beavers and to make Canoes there,—Paul having remained, with one other man,—they suddenly perceive on the other side of the river some persons who were coming down to us, and seeking passage, to cross on the ice. They were not slow to recognize, by the number, that it was the band of Piescaret and his people, who had been mourned as if dead,—but who, returning victorious, with a head of the enemy, came to change the mourning into joy. Paul sends in quest of those who had recently started, and commissions various Ambassadors to those who were in the woods; they receive the victorious, they treat them, they dance with them. Paul requests that we have them all pray together in the Chapel, some time later. He returns to us with Pieskaret, and two or three others of the most considerable men, asking to speak to Monsieur de Maison-neuve. Piescaret makes the report of the result of their council, held at evening in their cabin; but Paul, having learned that this man had related the affair in a long-drawn

style, and with intricate sentences, himself proceeds to repeat to us the points of it, in a manner concise and clear. It was to the effect that what had happened in this last war,—wherein they had lost four persons, and the weapons of most of the others,—put them in a position to change the order of their affairs which they had proposed for themselves; that thereupon they had resolved all to go to the three rivers, where the others were, until the end of the summer,—both to celebrate, all together, the mourning for the dead, and to deliberate in common what they would do thereafter; moreover, that they wished to see, for the last time, whether the promise would be kept to them, of giving them assistance against our common enemy.”

“Finally, in conclusion, these good people, as persons who felt themselves greatly obliged, began to give thanks in their manner, which was very polite; they knew not what to say or do, to show the gratitude which they had for the courtesy and benevolence of Monsieur de Maison neuve. ‘It is three years,’ said Paul, ‘since I had heard mention of this, project; we admired and desired it, and now we see what we were expecting.’ Monsieur de Maison neuve, in answer to their council, gave them to understand that they were at full liberty,—not desiring them near him, except for their benefit: and that, whenever and as often as they should come here, they would always find a heart open and ready to give them all the assistance and favors possible; that they should go boldly where they pleased. They all start, therefore, the next day, for the three rivers, over the ice, which was everywhere beginning to break up. It had already done so, across from us,—and that immediately after the return of Piescaret and his band, which had no sooner crossed on the ice than the main channel broke open, and stopped the passage for the enemy. They—as we have since learned by the Hurons saved from the hands of the Iroquois—pursued these, and would have come even to our gates, but for the ice, which was already drifting rapidly.

JR, 24:265 [**Montreal as a possible safe-haven from the Iroquois.*]

“We have ascertained by experience, that Ville-Marie can do much to contribute to the conversion of the Savages, notably Algonquins,—having in hand the benefits which are powerful charms upon rude souls, and such as those of our Canadians. There is no one who has heard so much spoken of the reception which is there given to the Savages, as that one who has seen them at their return, and has had his winter allotment of labor at their usual rendezvous among the Hurons. I have no doubt, according to what they have told me of this, that, if the place had more security, they would forever leave this country here, in order to form a village at Mont Royal, and gather there those of the Island, and the other scattered nations, who see themselves to be the prey of the enemy here, and on the river where they have their haunts. They ask nothing better than to have a secure place of refuge, where they can live and rally together. That will be, as I hope; and it cannot be soon enough for the good of a nation the poorest and most wretched that I have seen.

“There are about us, here, many Algonquins who seek but a safe rendezvous, where they can hunt and live free from danger. of the enemy, in which they are at all times. They come up here to seek a place of refuge, not finding it on the great river, where all their haunts are. If it had not been so hot at Mont-royal, they would be there already, and would have anticipated the French,—that place suiting them better than any other. Now that they believe you there, they speak of nothing else; and, when they see us, they have no other conversation. ‘There,’ they say, ‘is where we wish to obey God, and not here.’ I do not doubt, from their story, that what they saw there last Year, on their way up here, has much assisted in moving their hearts; and I think that, if the affair be well managed, in a few years the Savages will take their stand at Ville-Marie in much greater number than they are at Sillery; it cannot be soon enough for them and for us. For even though the Mataouachkariniens, Onontchateronons, Kinonchepiririk, Weweskariniens, those of the Island, and others,—who speak the dialect of that region, and unite here in winter near the Hurons,—should go to Mont-Royal, we should still have, besides the Nepissiriniens, Archirigouans, Archouguets,—all the Algonquins, in general, from the lake of the Hurons, who are still in great number. It is for you, who are on the spot, to think of the means for attracting these peoples and preserving them.

JR, 24:271 [**Iroquois raids along the St. Lawrence.*]

There are two divisions of Iroquois,—the one, neighbors of the Hurons and equal to them in number, or even greater, are called Santweronons [**Senecas?*]. Formerly, the Hurons had the upper hand; at present, these prevail, both in number and in strength. The others live between the three Rivers and the upper Hiroquois, and are called Agneronons [**Mohawks*]. There are among these latter only three villages, comprising about seven or eight hundred men of arms. The settlement of the Dutch is near them; they go thither to carry on their trades, especially in arquebuses; they have at present three hundred of these, and use them with skill and boldness. These are the ones who make incursions upon our Algonquins and Montagnais, and watch the Hurons at all places along the River,—slaughtering them, burning them, and carrying off their Peltry, which they go and sell to the Dutch, in order to have powder and Arquebuses, and then to ravage everything and become masters everywhere, which is fairly easy for them unless France gives us help. For, sundry contagious diseases having consumed the greater part of the Montagnais and Algonquins, who are neighbors to us, they have nothing to fear on that side; and, moreover, the Hurons who come down,—coming for trade, and not for war, and having not one Arquebus—if they, are met, as usually happens, have no other defense than flight; and, if they are captured, they allow themselves to be bound and massacred like sheep. In former years, the Iroquois came in rather large bands at certain times in the Summer, and afterward left the River free: but, this present year, they have changed their plan, and have separated

themselves into small bands of twenty, thirty, fifty, or a hundred at the most, along all the passages and places of the River; and when one band goes away, another succeeds it. They are merely small troops well armed, which set out incessantly, one after the other, from the country of the Iroquois, in order to occupy the whole great River, and to lay ambushes along it everywhere; from these they issue unexpectedly, and fall indifferently upon the Montagnais, Algonquins, Hurons, and French. We have had letters from France that the design of the Dutch is to have the French harassed by the Iroquois, to such an extent that they may constrain them to give up and abandon everything,—even the conversion of the Savages. I cannot believe that those Gentlemen of Holland, being so united to France, have this wretched idea; but, the practice of the Iroquois being so consistent with it, they ought to apply to it a remedy in their settlement, as Monsieur the Governor has done here,—often preventing our Savages from going to kill the Dutch. That is very easy for them; otherwise, they will have difficulty in clearing themselves and in exculpating themselves from the wrong. Now here is the miserable result of the incursions of the Iroquois this Year.

The 9th of last May [*1643], as soon as the ice was gone from the surface of the great River eight Algonquins, coming down from toward the Hurons in two canoes, all laden with peltry, landed one morning four leagues from the three Rivers, in order to make a little fire; it had frozen quite hard all night, and they had paddled during the darkness, fearing surprise from their enemies. Hardly had they been half an hour refreshing themselves, when nineteen Iroquois issue from the wood, and fall upon them, kill two men, and take the others captive, with all their peltry. Father Buteux had passed by there only two days before, in a canoe, accompanied by three Hurons. It is a miracle that he was not perceived and taken, with his companions. The nineteen Iroquois were not alone; others were seen six or seven leagues above, moving toward the fort of Richelieu.

A month later, which was the ninth of June, another band of forty made its attack at Mont-Real and the environs; they were in ambush half a league above the settlement of Mont-Real, on the Island itself, a hundred paces from the River. They had erected a little fort there at the time of their arrival, which was a few days before; thence they were watching the Hurons on the River, and the French of Mont-Real on land, in order to surprise any of them who might be scattered about the settlement. Everything succeeded for them to their wish; for on the aforesaid day, the ninth of June, they perceived sixty Hurons coming down in thirteen canoes,—without Arquebuses and without arms, but all freighted with peltries,—who were coming to Mont-Real, and from there to the three Rivers, for their trade. They carried the letters of our Fathers with the Hurons, and a copy of their Relation. The forty Hiroquois issue from the wood, fall upon them, frighten them with their Arquebuses, put them to flight, and take twenty-three of them prisoners, with their canoes and the peltry; the rest escape, and strive to reach the settlement of Mont-Real. The

Hiroquois do not stop there; they give their twenty-three prisoners, all naked, into the charge of ten of their comrades, well armed, and send ten others to fall upon five Frenchmen, who were working at some carpentry, two hundred paces from the settlement. Meanwhile the twenty who remain present themselves before the fort, and make a false attack on it, with a discharge of more than a hundred arquebus shots; this gave leisure to the other ten to surprise our five Frenchmen. Three of these they beat to death,—scalping them, and carrying away their hair,—and take the two others captive; then they go to rejoin their companions, and all together betake themselves to their fort, where the two Frenchmen were bound, and put with the captive Hurons. The Hiroquois passed the night in rejoicing over their prize, and in consulting as to what they should do with it. Morning having come, they rush upon the Huron prisoners, and beat thirteen of them to death, almost without selection. They reserve ten of them alive, along with our two Frenchmen, and then go away to the canoes to get robes of Beaver without number; and after having loaded all that they could of these, they leave even more than thirty on the spot, and thus cross the River, triumphant with joy, and laden with rich spoils. Our French of the settlement see them cross, without being able to offer any remedy. Eight or ten days later, one of the two French prisoners escaped by flight,—pretending to his host to go to fetch some wood, in order to prepare the kettle. He reported that the Iroquois had not done them any harm since their capture, and had kept them bound only two days; that they signified to them that they already had French prisoners, and that all together were tilling the soil in their country. For the rest, in these encounters and attacks, one must not speak of making a sally upon the enemy; for, as neither their coming nor their number is known, and as they are concealed in the woods,—where they are trained for running, very differently from our French,—the sallies would avail only to undergo new massacres; for usually a small party attacks, and the others remain in ambush in the thick of the woods.

Those of the Hurons who could escape by flight arrived in single file at the settlement of Mont-Real,—partly toward evening, partly the next day, and all naked,—and gave news of their disastrous accident, also learning ours. I have had letters from Mont-Real that the five Frenchmen who were captured or killed, as if they had anticipated their death, were preparing themselves for it by notable acts of virtue, and by attendance at the Sacraments,—which they had approached a few days previously, and some, the very day of their capture.

While this band of forty were at Mont-Real, and were making these ravages there, another of like number was on lake Saint Pierre, below the fort of Richelieu; and on the twelfth of June they came to encamp in an old fort, made four years ago by the Iroquois, three or four leagues from the three Rivers, on the same side as the settlement: They had with them three or four Hurons, taken the year before with Father Jogues, among whom were two brothers of that great Joseph [*Chihwatenhwa], known through the Relation of the Hurons, and by his own virtue. Both escaped from the band of the Iroquois,

and came toward evening to the three Rivers, where by good fortune they found Father de Brebeuf, to whom they related plenty of news: that Father Jogues was still alive; that last year after his capture, though able to escape, he would not do it, in order not to separate himself from the captive Hurons till after the combat; he baptized all the prisoners, who were expecting nothing but death, and longed only for Heaven. They said that immediately the Father and the two Frenchmen, Cousture and René Goupil, received many blows with fists and clubs; but that the worst treatment which was dealt them was at their encounter with two hundred and fifty Iroquois, who were returning from their attack on Richelieu, where they lost five of their people, and several were wounded. Yet they were not bound while on the road, except at their entrance into the village, when they were all stripped to their shirts, and received many affronts and outrages,—their beards were plucked out, their nails were torn out, the tips of their fingers being afterward burned in calumets all red with fire. Father Jogues had his left thumb cut off, and they crushed with their teeth the index finger of his right hand, which nevertheless he uses a little at present. We were told they spared the lives of all the Hurons except two, who were burned; that the little Therese, the Seminarist of the Ursulines, was much sought after in marriage; that she had lived near her uncle named Joseph, who is the one who, having escaped, was relating all these tidings to Father de Brebeuf. He said that Rene Goupil, walking near the village with Father Jogues,—both praying to God together,—was struck down with a blow of a hatchet by an Iroquois, who had just learned the death of some of his people, killed at the Fort of Richelieu; that Father Jogues, seeing René fall at his feet, fell on his knees and offered his head to the Iroquois, who was content with having killed one of them. Guillaume Cousture, in the combat, would not flee or separate himself from the Father; the latter abode all the winter in the cabin of an Iroquois Captain, without having been given to any one after the capture,—contrary to their custom,—and thus it is always free to them to kill him; he passed the winter with a single red cape for all his clothing. He had, nevertheless, liberty to go to the three Villages, to console and teach the Hurons and the captives; the Iroquois did not willingly hear him speak of God. These Hurons said that Cousture had his foot frozen with cold: that two Hollanders, one of whom was mounted on horseback, had come to the village where father Jogues was, and had tried to ransom him, but that the Iroquois would not listen to it; that an Iroquois of that band had been charged with a long letter, by father Jogues, to give to us; that the Iroquois spoke of conducting them back, but that he and the others put no faith in it....

Let us return to the band of our Iroquois from which he [*Joseph Chihwatenhwa] had escaped with his brother, and a third who arrived shortly after. The Iroquois, no longer seeing the three Hurons, and suspecting what the matter was,—that they had withdrawn to the three rivers,—believed they were discovered, and returned to their country. But, at the same time, others succeeded them in the same lake of St. Pierre, above the three rivers; so that the

Hurons who had escaped to Mont real, and who were coming down to the 3 rivers, were again met and pursued. But it pleased God to deliver them, though with infinite hardships; for most of them, leaving their canoes, rushed into the woods and came all naked to the three rivers, by frightful roads. Some other Hurons, captives of former years, who were with these latter bands of Iroquois, escaped and came to the three rivers, and confirmed all that their companions had said,—especially that there was talk in the country of bringing hither Father Jogues and restoring him to the French; but, as the treachery of the Iroquois is known, no one believed a word of it. Monsieur the Governor, however, who desired the Father's deliverance, and peace if it were reasonable, equipped four shallops and went, prepared for war or peace, to the three rivers, and thence to the Fort of Richelieu, in order to see if the Iroquois would present themselves on the river or before the habitations. But nothing appeared; as soon as they perceived the shallops, they entered further within the woods; and, the shallops having passed, they returned to the edge of the water, and kept watch on the Algonquins and Hurons. Monsieur the Governor often landed, in order to examine their trail, and to see if he might encounter some band of them in their customary Forts, in order to attack them there. Two leagues above Riche-lieu he found a road newly made in the woods, which extended about two leagues, whereby the Iroquois traversed and cut off a point of land in order to come from their river into that of St. Lawrence, bearing their canoes and baggage on their shoulders, and not to pass before the Fort of Riche-lieu. If Monsieur the Governor had had the soldiers for whom he was hoping from France, he would no doubt have proceeded even into the country of the Iroquois, with 200 or 300 Algonquins and Montagnais who offered themselves to keep him company; and I believe that this would have produced a very good effect, and that he would have constrained those proud Barbarians to an honest peace, or have entirely subdued them. What I have said herein above, need not give extraordinary terror; when the Iroquois have encountered resistance, they have given way as soon as, or sooner than, the others. The Algonquins, being in reasonable number, have often made them tremble and flee. Let us return to their incursions of this year, notwithstanding which the Algonquins failed not to go to the chase; they cannot forego that exercise without dying from hunger. The land does not yet yield enough for them; "As well," they say, "die by the hand, or by the iron of the Iroquois, as of a cruel hunger." The 30th of July, seven young Algonquins went to the chase toward Mont-real,—they were nearly all Christians; they encountered two Iroquois canoes, one of which, in which there were twelve men, ran straightway upon them. These good young men were not frightened; Father le Jeune had said to them on leaving: "If you flee death, you will find it; if you seek it, it will flee from you. Commend yourselves to God, if you meet the enemy." They observe this counsel,—they pray to God fervently in their hearts, and paddle with all their might straight toward the Iroquois who discharge upon them ten or twelve arquebus shots without other effect than to pierce one canoe and to

wound one Algonquin in the foot. The Algonquins continually advance, and discharge two or three arquebuses that they had; they prostrate two iroquois wounded to death in their canoe, and constrain them all to go ashore and retreat. If these young Algonquins had had powder to continue and pursue further, they would have killed most of the band; but we have always been afraid to arm the Savages too much. Would to God that the Hollanders had done the same, and had not compelled us to give arms even to our Christians,—for hitherto, these have been traded only to the latter.

The 15th of August, twenty Algonquins left the three rivers in order to go to the chase toward Richelieu. When in the lake of St. Pierre, seven or eight leagues from the settlement, at the mouth of a river called saint François, they separated themselves into two bands, in order to hunt better. The one, which was composed of twelve, straightway encounters twenty Iroquois, well armed; then they were in close conflict,—first with the arquebuses, of which the Iroquois had twice as many, then with the javelin, finally with the knife. Some on both sides were killed; the Algonquins, seeing themselves weaker, took flight; three, with a Huron who happened to be in their company, were made prisoners. They burned one of these; God granted the favor to 2 others, who were Christians, to escape. They reported to us that the Iroquois were nearly all wounded, and some, to death. At the same time when that was occurring in the lake of St. Pierre, there were 2 other bands of Iroquois, who were prowling about the Fort of Richelieu; they had with them a captive Huron, but an Iroquois by affection. The latter took his place alone in a canoe, and advanced toward the Fort, and requested to speak; they receive him,—they have him enter, they ask him who he is, and what brings him. He answers that he is an Iroquois, and that he wishes to treat of peace for himself and for his companions; he presents some beavers with this object. They ask him if he has news of Father Jogues; he draws forth a letter from him and presents it, then asks to return. They tell him that the letter is addressed to Monsieur the Governor, who is at Kebec or at the 3 rivers, and that he must wait for an answer; he requests that they fire a cannon shot, which is done, and straightway his comrades appear in 3 or 4 canoes. They paddle steadily, in order to come toward the Fort; they are hailed to stop, three or four times,—which not obeying, they are fired upon; that constrained them to go ashore, and flee into the woods, abandoning their canoes and baggage; it is not known whether they were wounded or killed.

Not many days later, a band of about 100 Iroquois appeared at the same place, in eleven great canoes; they had crossed above Mont-real, had remained there several days in ambush, and had presented themselves before the settlement. There, under pretext of some sign of peace, they had essayed to attract near them some Algonquins of the Iroquet nation, who had been sent to parley at a distance, upon whom they treacherously discharged more than a hundred arquebus shots,—but, thanks to God, without effect. They had afterward come down to Richelieu, where, seeing themselves discovered, they retreated.

JR, 25:25 [**Iroquois continually menace trade and travel routes.*]

The Iroquois have so spread themselves along the great stream of St. Lawrence, and along the River des prairies, that there is no security from the lake of St. Pierre, which is a little above the three Rivers, even to very far beyond Mont-Real. Those Barbarians conceal themselves, now in one place, now in another,—falling suddenly upon the French, upon the Hurons, and upon the Algonquins, when they see their opportunity; insomuch that one would scarcely dare to navigate, in all the Summer, these noble streams, unless Caravans be made, as in Arabia, which we cannot do because of our small number.

JR, 25:27 [**Gift of arquebuses becomes a motivation for Huron conversion.*]

In a word, our little Churches are continually increasing in number of persons, and in virtue; the affairs of our Lord advance in proportion to the adversities which he sends us. Hardly could one find, hitherto, among our Christians two or three warriors; but, since the capture of that worthy Neophyte, named Eustache, the most valiant of all the Hurons, we have counted in a single band as many as twenty-two Believers,—all men of courage, and mostly Captains or people of importance. The use of arquebuses, refused to the Infidels by Monsieur the Governor, and granted to the Christian Neophytes, is a powerful attraction to win them: it seems that our Lord intends to use this means in order to render Christianity acceptable in these regions.

JR, 25:35 [**The Hurons relate their disasters to Christianity*]

How many times have they told us that they had never seen calamities like those which have appeared since we speak of Jesus Christ! “You tell us” (exclaim some) “that God is full of goodness; and then, when we give ourselves up to him, he massacres us. The Iroquois, our mortal enemies, do not believe in God, they do not love the prayers, they are more wicked than the Demons,—and yet they prosper; and since we have forsaken the usages of our ancestors, they kill us, they massacre us, they burn us,—they exterminate us, root and branch. What profit can there come to us from lending ear to the Gospel, since death and the faith nearly always march in company?” There are Christians who generously answer these complaints: “Though the faith should cause us to lose life, is it a great misfortune to leave the earth in order to be blest in Heaven? If death and war slaughter the Christians, no more do they spare the infidels.” “Yes, but,” answer the others, “the Iroquois do not die, and yet they hold prayer in abomination. Before these innovations appeared in these regions, we lived as long as the Iroquois; but, since some have accepted prayer, one sees no more white heads,—we die at half age.” “God behaves toward you,” was said to them, “like a Father toward his child; if his child will not have sense, he punishes it, in order to give it some; having corrected it, he throws the rods into the fire. A Father does not put himself to so much trouble about his servants as about his children. God regards, you as his children: he

wishes to give you sense; he uses the Iroquois as a whip, in order to correct you, to give you faith, to make you have recourse to him. When you shall be wise, he will throw the rods into the fire; he will chastise the Iroquois, unless they reform." "Alas!" say some, "why did he not begin with the Iroquois? Why did not he try to give them sense first? we have so much already, and they have none at all." "He is the Master," they are told; "he does whatever he will; he prefers you to the Iroquois, he loves you much more, since he gives a life all full of pleasures to those among you who die after Baptism, and since he casts all the Iroquois into the fires,—not one of them believing in God."

JR, 25:43 [**Noteworthy passages from the escape of Fr. Jogues, Autumn 1643.*]

I started the very day of the Feast of Our Blessed Father saint Ignace, from the Village where I was captive,—in order to follow and accompany some Iroquois who were going away, first for trade, then for fishing. Having accomplished their little traffic, they stopped at a place seven or eight leagues below a settlement of the Dutch, which is located on a river where we carried on our fishing. While we were setting snares for the fish, there came a rumor that a squad of Iroquois, returned from pursuit of the Hurons, had killed five or six on the spot, and taken four prisoners, two of whom had been already burned in our Village, with cruelties extraordinary. At this news, my heart was pierced through with a most bitter and sharp pain, because I had not seen, or consoled, or baptized those poor victims....I embarked in the first Canoe that was going up to the Village,—always conducted and always accompanied by the Iroquois. Having arrived, as we did, in the settlement of the Dutch, through which it was necessary for us to pass, I learn that our whole Village is excited against the French, and that only my return is awaited, for them to burn us. Now for the cause of such news. Among several bands of Iroquois, who had gone to war against the French, the Algonquins, and the Hurons, there was one which took the resolution to go round about Richelieu, in order to spy on the French and the Savages, their allies. A certain Huron of this band, taken by the Iroquois, and settled among them, came to ask me for letters, in order to carry them to the French,—hoping, perhaps, to surprise some one of them by this bait; but, as I doubted not that our French would be on their guard, and as I saw, moreover, that it was important that I should give them some warning of the designs, the arms, and the treachery of our enemies, I found means to secure a bit of paper in order to write to them,—the Dutch according me this charity. I knew very well the dangers to which I was exposing myself; I was not ignorant that, if any misfortune happened to those warriors, they would make me responsible therefor, and would blame my letters for it. I anticipated my death; but it seemed to me pleasant and agreeable, employed for the public good, and for the consolation of our French and of the poor Savages who listen to the word of Our Lord. My heart was seized with no dread, at the sight of all that might happen therefrom, since it was a matter of the glory of God;

I accordingly gave my letter to that young warrior, who did not return. The story which his comrades have brought back, says that he carried it to the fort of Richelieu, and that, as soon as the French had seen it, they fired the Cannon upon them. This frightened them so that the greater part fled, all naked,—abandoning one of their Canoes, in which there were three arquebuses, powder and lead, and some other baggage. These tidings being brought into the Village, they clamor aloud that my letters have caused them to be treated like that; the rumor of it spreads everywhere,—it comes even to my ears. They reproach me that I have done this evil deed; they speak only of burning me; and, if I had chanced to be in the Village at the return of those warriors, fire, rage, and cruelty would have taken my life. For climax misfortune, another troop—coming back from Mont-real, Where they had Set ambushes for the French—said that one of their men had been killed, and two others wounded. Each one held me guilty of these adverse encounters; they were fairly mad with rage, awaiting me with impatience....The Captain of the Dutch settlement where we were,—not being ignorant of the evil design of those Barbarians, and knowing, moreover, that Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny had prevented the Savages of New France from coming to kill some Dutch,—disclosed to me means for escape. “Yonder,” said he to me, “is a vessel at anchor, which will sail in a few days; enter into it secretly. It is going first to Virginia, and thence it will carry you to Bordeaux or to la Rochelle, where it is to land.” Having thanked him, with much regard for his courtesy, I tell him that the Iroquois, probably suspecting that some one had favored my retreat, might cause some damages to his people. “No, no,” he answers, “fear nothing; this opportunity is favorable; embark; you will never find a more certain way to escape.”

JR, 25:53 [**The Iroquois receive presents in bad faith.*]

These wretches [**the Iroquois*] had so little inclination to deliver us, that they committed a treachery against the law and the custom of all these nations. A Savage from the country of the Sokokiois, allies of the Iroquois, having been seized by the upper Algonquins and taken a prisoner to the three Rivers, or to Kebec, was delivered and set at liberty by the mediation of Monsieur the Governor of New France, at the solicitation of our Fathers. This good Savage, seeing that the French had saved his life, sent, in the month of April, some fine presents, to the end that they should deliver at least one of the French. The Iroquois retained the presents, without setting one of them at liberty, which treachery is perhaps unexampled among these People—for they inviolably observe this law, that whoever touches or accepts the present which is made to him, is bound to fulfill what is asked of him through that present—This is why, when they are unwilling to grant what is desired, they send back the presents or make others in place of them.

Father Barthelemy Vimont. 1644. Relation of What Occurred in New France in the Years 1643 and 1644.

JR, 25:103 [**Reduction of the Montagnais and Algonquins by disease, war, and famine.*]

Disease, war, and famine are the three scourges with which God has been pleased to smite our Neophytes since they have commenced to adore him, and to submit to his Laws. Hardly had they heard of the Doctrine that we preach to them, and commenced to receive this divine seed, when a contagious disease spread throughout all these nations, carrying off the healthiest of them. No sooner had disease ceased its ravages, than war—which had previously been so much to their advantage that they had become Masters of their enemies' country, and had defeated them everywhere—commenced, and has since continued to be so disastrous to them that they have lost all their best warriors, have been driven from their own country, and at present do nothing but flee from the cruelty of the Iroquois, who nevertheless very often overtake them, and massacre them horribly.

Being compelled, in consequence of this misfortune, to abandon the woods best suited for hunting, which lie to the South of the great river, and being exposed to the inroads of their enemies, they have fallen into the hands of a no less cruel enemy, hunger,—which has brought many of them from the depths of the forest to our doors, to ask us for alms at a season when they were accustomed to hold a feast every day. We have seen some who have wandered in the woods for ten, fifteen, and twenty days, without other food than a piece of bark or of skin. Others resolved to cross the great river at a time when everywhere its waters rolled down rocks and mountains of ice, in order to reach the woods to the South, notwithstanding their dread of their enemies,—saying that they would as soon die by the fire of the Iroquois as by hunger; and, as if misfortune accompanied them everywhere, after having been a thousand times in danger of losing their lives amid the ice and snow, they have come back without having eaten anything but the cords of their snowshoes. Those who have suffered the least are a portion of the Christians of Sillery and of Tadoussac, who, in order to avoid being disturbed by the Iroquois in their hunting, went into the woods to the South three months earlier than usual, and penetrated so far that the Iroquois did not find them,—although they sought for them, as could be seen from their tracks....

All these events have so greatly thinned the numbers of our Savages that, where eight years ago one could see eighty or a hundred cabins, barely five or six can now be seen; a Captain, who then had eight hundred warriors under his command, now has not more than thirty or forty; instead of fleets of three or four hundred Canoes, we see now but twenty or thirty.

JR, 25:119 [**An Abenaki convert is captured by the Iroquois.*]

When the Father saw his [**an Abenaki captain*] courage and his perse-

verance, after a long trial he granted him the satisfaction that he desired, and placed him in the number of the children of God. Monsieur the Governor named him Jean Baptiste. After his Baptism, he came to Father Dequen, and told him that he had never experienced joy such as he felt that day. "No," he said, "I could not be so joyful—even if I had been saved from the hands of the Iroquois." Alas! we fear that he has fallen into them. He was going back to his own country, to take leave of his relatives and to bid Adieu to his people. He had promised us that he would speak decidedly and boldly in favor of the faith; and, as I write this, an Abnaquois Canoe has just arrived which came by the very river on which he went. These people did not meet him, but saw many traces of the Iroquois, and one of their Canoes that they had left, after having seized, as we believe, that of this poor Christian.

JR, 25:155 [*A Montagnais captain calls for war after the Iroquois capture Fr. Bressani.]

As soon as he [*Jean Baptiste Etinechkawat, a Montagnais captain at St. Joseph] heard the news of the capture of Father Bressany, of the Hurons, and of several Algonquins, he at once resolved to go to war, to call the Iroquois to account for all those insults and wrongs. Here are the reasons that he gave us therefor, in the consultation that he held with us on the subject.

"It is a shame," he said, "that the Iroquois should beat us everywhere, and that we should remain without feeling, and without accomplishing anything but flight. It is now asserted with reason that we are no longer men, but women; and what irritates me still more is, that the infidels and some bad Christians publicly state that it is prayer that makes us cowards and depresses our courage. Since we rely on prayer to God, they say, we have no more courage. We must show them that they have lied, and that the Faith is far from making us timid,—that, on the contrary, it animates our hearts in the midst of the most pressing dangers, and gives us courage in our greatest weakness. We must not allow Faith to be dishonored by the falsehoods and calumnies of the wicked.

"What compels me once more to go to war is the capture of Father Bressany. He is one of those who have come from so far to teach us, and who love us so much. He has exposed himself to this danger for our sake. His brothers are afflicted at his capture. We must console them, and dry their tears, by the capture of some Iroquois. Perhaps also we may repress the insolence of our enemies, if we gain some advantage over them,—as it will be easy for us to do, according to the plan that I wish to follow in carrying on this little war, and because God hates the wicked and does not bless their projects. I do not wish to have any but good and faithful Christians in my company. We shall be but few in number, but I trust that we shall be stronger than if our band were increased by a great many warriors who would be infidels or bad Christians. Such is my plan. If the Captain of the French and you approve it, I am resolved to carry it out."

JR, 25:159 [**Algonquins change their hunting season to avoid Iroquois attacks.*]

As soon as the Ships weighed anchor before Quebec, to return to France, the majority of the Savages of this residence launched their bark canoes to go and hunt moose,—anticipating their usual time of departure by three months, through fear of the Iroquois. These had threatened to come and attack them at our very doors, and would have deprived them of the liberty of hunting far back in the forest, if they had not forestalled the time when they are accustomed to take the field and go to war.

JR, 25:181 [**Habits of Algonquin warriors upon returning from war.*]

This same woman of whom we speak [**an Algonquin convert*] manifests admirable zeal for the purity of the girls. When the young men come back from war, she carefully assembles all the girls and locks them in at night, or shuts them up in the houses that we have built for them in the manner of the French, or in the granaries where they keep their provisions.

JR, 25:187 [**Christianity causes divisions among a Montagnais/Algonquin war party.*]

I shall conclude this Chapter by the public edification given by the Christians of Sillery, when about to go to war against the Iroquois. The rendezvous was at the three Rivers, where there were one hundred and twenty Warriors, among whom were some bad Christians and several infidels. Ours always wished to have separate cabins, so as to have no communication with the wicked ones. Some of the latter held a war feast, in which they introduced (in accordance with their old custom) naked girls. Those of ours who suspected this did not go. The others, who went there unwittingly, detested such impiety, and expressed strong resentment at it. Monsieur de Chamflour, the Governor of the three Rivers, inflicted a corporal punishment on all who had participated in this offense, by driving them out of his Fort: and Father Brebeuf inflicted spiritual punishment by expelling them from the Church. On the eve of their departure, they passed the whole night in superstitious feasts, in dances, and in uttering horrible yells and cries. Ours passed it in the Chapel, praying to God and confessing themselves. If their piety made itself apparent in their preparation for war, their courage manifested itself no less by their going thither. This is what Father Buteux says of it, who saw them at Montreal, and who came with them down to the three Rivers. “They were,” he says, “the first to embark, to go and discover the enemy, and to penetrate into the woods at the most dangerous points. They went everywhere with heads erect and without any manifestation of fear. But I admired still more the greatness of their courage when I saw them praying to God in the midst of the infidels, without fear of what might be said of them. When I took my Breviary to pray to God, he who commanded in that shallop, and the other Christians in imitation of him, took their Rosaries, which they recited devoutly when the

wind dispensed them from the necessity of using their paddles. Those who saw them doing so, infidels though they were, had as high an opinion of their virtue as they felt contempt for the others who had been baptized, but did not live in accordance with their belief; so true it is that virtue possesses great attractions, that cause it to be admired, even among barbarians.”

JR, 25:191 [**The depredations of the Iroquois.*]

The Iroquois, who are the true tyrants and persecutors of this new Church, have spread terror this year throughout the country. They were divided last Spring into ten bands, scattered here and there along the great River, to take all whom they came across. One of these bands captured Father Bressany, and the Hurons who were conducting him to their country, on the 28th day of April [**1644*], four leagues above the three Rivers. Another party massacred three Frenchmen at Mont-Real and took two others captive, whom they have since burned in their country, according to the report of a Huron who escaped from their hands. Many Savages of the residence of Saint Joseph were terrified, and had cause to believe that the enemies would come further down. For that reason they took flight, hither and thither, which compelled the Hospital Nuns, by the advice of Monsieur the Governor, of the Fathers, and of the inhabitants, to yield to circumstances, and to remove to their house in Kebec,—not without great inconvenience, because the building had as yet but the four walls and the roof.

JR, 26:19 [**Huron defeats.*]

There has this year been extraordinarily fortunate, and, humanly speaking, extraordinarily unfortunate. In truth, it has been extraordinarily fortunate, because it has consisted of six excellent Neophytes,—some of whom have perfected themselves to a wonderful degree in the Faith, which they had already embraced; while the others have received it with very good disposition, and all have given and have received the utmost satisfaction during the whole time that they remained with us.

On the other hand, it has been extraordinarily unfortunate, because these poor Christians on leaving our hands fell into those of the Iroquois, to serve as a prey for the flames, and for their stomachs hungering after the flesh and blood of all these peoples who hear us....

Four of them had left their own country last Autumn, to come and winter here, and to be instructed at leisure, hoping to derive great benefit from the good examples both of our French and of the Christian Savages, of whose virtue and good habits they had heard through the reports of their country-men who had wintered here in previous years, and had been greatly impressed thereby. The fear of the Iroquois, of hunger, and of numerous other great dangers and hardships that have to be encountered on so long a journey, was not sufficient to prevent them from coming to seek that pearl of the Gospel which is preferable to all earthly goods, and which cannot be too dearly purchased, even with the loss of life. The two others were captives who came and threw

themselves into our hands, after escaping from those of the Iroquois, who had taken them prisoners,—one since the capture of Father Jogues, by whom he was baptized; and the other, after the disastrous defeat of the Hurons near Montreal. This disaster was caused by a signal act of cowardice and treachery on the part of the Iroquois, who, having attracted the Hurons into their Fort under pretext of peace and friendship, massacred some and made prisoners of the others, excepting a very few who fled, quite naked, to Montreal.

JR, 26:29 [**The capture and torture of Fr. Bressani and Huron converts.*]

At all events, our Neophytes embarked in three canoes [**returning to Huron country*], on the 27th of April [**1644*], with Father Joseph Bressany,—an Italian by Birth, and a native of the City of Rome, whom our Reverend Father General had sent here to us, two years ago,—and a young French lad, who was sent to serve our Fathers. It was believed that there would not, as yet, be much danger upon the river; and our Hurons especially were of opinion that, as the ice had not yet entirely disappeared, the Iroquois had not had time to come from their country. Moreover, they imagined that Peace had already been concluded between them and the Iroquois, in consequence of overtures commenced upon this subject before they had left their own country. This induced us to risk several packages for our Fathers among the Hurons, owing to the need in which they were, after so many losses.

All these assurances did not prevent the Father and the Hurons from preparing themselves as persons who might soon die. All were ready alike for life or for death,—but for death rather than life, because divine Providence gave them some inward presentiment of what was to happen to them, Nor were they without some outward indications; for Father Bressany's canoe was wrecked about a league from the three Rivers, at a place where there was no danger, and in fine weather. Owing to the proximity of the land, all in the canoe was saved; but this accident stopped them, and compelled them to sleep at this side of the entrance to the Lake. When they started thence on the following day, the cold and the quantity of snow that fell greatly delayed them, and did not allow them to proceed farther than the Marguerie river, six leagues beyond the three Rivers. Here the Hurons fired a few gunshots at some Bustards; this made their presence known to thirty Iroquois who were not far away, and who prepared an ambush for them beyond the river, behind a point which they had to double. Consequently, on the third day after their departure, when the canoe which carried Father Bressany, and which led the way, reached that point, it was immediately attacked by three Iroquois canoes. On seeing them, the Father commanded his people not to fight, as their side was not of equal strength, in either men or arms. The enemies drew near, seized the Father and the two Hurons who accompanied him, and declared them their prisoners.

Meanwhile the two other Huron canoes endeavored to escape by flight, and were already so far away that they thought they were out of danger, when, on doubling another point, they saw two other Iroquois canoes, strongly

manned, which attacked them. In this encounter one of our Hurons, named Bertrand Sotrioskon, tried to use his gun, but was prevented from doing so by an Iroquois who felled him in his canoe, quite dead; this so frightened the others, that they allowed themselves to be taken without further resistance.

The enemies landed, with their prisoners; broke open all the packages containing the articles needed by our Fathers, who have received nothing for three years: tore up the letters that we sent them; and equally divided the spoils. They then threw themselves on the body of the man whom they had killed; they tore his heart out of his breast, and scalped him; they cut off his lips, and the most fleshy parts of his thighs and legs, which they boiled and ate in the presence of the captives. But, while these Barbarians so treated his body, it is probable that God crowned his soul with glory in Heaven, as a reward for his Faith, his purity, and his innocence,—whereof the Father who directed his conscience gives this testimony, that, from the moment of his baptism, he had never grievously offended God, and that he had performed many generous acts of virtue.

At the time, they committed no outrage on Father Bressany or on the other captives whom they carried off to their country, with the exception of one who escaped halfway. This was Henry Stontrats,—a man of mature age and mind, and a most excellent Christian,—who related to us all the circumstances attending their capture. He assured us that the Iroquois had neither stripped nor bound Father Bressany, and had left him his Breviary, and all the small articles that he carried on his person; but that they had, nevertheless, threatened to burn him at the entrance of their village, as he had been given in the place of a celebrated Iroquois recently killed at Montreal by the French. The good Father was very well prepared for this, and, according to the account of the Huron who escaped, he went his way quite joyful and content, greatly consoling and encouraging his companions. He added that, since the end of the Winter, in less than a month, ten bands of Iroquois warriors had started from their country to war against the French, Algonquins, and Hurons. The first two had gone to the Falls of the Chaudiere, a place famous for Iroquois ambuscades, and Huron defeats; the third, to the foot of the long Sault; the fourth, above Montreal; the fifth, to the Island of Montreal itself. He said that this last consisted of 80 warriors, who lay there three days in ambush, watching the French of that settlement, who saw and boldly attacked them. Finally,—after a long resistance, in which they killed some of the Barbarians and wounded many,—they were compelled to fall back, having lost five out of their thirty men, three of whom were killed and two taken prisoners. The latter were afterward burned alive, during four days, with frightful tortures. The sixth band, consisting of 40 warriors, had marched toward the river des prairies, where they surprised a party of Algonquins, who were all carried off as captives, and most of these were immediately burned at the Iroquois village. The seventh is that which captured Father Bressany and our Hurons,—among whom, in addition to the Iroquois, there were six Hurons, and 3 of the Wolf Tribe, who are naturalized Iroquois. The 8th is a band of 30, who met our prisoners on the way; they cut off a fin-

ger from the hand of Henry, who afterward escaped, and one from that of Michel Atiokwendoron, and threatened the Father,—without, however, doing him any harm. This band, who were coming to attack the three Rivers, were to leave a letter that they had received from Father Bressany, at the end of a stick, on the bank of the great river; but nothing was found save the said Father's canoe, that had been given to that band, and was afterward left behind and recognized near the three Rivers. The 9th band made its appearance at Richelieu; and the 10th went in the direction of the Huron country; besides, there are several others, that have started or will start later. That is what the Huron relates who effected his escape, and who—having reëmbarked not long after, with some others who had recently come down from their country—again fell, with all his companions, into the hands of the Iroquois. They will not fail to put him to death, according to their custom,—not only because he was already destined for death at his first capture, and in revenge for another Iroquois killed at Montreal, but because of his flight, which is a crime among them that they do not forgive....

We would have been deprived of all knowledge of what has happened to Father Bressany since the time of his capture, had we not heard it from a trustworthy person who was an eyewitness of all that he suffered during his captivity. After the first encounter, related above, the Iroquois crossed Lake saint Pierre, and took the captives, for their sleep, to a very damp but very retired place,—where the Father and his companions, all securely bound, passed the night without any shelter but the Sky, or other bed than the earth. This was their usual lot, every night throughout the journey. On the following day, they were made to embark; and, after two days' navigation, they met another band of Iroquois, who, overjoyed at this capture, gave the Father several blows with cudgels and threatened him with rougher treatment. When the last comers informed the others of the death of one of their most distinguished companions, which had happened at Montreal, the Father was no longer spared. After two days' navigation, he landed, and walked for six days barefooted through the woods, brush, and swamps,—fasting until about four o'clock in the afternoon, when a halt was made for the purpose of taking a rest. But hardly any was given to the Father, who, wet with rain, with the water of melting snows, of the torrents, and of the rivers that had to be crossed, was compelled to assume all the tasks of the cooking. He was sent for the water and wood; and when he did not do well, or did not understand what was said to him, blows from cudgels were not lacking,—nor were they, whenever the party encountered Hunters and Fishermen. When the six days had expired, he had to embark on the Lake of the Iroquois, which they crossed in 8 days; they then landed, and walked for three days more. On the fourth day, which was the fifteenth of May, about three o'clock in the afternoon, while he was still fasting, they reached a place where there were about 400 Savages, who had erected their cabins there for fishing. About two hundred paces beyond the cabins, the Father was stripped quite naked; and when the Savages had ranged themselves in two lines, facing each

other, and armed with cudgels, he was ordered to march the first of all through the ranks of the band. No sooner had he lifted his foot than one of the Iroquois seized him by the left hand, and with a knife inflicted a deep gash between the third and the little fingers; and then the others discharged on him a shower of blows with cudgels, and led him thus to the cabins. There they made him ascend a scaffold (raised about six feet from the ground),—quite naked, bathed in his own blood, that flowed from nearly every part of his body, and exposed to a cold wind that congealed his blood on his skin; and they ordered him to sing during the feast that they gave to those who had brought in the prisoners. When the feast was over, the warriors withdrew and left the Father and his companions in the hands of the young men, who made them descend from the scaffold, whereon they had stood for two hours, exposed to the jeers of these Barbarians. When they had come down, they were made to dance, after their fashion. But, as the Father did not do it well, they struck him, goaded him, and tore out his hair. Five or six days were spent in this pastime. Some one out of compassion threw him some shreds of a gown, wherewith to cover himself. He made use of it during the day; but at night they took it from him, and, gathering round him, one goaded him with a very sharp stick; another burned him with a firebrand; others seared him with calumets heated red-hot. The children threw on him hot embers and glowing coals. Then they made him walk around the fire where they had stuck short, pointed sticks into the ground, and had scattered hot embers and live coals; others tore out his beard and his hair. Every night, they would begin anew this diverting sport; and, at the end, they would burn one of his nails or one of his fingers during seven or eight minutes. One night, they would burn a nail; another night, the first joint of a finger; on another, the second joint. Thus they applied fire to his fingers over eighteen times. They pierced his left foot with a stick, and, meantime, he was compelled to sing. This little amusement lasted until fully two hours after midnight; and then they left him there, lying flat on the ground in a spot where rain fell abundantly,—his only covering being a small skin that did not cover one half of his body. A whole month passed in this manner.

From this place, he was taken to the first Village of the Iroquois, and suffered more on this journey than on the previous one,—being wounded, feeble, poorly clad, with but little food, and at night exposed to the air and bound to a tree; so that, instead of sleeping, he could only shiver with the cold. On arriving at the first Village, he was received with severe blows, administered with cudgels on the most sensitive parts of his body; but the blows were so heavy that he fell to the ground, half dead. They still continued to strike him on the chest and on the head, and would have killed him, had not a Captain dragged him on the scaffold that had been erected, as on the first occasion. Here they cut off his left thumb, and two fingers of his right hand, after first, slitting his hand between the second and middle fingers. In the meanwhile, there came a heavy shower accompanied by thunder and lightning, which drove the Savages away, and so they left him there quite naked. As night approached, they took

him into a cabin where they burned the remainder of his nails and some of his fingers, twisted his toes, and forced him to eat filth and what the dogs had left, without giving him any rest.

After he had been so tortured in that Village, he was taken to another, at a distance of two or three leagues, where again he had to suffer the same torments. He was, moreover, hung up in chains, by the feet; and, when he was taken down, his feet, his hands, and his neck were bound with the same chains. Seven days passed in this manner, and new tortures were added; for he was made to suffer in places and in ways concerning which propriety will not allow us to write. Sagamite was poured on his stomach and the dogs were called to eat the sagamite, biting him as they ate. All these sufferings reduced him to such a state that he became so offensive and noisome to the smell, that all kept away from him as from carrion and approached only to torment him. He was covered with pus and filth, and his sores were alive with maggots. With all this, he could hardly find any one who would give him a little Indian corn boiled in water. The blows that he had received caused an abscess to form on his thigh, that allowed him no rest,—which was, moreover, difficult to obtain on account of the hardness of the ground, on which he stretched his body, that was only skin and bone. He did not know how he could succeed in opening his abscess, but God guided the hand of a Savage—who wished to stab him three times with a knife—so that the Savage struck him directly on the abscess, whence flowed an abundance of pus and blood, and thus he was cured. Who would ever have thought that any man could have suffered so much without dying—*abandoned in terra aliena, in loco horroris et vastae seditudinis*; without language with which to make himself heard; without friends to console him; without Sacraments, and without any remedy wherewith to alleviate his suffering? He did not know why the Savages deferred his death so long,—unless, perhaps, to fatten him before eating him; but they did not take the means to do so. Finally, on the 19th of June, the Iroquois gathered together from all the Villages, to the number of 2,000, in the Village where the Father was, who thought that that day would be the last of his life. After the meeting, he begged the Captain that the torture by fire might be changed for another; as for death, he would welcome it. “Not only shalt thou not suffer by fire,” replied the Captain, “but what is more, thou shalt not die. That has been resolved.” I know not how they came to take that resolution; but I know well that they themselves were afterward astonished at it, without knowing why, as the Dutch and the good Cousture—who was taken two years ago with Father Jogues, and who saw Father Bressany only after his deliverance—have related.

That resolution taken, they gave him, with all the ceremonies usual in the country, to a good woman whose grandfather had formerly been killed by the Hurons in an encounter. This woman received him; but her daughters could not bear him, because he inspired them with such horror. I know not whether it was this that led the mother to think of his deliverance, or whether it was through compassion that she took on him, or, rather, because she saw that he was unfit

for work owing to the mutilation of his fingers, and was convinced that he would be a burden upon her. In any case, she ordered her son to take him to the Dutch, and, on receiving some present from them, to deliver him into their hands. This the son faithfully carried out.

But, before leaving, the Father had the consolation of baptizing a Huron who was being taken to the torture, and who earnestly begged for Baptism before dying. This the Father granted him, knowing that he had received sufficient instruction from our Fathers. But it could not be done so secretly that the Iroquois did not perceive it, so they compelled him to go out and leave him. When he was dead, they brought his limbs into the cabin where the Father was, and, after cooking them, they ate them in his presence; then, placing the head of the dead man at his feet, they asked: "Well! of what avail was Baptism to him?" If the Father could have explained himself in their language, it would have been a good opportunity for him to instruct them. It was, nevertheless, a profound consolation to have been there so opportunely for the happiness of that poor Savage. He started shortly afterward, in the company of the young Savage, the son of the good widow, who took him to the Dutch. He was received by them with great kindness, and they satisfied the Savage beyond all his expectations; they gave the Father clothes, and, after keeping him with them for some time, until his health was restored, they put him on board a ship. He reached la Rochelle, on the fifteenth of November of the year 1644, in better health than he has ever enjoyed since he has belonged to our Society.

JR, 26:53 [**The Hurons and Iroquois do battle with mixed results.*]

A band of sixty Hurons who had come down toward the French with the intention of fighting the Iroquois, if they encountered them, reached the three Rivers without meeting an enemy. But they had not long been there, when information was brought them that some canoes had made their appearance on Lake saint Pierre, which is only two leagues above the three Rivers. They hastened there at once, accompanied by some Algonquins who wished to join them. Finding only signs and traces of the enemy, they went farther up, as far as Richelieu, which is at the Mouth of the river of the Iroquois. When they reached that settlement, some of them rested; while the others, thinking that the Iroquois were not far away, embarked at night on that river to go and seek them. They passed through the Iroquois sentinels, without being noticed. Thirty Iroquois were posted as pickets below their main body, to watch for any French or any Savages of our allies who might show themselves, on the water or on land. As the night was dark, they did not perceive those young warriors who were ascending, against the current of the river, to discover the enemy. They heard some noise, however. When the Hurons had advanced some distance, they observed a number of fires in the woods. Having ascertained that they were enemies, and judging from the number of their fires that the forces were unequal, they withdrew a little, to consult as to what they should do. While halting, they heard in their rear two canoes, propelled by many paddles. They were greatly surprised, because they had not observed these as they passed through them.

It was the ambush of those thirty Iroquois who, suspecting that there was some one on the river, wished to find out who it was. Here, then, were our Hurons between the main body of their enemies and these two well-manned canoes. They turned toward the latter, and both sides fired Arquebus shots and arrows without much effect, owing to the darkness of the night. The two canoes retreated to their main body. A Huron who had been captured in battle by the Iroquois and had taken sides with them, left them under cover of night, and, running along the bank of the river, he called out to the Hurons, who were in doubt as to whether they should renew the fight. After some distrust of this man, they drew near to him. He called out that he belonged to their Nation, and that he desired to escape with them. "How many of you are here?" he asked. "We are but sixty," replied the Hurons. "Fly," he said; "for, besides the two canoes that you met, which contained thirty Iroquois, there are a hundred, hidden not far from here." He did not include those who were scattered here and there, in troops, along the great river. Another Huron, who had hidden himself in the edge of the wood and had listened to the Iroquois, told them that ten out of the band of thirty had detached themselves therefrom to hunt for Frenchmen. Those ten hunters were quite near fort Richelieu, hidden amid the brushwood and trees, where they were waiting until the French should come out in the morning to visit the nets stretched near their fort. The warriors, on hearing this, went to reconnoitre that ambuscade; and, on discovering it, they tried to surround it. But, when the spies saw that they were found out, they rose like a covey of frightened Partridges; and having neither wings nor feet sufficiently swift to allow of their all escaping, three of them fell into the hands of our Hurons. They gave one to the Algonquins, who commenced to treat him in a barbarous manner. As there were many enemies around Richelieu, they did not feel safe; so both Hurons and Algonquins embarked to go down to the three Rivers, where they brought their prisoners in triumph. On the 26th of July, at 4 o'clock in the morning, a canoe was observed from the three Rivers floating down the current. When it had approached within earshot, the doleful voice of an Algonquin was heard, calling out that one of the Hurons who had gone to the war was dead. But he was mistaken. It was quite true that one of those three Iroquois, on being captured, had stabbed with his knife the Huron who had seized him; and that the wound was considered mortal. But it was not so, although his lung was badly injured, and a portion of it protruded. The surgeon cut this off; and, strange to say, when he threw it on the ground, a Huron picked it up, roasted it, and gave it to the wounded man to eat. He swallowed it, singing: "That is very strange medicine."

Soon afterward, joyful voices were heard from afar; and from twelve to fifteen canoes made their appearance on the great river, floating gently down with the current, bearing about eighty warriors, who struck their paddles against the sides of the canoes, and sang all together,—making the prisoners dance in time to their voices, and to the noise that they made. They were all seated in these little Bark boats, with the exception of the three poor victims, who appeared above the others, and who sang as boldly as the victors,—showing by the swaying of

their bodies, and the look in their eyes, that the fire and death that they expected caused them no fear.

All the people came out to witness this Triumph of the Savages. Joy animated the souls of the victors, while sorrow afflicted those of the vanquished. When all had landed, they were taken to the cabins of the Algonquins. Some threw themselves on him who had been given to them, tore out his nails, cut off several of his fingers, and burned his feet with heated stones. Monsieur de Chamflour, the commandant of the settlement, sent word to them to desist; that information had to be given to Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny, the Governor of the country, of the capture of the prisoners and that the matter was important.

It was difficult to control the fury of these minds, that were vindictive to the last degree, for this poor wretch had been given in the place of a brave Algonquin, taken prisoner and burned by the Iroquois. All those who loved the dead man vented their wrath on this one who was but half alive.

Monsieur the Governor arrived, and assembled the principal Algonquins. But, as their vengeance had already devoted the victim to the flames, they replied that his life was disposed of,—that the stake was already prepared; that they would treat him in the same manner as the Iroquois treated them, when they fell into their hands. Indeed, he would have been burned that very night, had not Monsieur de Montmagny caused orders to be given them in a very emphatic manner. The violence of their fury was therefore restrained; and the Christians were secretly advised to represent the importance of the matter to their countrymen,—that overtures of peace could be made only through those captives, and that peace meant the welfare and salvation of the whole country. When their first feelings of rage were appeased, they became more tractable.

The Hurons were also spoken to about giving up their prisoners; but they turned a deaf ear. Some savages, who saw what Monsieur the Governor desired, made him understand their fashion of delivering prisoners. They handed him thirty-two or thirty-three straws, saying that a similar number of presents would speak more effectively for the deliverance of the prisoners, than the most eloquent tongues in the world; and that it was thus that those who wished for peace should act. Indeed, feasts, presents, and harangues do all the business of these savages. When Monsieur de Montmagny saw this, he caused to be spread out in the courtyard of the fort, on a fine day, three considerable presents consisting of axes, blankets, kettles, arrowheads, and similar articles. Then he ordered the Chiefs and principal men of the Algonquins and Hurons who were then at the Three Rivers to be summoned before him. When they had taken their places, each on his own side, he made his Interpreter explain to them what those presents meant. He had already caused to be strongly impressed on them, and had represented to them by powerful arguments, that it was highly important for them to make peace with their enemies; and that the only way to do so was to send back one of those captives, who might prevail upon his countrymen to come to a good understanding, and agree to a lasting peace between all these

Nations. The Algonquins, who had shown themselves so furious at the beginning, brought their prisoner, who was no longer able to walk; and one of their Captains made a speech, saying that they wished to live on good terms with the French, seeing likewise that many of them were of the same belief; that they could refuse nothing to Monsieur the Governor, whom they called their Captain; that it was not for the sake of the presents that they manifested such obedience, but through the desire that the country might be free, and that all the nations might enjoy profound peace. They did not fail to take what was intended for the deliverance of the prisoner. It is true that the majority of these gifts were not for them, but for the purpose of drying the tears of the relatives of him to whose soul this pitiable victim was to be sacrificed. When he saw that he had escaped the fire that had been prepared for him, he gazed eagerly at his liberator, repeating several times the name that these people have given him: "Onontio, Onontio,"—that is to say, "Great mountain, great mountain;" expressing his joy and pouring forth all his thanks by a single word that is worth ten thousand.

As to the Hurons, the sight of all those presents produced no effect on them; on the contrary, they manifested their regret, being sorry that they were not able to grant what was insisted upon so urgently, and with such good reasons. One of their Captains arose, and exclaimed very angrily: "I am a man of war, and not a trader; I came to fight and not to trade. My glory does not consist in bringing back presents, but prisoners; and, consequently, I cannot touch your axes or your kettles. If you are so anxious to have our prisoners, take them; I have still enough courage to go and find others. If the enemy kill me, it will be said throughout the country that, because Onontio kept our prisoners, we exposed ourselves to death in order to capture others." This man having exhausted his vehemence, another Captain—a Christian, named Charles—spoke much more modestly. "Be not angry, Onontio," he said to Monsieur the Governor. "It is not through disobedience that we act thus, but because we fear to lose both honor and life. Thou seest here but young men; the elders in our country govern its affairs. If we were to return to our country with the presents, we would be taken for grasping traders, and not for warriors. We have given our word to the Captains of the Hurons that, if we succeeded in capturing any prisoners, we would deliver them into their hands. Just as those soldiers around thee obey thee, so must we perform our duty toward those who are over us. How could we endure the blame of a whole country when, knowing that we have taken prisoners, they would see only axes and kettles? The presents that thou givest us are much more than is necessary for restoring those men to freedom, and thy desire alone would suffice to obtain them for thee, if the fear of being considered cowards, and heedless persons who do not obey those who command them, did not induce us to take them back to our country. You will tell me that the Algonquins have given up their prisoner, and that we can give up ours. I reply that the chief Algonquin Captains are here,—that those who govern their affairs are present, and are dependent on no one; and that thus their action can-

not be disappointed. But ours will be condemned, and we shall be looked upon as persons without sense for having decided a matter of such consequence without consulting the elders of the country. You prove by your arguments that peace is desirable,—that it is in the interest of the country that the river be free. We are of the same opinion; that is why we have done no harm to our prisoners. We treat them kindly, because we hope to have them for friends. We trust that our Captains will not thwart the wishes of Onontio. They will concede something to our desires; when we tell them that we wish for peace, they will not make us blush. But if we were to settle this matter without bringing the prisoners before them, they would cover our faces with shame. Not only is our honor at stake, but our lives also. It is rumored that the river is full of enemies. If we meet any party stronger than ours, we will at once make our prisoners rise and declare aloud the good treatment that they have received from Onontio, the considerable presents that he has offered for their deliverance, and the good will that we have for them. They will testify that we have done them no harm,—that we are taking them to our own country, to negotiate a peace; and thus will our captives save our lives in the event of such an unfortunate encounter.”

This harangue, delivered in a pleasing and serious manner, supported by all these arguments, and by many others that have escaped my memory, induced Monsieur the Governor to reply that he required the prisoners only for the purpose of negotiating peace; and that if the Hurons wished to negotiate it, he was satisfied; but that they must not break faith in matters so important.

After these speeches, the two other prisoners were brought in; they were shown the presents that were offered for their deliverance; they were told of the great kindness of the French, and that Onontio treated them in a fashion very different from that in which they had treated his people whom they had captured. They admitted the truth of this. One of them arose in the middle of the assembly, and, advancing one or two steps with his fettered limbs, he looked at the Sun, and lowering his eyes upon those who were present, with a look full of assurance, he addressed Monsieur the Governor, exclaiming: “That Sun, Onontio, shall bear testimony to thy kindness on our behalf, and show everywhere thy liberality.” Then, turning in the direction of his country, he said: “Listen, ye who command in the land of the Iroquois; ye Captains of my beloved country, lend me ear. Hereafter, be kind and courteous, and endeavor to acknowledge by your actions what the French have offered for my deliverance; and, even if I should die, be not ungrateful.” “No, no,” replied a Huron Captain, “thou shalt not die. As we do not intend to take thy life, thou must not despair of shortly enjoying thy liberty. Thou shalt reach the country of the Hurons safe and sound; and thou shalt leave it without suffering any harm. We hope to bring thee back here with thy companion, so as to level the soil and make the whole of the great River smooth. Take courage, both of you; and do not forget what the French have done for you.”

The result of these Councils or meetings was, that it was considered that, if the Hurons undertook to negotiate peace, they would do it much more effectively than the French, as they have a better knowledge than we of savage

usages. The only thing to be feared is the vengeance and fury of some individual; for a mere fancy will suffice to cause a blow from a hatchet to be struck at these prisoners, and then all hopes of peace will fall to the ground. May God be pleased to direct this matter for his greater glory.

At last, when the Hurons were almost ready to return to their country, as Monsieur the Governor saw that the Iroquois took or massacred nearly all who came down to the French, he gave them more than a score of brave Soldiers from among those whom the Queen has sent over this year to this country. These went with them to winter in their villages, and to serve as an escort to them the following year when they should come down to Kebec. Would you believe that some of these Soldiers, who had formerly been rather bad fellows, told us that it was not lucre nor the hope of any reward that induced them to undertake a journey on which they will encounter great hardships in the difficulties of the road? But they protested that the desire of plying their trade for the good of the Faith, and of giving their lives for so great an object, led them to confide themselves to those barbarians. It is true that Reverend Father Jean de Brebeuf went up with them. He understands the Huron language, and will be of great assistance to them,—as also will Father Leonard Garreau and Father Noel Chabanel, who are going to that quarter to aid in the conversion of the Algonquins who dwell next to the Hurons, and urgently ask to be taught. But we cannot satisfy all these poor peoples. The Iroquois, and the heavy expenses that have to be incurred in so distant a country, are great obstacles to the salvation of these abandoned souls.

Father Paul le Jeune. 1643. Relation of the most remarkable events that occurred in the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in the Huron country, a country of New France, from the month of June, of the year 1642, to the month of June, of the year 1643. [*Note: This is a copy of the relation that was lost to the Iroquois. It was appended to the Relation of 1644.]

JR, 26:175 [**Iroquois attacks on the Hurons.*]

The scourge of war, that has hitherto carried off a great number of these tribes, has continued to such an extent, for a year past, that one may say that this country is but one scene of massacre. Hardly had I concluded the preceding Relation when a band of barbarous Iroquois having surprised one of our frontier villages, spared neither sex, not even the children, and destroyed all by fire, except a score of persons. These succeeded in effecting their escape from amid the flames and the enemies' arrows, and came to tell us at the same time of their ruin and of the coming of the storm that disappeared before the rising of the sun. It was the most impious of the villages, and that which had been most rebellious against the truths of the faith in all these countries; and its inhabitants had more than once told the Fathers who had gone to teach them that, if there were a God who avenged crimes, they defied him to make them feel his anger, and that, for anything less than that, they refused to acknowledge his power.

Almost at the same time, an army of our Hurons started to meet some other band of enemies. They consulted a famous Magician, for the purpose of receiving his orders. That instrument of Satan caused a dark tabernacle to be erected for him, two or three feet in height, and as many in width; filled it with stones heated in the fire; and, throwing himself into the middle of this furnace, he commanded that he be kept shut up in it until his Demon had given him an answer. He sang, or rather he yelled, therein like a damned soul; while the whole Huron army danced around him, and reëchoed his voice so that it might be heard in the lowest pit of Hell. Finally, the magician changed his tone, and called out in most joyful accents, "Victory! victory! I see the enemies coming toward us from the south. I see them take to flight. I see all of you, my comrades, making prisoners of them." At these words, each one made ready, and sought more eagerly for ropes to bind the enemy than for weapons wherewith to fight them. Never had that magician spoken more confidently; never had his Demon been more willingly accorded the homage that he desired; and never did the infidels triumph with more insolence than on that day, when their ungodliness overcame the faith of some good Christians, who had reproved them for having recourse to Demons who were powerless to assist them. They started at the same time, and hastened toward the south, in accordance with the magician's advice.

The Christians stood by themselves for a long time, without speaking, being unable to make up their minds to obey so impious a guide. Finally, one of the most fervent among them addressed himself to God amid those shouts of victory. "My Lord," he said, "your honor is at stake. You alone are the master of our lives, and dispose of victories. If the promises of the Demon are fulfilled, he alone will derive glory therefrom, and your name will be blasphemed for it. I offer you my life, that I may be killed by the enemy rather than see myself victorious in that fashion." After that, he addressed himself to the other Christians, and, although the youngest of the band, his zeal made him assume authority to speak to them. "My brothers," he said, "we would sin were we to follow the road pointed out by the Demon. Let us rather go toward the west, whence our enemies most frequently come. If God choose to favor us, the devil will have no share in his glory. If our infidel comrades meet with the success that they expect, let us cheerfully renounce it, rather than owe anything to their impiety." He was at once obeyed; the infidels went their way in one direction, and the Christians in another.

I know not whether God granted the prayer of that young Christian. At all events, without his losing his life, the Infidels and their Demon were defeated. In fact, they met the enemy but did not kill one of them, the entire loss being on their side; and they were so overcome by fright that, although they were six times more numerous, the whole army melted away, and thus ended the plans of their war.

Afterward, throughout the whole summer, there was nothing but fresh rumors of massacres happening one after the other, in the heart of the country, and close to the villages that were most remote from the enemy; and yet it never was possible to capture more than two of those Adventurers, who, having

pushed ahead too recklessly, were surprised in their ambushes. They were victims doomed to the flames, and the objects of the cruelty that is natural to all these barbarous Nations; but they were souls destined for Paradise. No sooner had they heard the words of the Fathers who hastened to instruct them, than they surrendered to the truths of our faith, received Baptism, and, at the height of their tortures, sang that they would be happy in Heaven. But all the more cruel was the fury of the infidel Hurons, who, because they had been unable, with all the opposition they could make, to deprive these men of their happiness, wished to make them suffer in this life a semblance of the torments that, as they are often told, are suffered by Souls in hell.

JR, 26:203 [**An Iroquois ambush near the mission of Sainte Marie in Huronia.*]

God prepared this Christian [**Huron convert Thomas Sawenhati*] not for death in our House, where he remained for the space of a month, but for a less expected death, which found him ready for Heaven a few days after. About forty persons went to gather some wild plants, of which they make a kind of twine for the nets that they use in fishing. During the night, while they were sound asleep, about twenty Iroquois fell on them, massacred some, and took the others prisoners; a few, more fortunate, escaped by flight. Our Christian was one of the first to fall under the hatchet of the enemy. He had not foreseen his death, but he could not have prepared himself for it more holily.

JR, 26:225 [**The Iroquois ambush two Huron women near La Conception among the Nation of the Cord.*]

...[**A*]n entire family had taken the resolution to embrace the Faith. While the mistress of the cabin was working in broad daylight in her field, with one of her nieces, two Iroquois, who were hidden close by in the woods, rushed from their ambush; in the sight of every one these threw themselves upon them with their hatchets, tore off their hair and their scalps, and, after committing the deed, retreated so rapidly that it was impossible to overtake them. They came from a distance of three leagues to summon us in haste. We hurried thither, and were in time to place these poor butchered women on the road to Paradise. "These," said one, "are the thoughts that I had while in my field. I wished to go to Heaven, and God took me at my word. I wished to live, and now I wish to die, a Christian. Do not refuse me Baptism." This one recovered, and ever since then has behaved in a most Christian manner; the other was soon in Heaven.

JR, 26:233 [**The trials of Huron convert Joseph Taondechoren, and religious divisions among the Hurons.*]

Joseph Taondechoren, who has recently escaped from the Iroquois, would furnish me with enough matter for an entire Relation, had I leisure to consider here what happened to him personally, and the graces that God gave him throughout the time of his captivity....

While he was returning here to the Huron country, God chose to try him again. They were a company of a hundred, who had journeyed about one hundred leagues, and believed themselves beyond danger from the Iroquois; when the enemy, who lay in ambush, surprised them at a place where the river falls over a precipice of dreadful height, and compels our Hurons to land and to carry their canoes and their effects on their shoulders, to embark on the channel of the river higher up, where its course is once more smooth. In the midst of the confusion caused by this passage, the Hurons were overtaken unawares, and so swiftly attacked that, when the first had either been killed on the spot, or had been taken prisoners by the enemy, those behind lost courage, and escaped by flight, leaving behind them as plunder all their goods; these had already cost them the death or captivity of about twenty persons, whom they had lost in another encounter, a few days before.

In this fight, the good Christian had a shoulder pierced through and through by a musket ball; and as he was afterward abandoned without any assistance for two or three days, the loss of nearly all his blood, with the fatigues of a journey that of itself is horrible, reduced him so low that he despaired of his life. "My God," he exclaimed, "I continue to feel that you are everywhere my God,—as much upon these rocks, where I see myself abandoned, as you were in the midst of my captivity; for everywhere my heart receives consolation in this thought alone, that you are in all places a witness of my sufferings. I had escaped from the hands of the enemy, that I might die near my Fathers who have begotten me in the Faith. But O my God! if you reserve this pleasure for me in Heaven, be blessed forever. I die as willingly on these rocks as in the country of the Hurons since wherever I may die, you alone dispose of my life." These words, added to his unfortunate condition, finally touched his Infidel comrades, after their minds had recovered from the fright which terror of the enemy had caused them. They took care of him, and in the end, after many hardships, they landed here at our House....

But the discourses that he addressed to the Infidels [*Huron non-Christians] surpass what could be expected from a savage, were it not true that the holy Ghost makes even the tongues of children eloquent. "My brothers," he said to them, "if you feel joy at seeing me delivered from the cruelties of the Iroquois, I am sorry to see you still in the captivity of the devils; and even I do not yet consider myself entirely at liberty as long as I am in this world, where sin can make me a more miserable captive than I was. The sufferings that I endured were altogether horrible; what will those of an eternal fire? But I fear that many of you are scoffing at me in your hearts, and think me too simple, because I fear a fire that I have never seen more than the flames and torments that I suffered while with the Iroquois. I have even been told that several rejoiced at the news of my captivity, and blamed for it the God whom I adore; that they said that he was powerless; and that I was not to be pitied for the misfortunes that had befallen me, because the calamity in which he had abandoned me would prevent others from following my example, from becoming Christians, and from serving a Master who would doubtless have

neither the power nor the will to make us happy forever, inasmuch as he did not begin even in this life to make us feel the effects of this love of his."

JR, 26:273 [**A Huron war captain of the Nation of the Cord converts to Christianity.*]

The third of these Neophyte Captains is the chief of a band of about three hundred warriors, who lived a day's journey from the Iroquois that are nearest to the Hurons, but who, when they saw themselves exposed to the enemy, left their country about five years ago, brought their families here, and since then have been scattered here and there among the Huron villages. This Captain is named Martin Tehoachiakwan. He is a brave man, who breathes but war; and his life is but a series of combats. He was the intimate friend of the great warrior Eustache Ahatsistari, of whom we have already spoken, and had promised him during his lifetime that he would follow him in the Faith....

A day having been fixed for his Baptism, he gathered all his people together. "My nephews," he said to them, "the enemies are at our doors. Let all escape who can. Reproach me, if you have ever seen me pale in the midst of peril; but, this time, I confess to you that I have lost courage. I withdraw from misfortune; let who will, follow me; our affairs are in a desperate state." They thought, when they heard him, that a hostile army was at the frontiers of the country, and that he had received sure news of it. Some thought of fighting, others of retreating; all were seized with fear. Finally, when he saw them thus moved, he began again to speak. "My nephews," he said, "I do not fear the Iroquois; I dread the more inhuman cruelties of the devils in hell, in a fire that is never extinguished. I abandon you, without abandoning you, or rather I abandon your follies; I abandon our evil customs; from this moment, I renounce all kinds of sin, and know ye that tomorrow I shall be a Christian."

JR, 27:25 [**The Neutrals sack a town of the Fire Nation.*]

These peoples of the neutral Nation are always at war with those of the Nation of fire, who are still farther distant from us. They went there last Summer to the number of two thousand, and attacked a village well protected by a palisade, and strongly defended by nine hundred warriors who withstood the assault. Finally, they carried it, after a siege of ten days; they killed many on the spot, and took eight hundred captives,—men, women, and children. After having burned seventy of the best warriors, they put out the eyes and girdled the mouths of all the old men, whom they afterward abandoned to their own guidance, in order that they might thus drag out a miserable life. Such is the scourge that depopulates all these countries; for their wars are but wars of extermination.

This Nation of fire alone is more populous than all the Neutral Nation, all the Hurons, and all the Iroquois, enemies of the Hurons, put together. It consists of a large number of villages, wherein is spoken the Algonquin language, which prevails still farther on.

JR, 27:37 [**Iroquois raids displace the St. Lawrence Algonquins (Atontrataronnons).*]

The Iroquois, who make themselves dreaded on the great river St. Lawrence and who every winter for some years past have been hunting men in these vast forests, have compelled the Algonquins who dwelt on the banks of the river to abandon not only their hunting grounds, but also their country, and have reduced them this winter to come here near our Hurons, in order to live more in safety,—so much so, that a whole village of these poor wandering and fugitive Tribes came near the village of saint Jean Baptiste.

JR, 27:43 [**An Algonquin convert escapes from the Iroquois.*]

The guidance of God has manifested itself particularly in the case of some who have been granted holy Baptism, and, among others, a warrior who received in those sacred waters the name of Antoine. This man had escaped more than eight times from the hands of the enemy; and, ever since his birth, his life has been but one series of combats and adventures that succeeded one another. Quite recently, not more than six months ago, while in the hands of the Iroquois, who had already commenced to vent their fury on him, he found means to cut his bonds and to flee,—quite naked, in the dead of night,—making his way for over a hundred leagues by devious paths, with no other food than the grasses and roots that he found in the woods.

JR, 27:63 [**Iroquois raids shut down trade and devastate the Hurons.*]

War continued its usual ravages during the Summer [**of 1644*]. The Iroquois, who are the enemies of these tribes, have closed all the passages and avenues of the River that leads to Kebec; and of those whom the necessity of obtaining goods from France had compelled to close their eyes to these dangers, many have fallen therein. Most of the others have come back entirely naked, or pierced with arquebus balls, after having escaped seven or eight times from the hands and the cruelties of those barbarians.

There was no less desolation throughout the country. Nearly every day, unfortunate women were killed in their fields. The villages were in a state of continual alarm, and all the troops that were raised in good numbers to pursue the enemy over the frontiers were defeated and routed; captives were taken by hundreds, and frequently we had no other couriers and bearers of these dismal tidings but poor unfortunates who had escaped from the midst of the flames, whose half-burnt bodies and mutilated fingers convinced us, more than their words, of the misfortune that had fallen on them and on their comrades.

JR, 27:71 [**Iroquois arquebuses.*]

But our sharpest thorn is, that the enemies of these tribes have the advantage over them through the arquebuses that they obtain from certain Europeans.

Journal of the Jesuit Fathers. September–December 1645.

JR, 27:79 [**Tentative peace with the Iroquois. Fort Richelieu is lightly garrisoned.*]

At the very time when I [*Fr. Lalemant] arrived [*September 1645], they were expecting the return of some frenchmen and Captives, who had been sent to the Annieronons [*Mohawks] to treat for peace; they returned here with Cousture the 17th of the same month of September, and went away again on the 22nd. The Hurons and the Algonquains had been present at this peace conference, and, had adopted a resolution to escort the Annieronons back to their country; but, having arrived at richelieu, they returned; only Cousture, with 4 Annieronons and three Hurons, went beyond.

About the 12th of October, three or four Montagnais were killed, who were hunting; it was feared that these slayers might be Annieronons, although it was thought that they might well be sokokiois, of whom some had been killed a few years ago. There were, at that time, five Annieronons, who were wintering with the montagnais and Algonquains; these suffered no harm, but Piscaret, an Algonquain Captain, who had two or 3 of them in his care, deemed it advisable to send back his,—both to avoid all risks, and the fury of the young men, and to give warning to Anniés of what was going on. They notified Cousture of this, to the end that, if the offenders were Annieronons, he might know that, in case satisfaction were made, the peace would not be broken. One of those whom Piskaret had sent did not go far; he came back immediately,—fearing, he said, the Algonquains.

Richelieu was almost abandoned,—to wit, with the exception of 8 or 10 soldiers....Monsieur de Sennetaire, who commanded there, returned to fiance; monsieur de Champhlour, who commanded at 3 rivers, also returned; Monsieur bourdon was placed for a time in his stead; and finally monsieur de la poterie went thither as commandant.

JR, 27:89 [**Maintenance of French soldiers among the Hurons, 1644–1645.*]

22 Soldiers had been despatched to the Hurons in 1644,—sent from france with several others, for the good of the country, by the queen, who for this purpose had given a hundred thousand francs. While among the Hurons, they lodged at our house, and lived at our table. They returned a year later, to the very day; for, having arrived among the Hurons the 7th of September, they arrived at montreal, with 60 Huron canoes, on the 7th of September in the following year; they came back laden with a quantity of Beavers, to the amount of thirty or 40 thousand francs. A dispute over this having arisen between the habitants lately put in possession of the trade and messieurs of the general Company, they agreed to employ the proceeds in building a Church and clergy-house, for which six thousand livres were specially set aside,—with the proviso that we might add to the same if we were so disposed. Moreover,—as it was no more than reasonable to give us the maintenance intended for these soldiers, which might

amount to about 200 livres apiece,—they gave us only thirty ecus apiece, including in this all the other expenses of having repaired the arms, aided the sick, etc.; they caused us thereby a loss of more than two thousand 500 livres.

An order was given at the same time to monsieur du Chesne, uncle of Charles le Moyne, for 20 ecus, which we were giving his nephew for four years' service rendered among the Hurons. He was clothed and decently supplied with linen, and was sent to 3 rivers as soldier and Interpreter. Nicolas Giffar—who also, in the capacity of a Lad, had served us 4 years among the Hurons—had a decent coat and another of linen to keep it clean; sufficient body linen; and 50 livres, for which we were in debt to him. He made a bargain with Master Zacharie, carpenter, to be with him 5 years, in consideration of 40 livres in wages. They both had some profits from Beavers.

JR, 27:99 [**The peace between the Mohawks and Algonquins is shaken.*]

At this time also [*November 21, 1645], a Young Algonquain escaped from the Annieronon Enemies, [*Mohawks] and a little later a Huron, who were captives there; they reported that the Annier had no good will for the Algonquains. It is said that the Young Algonquain, before going away, seeing himself alone in the Cabin, piled up whatever there was, especially the skins, and burned everything. They confirmed the idea that it was the Annieronons who had either committed or instigated the massacre in the past month.

Father Barthelemy Vimont. 1646. Relation of What Occurred in New France in the Years 1644 and 1645. From Quebec, October 1st, 1645.

JR, 27:137 [**Peace with the Iroquois.*]

God be praised in time and in Eternity; the bloodshed for Jesus Christ in the country of the Iroquois—mingled with the prayers and vows of so many holy souls, who are interested in the spread of his Kingdom in the new World—has finally brought us Peace with those Barbarians. Father Isaac Jogues and Father François Bressani, on their return, embraced as friends those who had lacerated their bodies, torn out their nails, and cut off their fingers,—in a word, those who had treated them as tigers would.

JR, 27:221 [**An account of raids leading up to the general peace.*]

I would almost as soon be besieged by Goblins as by the Iroquois; the latter are hardly more visible than the former, When they are far away, we think they are at our doors; and when they fling themselves on their prey, we imagine that they are in their own country. The people who dwelt in the forests of Richelieu and of Montreal were brought in and shut up more closely than any Religious or any Nun in the smallest Monasteries of France. It is true that these Croats did not make their appearance at Montreal this year, but nevertheless there was no assurance that they were very far away from there. As regards Richelieu, observe how they approached it.

On the 14th of September of last year [*1644], a soldier was working for amusement, at a distance of a musket shot from the Fort, in a small field that he was tilling in order to plant indian corn therein, when four or five Iroquois rushed from an ambush, and threw themselves on him, without doing him any harm. The young man, preferring to die by steel rather than by fire, clung so firmly to a stump and to some roots, that they could not succeed in dragging him away from these. Furious at his resistance, they discharged I know not how many blows from their war hatchets upon his head; and, finding that they were observed from the Fort, and that some shots were already being fired at them, they abandoned the poor man, thinking that they had killed him. He, taking courage, undertook to advance toward the Fort but two Iroquois observed him. They turned back, and gave him two sharp thrusts of javelins through the body; and, if they had not been seized with the fear of being surprised by the French, they would have cut and removed his scalp with his hair, which is one of the great trophies of the Savages. They thought that the man was dead; but the Surgeon hastened to the spot, and most opportunely stopped the bleeding,—exposing himself to the ambuscades of the enemy, who fired from the woods. This good young man's first act, when he returned among the French, was to ask for a Father to confess him. When this was done, he made his will in favor of the poor, to whom he gave the few effects that he possessed. Now although he had received two wounds on the head, two on the arm and four in the body,—all of which were considered mortal,—he nevertheless recovered, through God's favor.

Some time after this surprise they heard, on an Island in the vicinity, cries of joy and delight repeated ten or twelve times, to show the number of Hurons whom the Iroquois had taken or massacred a little above Richelieu. Those who fled from this defeat sought refuge with the French. Among others, there was a Huron named Henry Aonkerati, who assured us that he had escaped from the hands and the bonds of his enemies; and that, on two other occasions during the same year, God had preserved him when his people had been routed.

On the seventh of November, a young man who was at the head of the workmen of the Fort, went out alone to shoot game, almost at the door of our French. He was surrounded by the enemies, who lay hidden in the brushwood, and was put to a most miserable death. They stripped him entirely naked, and tore off his hair with his scalp. When it was noticed that the young man delayed his return, and when two Iroquois canoes were seen on the great River, they thought that he had been surprised and carried off alive by them. They shouted, and called him by his name, but received no answer. The cannon was fired at the fleeing foes, but in vain. Three days afterward, Crows, croaking around his body, indicated the spot where he was. They proceeded thither, and found him stretched out on the ground, pierced by javelin thrusts, bathed in his own blood, and his body already slightly injured by the birds' beaks. The warfare of the Savages is no more the warfare of the French than the warfare of the Parthians was that of the Romans. The Fathers who were at that settlement buried the poor man, and offered to God the holy Sacrifice of

the Mass several times, supplying the charity that his relatives would have displayed had he died in his own country.

On the twelfth of December, the earth was covered with snow to the depth of a foot. As we had hardly a thought of those manhunters, and as the cold made itself felt, seven soldiers went out to get firewood. When they had loaded their sled, and were hauling it over the snow, a band of those Imps unexpectedly rushed on them. The more active ones, and those who were the least encumbered, released themselves from the ropes that they had put around their bodies in order to haul their load, and saved themselves by running toward their entrenchment. One, who was the most securely fastened to the sled, was taken prisoner. The barbarians struck him heavy blows with their clubs, armed with a sharp piece of iron; and, after throwing him down, they cut off a portion of his scalp which they carried off with the hair on it. The sentry gave the alarm, and shots were fired at them from muskets. This caused them to retreat, believing that the poor man was dead. In fact, he was quite motionless. But just as fire was applied to the cannon, to discharge it at the enemies, he roused himself, and began to drag himself along. They ran toward him, and found on his head 7 or 8 great wounds, inflicted with war hatchets, which every one considered mortal. You would have said that his eyes were no longer in their place; and the blood that covered him all over gave him a horrible appearance; a portion of his head was stripped of its hair and its scalp. They called him by name, and spoke to him. He was unconscious, and entirely deprived of his senses, and was animated merely by an animal instinct that led him to drag himself here and there, without purpose. The Surgeon had him carried to the Fort, and attended him so well that he is now in good health. He was unconscious for three days, and was for a long time in danger, owing to the skull having been driven in, while the contusions were very serious. From that time, the French had for a cloister a palisade of stakes, of very small extent. But finally the Iroquois Ambassadors came at the beginning of July, and put an end to the confinement of these poor hermits, who, since not all had the gift of Prayer, did not find much pleasure in so small a monastery.

Of some Iroquois prisoners

The Relation of last year stated that the Hurons, after having taken three Iroquois prisoners, had given one to the Algonquins, and taken the two others to their own country. The Algonquins presented to Monsieur the Governor the one that had been given them. He was half dead, and half burned; but the care that they gave him restored him to health.

Last Spring, some Savages brought in two others, to whom they did no harm,—knowing well that the French do not like cruelty; this event occurred thus: Seven Algonquins went to hunt for Iroquois: they dragged their canoes on the ice as far as Richelieu, to take the river which flows from the Iroquois country, in which the ice melts sooner than in the great river. Having entered a large lake, whence this river flows, they landed on an Island to seek their

quarry. One of them, who was watching, heard an arquebus shot, and notified his Comrades. The leader of these hunters ordered them to take their repast. "Let us eat," he said, "for the last time, Comrades; for, whatever happens, we must die rather than retreat." When they had partaken of a good dinner, one, whose name was Makons, went away alone, to look for the enemy; he saw two canoes, that seemed to be coming straight toward them. "They are warriors," he reported. "So much the better," replied a Christian named Bernard, a worthy and brave man; "there is more honor in vanquishing armed men than hunters of animals." Dieskaret, who led this little band, placed himself at the very spot where the two canoes were about to touch the shore. When the first approached, carrying seven men, who had no idea of the ambush, it was received with a volley from six arquebuses, whose shots were so skillfully fired that they laid low six men, while the seventh escaped by swimming to the other canoe, which came behind. The men in this canoe picked up the fugitive, and did not lose heart. They altered their course, so as to land on the Island at another spot, and to fight on shore; but our Algonquins ran through the woods, to cut them off. There were in this second boat eight warriors, fully resolved to avenge the death of their people; but an arquebus shot overthrew one of these warriors, and this also upset the canoe in the water. As they secured a footing, they regained courage, and tried to reach land. Our Algonquins advanced to meet them, and both sides fought bravely; but God gave the advantage to our people. They threw down four Iroquois in the water, and killed them at the same time. The three others, fearing the victors, turned to flee; but Bernard pursued the tallest of them, and giving him a slight javelin thrust in the loins, he called out to him: "Surrender, Comrade, or thou art a dead man." The other, who was younger, was soon caught, while the third escaped. In this manner seven men killed eleven, and took two prisoners. The Combat over, the victors went to seek the dead bodies, scalped them, and embarked on their return journey. The younger of the two prisoners found that his bonds were too tight, and complained of it. An Algonquin replied to him, "Comrade, thou seemest ignorant of the rules of war." "He knows them well," replied his Companion; "he has seen many of your people weep who have been taken prisoners, and have been burned in our country. He fears neither your threats nor your tortures." The Algonquin considered that he spoke insolently for a prisoner, and gave him two or three blows. But the prisoner did not lose courage, and began to sing, saying that his friends would find means to avenge his death. It is perhaps fifty years since any Savage prisoner has been so gently treated. They did not beat them any more, nor tear out their nails, nor cut off their fingers, which are the first attentions that the Savages pay to their prisoners. One day, before they arrived at saint Joseph, whither they were taken, Dieskaret sent a young man to inform the Father who has charge of the Savages at that place that he would soon arrive, and would bring prisoners to Monsieur the Governor and to the Christian Savages, his friends. They were heard sooner than they were seen, for they came on, singing in their canoes.

Every one ran to the bank of the great river. The prisoners were erect, dancing in their fashion to the noise of the paddles and to the sound of the conquerors' voices. The scalps of those who had been killed in the fight, attached to the ends of some sticks, fluttered in the air at the will of the wind, like vanes. As they neared the shore, a salvo of musketry was fired on either side with considerable skill. When Jean Baptiste Etinechkaouat saw that they were all ready to land, he called a halt, and, raising his voice, he addressed these few words to the Captain who brought the prisoners: "We take pleasure in seeing thee; thou hast behaved valiantly. All rejoice at thy coming; thou couldst not bring anything more agreeable to our eyes than these spoils of our enemies with which thou hast enriched thyself. Thou knowest well that we now proceed in a different fashion than we formerly did. We have overturned all our old customs. That is why we receive thee quietly, without harming the prisoners, without striking or injuring them in any way." The Captain stood up in his canoe, and replied in a few words: "I am of your mind. I gave my word that the prisoners would not be harmed. Let us rejoice peacefully; let us sing, feast, and dance. These," said he, "are cause for joy,"—showing the scalps, and the prisoners sitting among the Algonquins in their canoes, The Father in charge of the Savages also delivered a short harangue, praising the warriors for their courage, congratulating them upon their gentleness, and showing them that it was for dogs and wolves to devour their quarry, but that men should be humane, especially toward their fellow creatures; he told them, moreover, that he had notified Monsieur the Governor of their arrival, and that he had sent a squad of soldiers to welcome them. Thereupon, the soldiers discharged their pieces, which greatly pleased the Savages. When these compliments had been paid, the prisoners disembarked from the canoes. As they did not understand the Algonquin language, they greatly feared that, on entering the Cabins, they would be received with heavy strokes from cudgels, with blows from whips and ropes, with slashes from knives, and with burning firebrands, according to their custom. Not long ago, when the Savages returned from war and brought prisoners with them, the girls and women, on seeing the canoes, would throw themselves into the water, stark naked, to catch what they could of the enemy's spoils. Such unseemly conduct is banished from the residence of saint Joseph. There was only one young man, and even he was not quite naked, who threw himself into the river and dived under the Captain's canoe. The latter rewarded him by giving him one of the arquebuses that he had taken from the Iroquois. None of the others stirred. The prisoners were received as peaceably as in their own houses. The young girls came and asked the Father to give them permission to dance and enjoy themselves, which was willingly granted. The standards—that is, the flying scalps—were fastened on the cabins; and all feasted and made merry in their fashion.

I may say, in passing, that it is no little hold gained over the Savages, to hinder them from venting their fury on those who, when they hold them, treat them with fiendish cruelty. There was an old woman to whom the sight of

these new guests was exceedingly unwelcome; however, she did not dare to touch them without permission. Addressing herself to the Father, she said: "My Father, allow me to caress the prisoners a little." This is an ironical expression they use when they wish to torture them. "They have killed, burned, and eaten my father, my husband, and my children. Permit me, my Father, to caress them." The Father replied to her that it was true that the Iroquois had done her great injury; but that she also had offended God, and that with what measure she meted to her enemies so would God measure it to her; that she would find forgiveness if she forgave, and vengeance if she revenged herself. The poor woman said not another word in reply, except these: "Then I will do them no harm."

At the same time, the Father casually asked another woman whether she loved Our Lord. This woman—who is exceedingly vindictive, and had been almost insanely furious against the Iroquois—replied in a gentle tone: "I love God more than I hate the Iroquois; that love alone which I bear to him prevents me from making them feel the injuries that they have done to me. I am the only one remaining of a large family; I am poor and forsaken. They have placed me in that condition for they roasted and ate all my relatives and all my friends. In fact, my heart would hate those people," she said; "but it has more love for God than hatred and aversion for them. That is why I wish them no evil." Let us return to our subject, if you please.

On the second day after the arrival of these prisoners, Monsieur the Governor proceeded to the residence of St. Joseph, well accompanied, and entered our modest house, where were also the victors, the vanquished, and the other Savages. Dieskareth spoke as follows: "It is to you that I address my words, you who are but one and the same thing, you who have but one secret, you who whisper into each other's ears. It is to the Captain of the French, and to you who in the past three years have become French,—to thee, Negabamat; to thee, Etinechkaouat—to whom I address my voice; you are but one council. Listen to me" (he named the two Captains who are at saint Joseph). "Although I have no sense, allow me to speak to you." After this preamble, he explained the design that he had had in going to war, and the good fortune that Heaven had sent him; and in conclusion he said: "I have seen, I have killed, I have captured, I have brought back; here they are present. I enter into your thoughts; they are good. I penetrate into your hearts, you who have but one abode and the same opinion. Be the Gods of the earth; cause peace to reign everywhere; give rest to the whole country." Then, laying his hand on the heads of the prisoners, who lay bound before Monsieur the Governor, "Here they are, uninjured and without harm; I deliver them to you; do as you think best with them."

Bernard arose and spoke in these terms: "I confirm all that has been said by him who has just harangued us; and, to prove that his words are true, and that he and I give you those prisoners, I will cast into the fire their bonds, the knife that will cut them, and all my anger." As he said this, he drew a knife

and cut the bonds; and, throwing the whole into the fire, he said: "I have no longer any passion, but for peace;" and, making the prisoners stand up, he presented them to Monsieur de Montmagny our Governor. He replied to them, through his interpreter, that he honored their valor and their courage; that he had always loved them, especially those who had become his brothers and his relatives through Baptism; moreover, that he did not wish that his thanks for the present which they were giving him should be but a bare word; that he wished to clothe it with robes, and arm it with powder and lead,—speaking in their mode of expressing themselves,—and then he gave them handsome presents. The Iroquois, who had remained silent up to that moment,—being uncertain as to the result of the council, and of the harangues that they heard and could not understand,—began to change their attitudes and countenances. One of them, a tall and well-shaped man, presented himself before Monsieur the Governor, exclaiming: "This is well, my body is delivered from death; I am withdrawn from the fire. Onontio, thou hast given me life; I thank thee for it,—I shall never forget this kindness. The whole of my country will be grateful for it; the earth will be quite beautiful, the river will be quite calm and smooth, and peace will make us all friends. I have no longer any shadow before my eyes, The souls of my ancestors killed by the Algonquins have disappeared; I have them under my feet. Onontio, it must be admitted that thou art good and that we are wicked, but our anger has departed; I no longer have any ardor except for joy and peace." As he said this, he began to dance, in a fashion somewhat different from that of our Savages. He sang, he shook himself; he spread out his arms and raised them aloft, as if addressing himself to Heaven; he knelt down and danced in that posture, raising his eyes and arms to Heaven. Then, suddenly rising, he took a hatchet and seemed to fly into a rage; and, turning to one side, he threw the hatchet into the fire, saying: "There is my anger cast down: farewell to war; I lay down my arms; I am your friend forever." If there be barbarous actions among these peoples, there are also thoughts worthy of the spirit of the Greeks and Romans.

The Ceremony over, each one withdrew to his own quarters. The prisoners remained at liberty, except, however, that some French soldiers watched them. This our Savages themselves could not bear, saying that there was no need to fear that they would escape, and that they would be considered as cowards in their own country if they were afraid of those who had given them life. I have often remarked that the Savages, who are naturally fickle and inconstant, are very earnest as regards some customs of their country.

This happened on the eighteenth of May. Shortly afterward, Monsieur the Governor sent these Iroquois back to three rivers, and ordered the sieur de Chanflour to equip the Iroquois prisoner that had been kept all winter, and to send him to his own country to carry the news of what was passing here. This prisoner was also ordered to tell the Captains of the Iroquois that Onontio was grateful for the courtesy that he had received from them when they sent back to him two French prisoners; and that, not only had he released him from the

hands of the Algonquins, but that he had given him his liberty as he had already done to a Sokokiois, their friend and ally; that, moreover, he had two other prisoners full of health, and that he was quite prepared to give up these, after having heard them speak on the subject; that this was a most excellent opportunity to smooth the earth, and to bring about universal peace among all the Nations; and that they might do as seemed good to them.

Treaty of Peace between the French, the Iroquois, and other Nations

On the fifth day of July [*1645], the Iroquois prisoner who had been set at liberty and sent back to his own country, as I have said in the foregoing Chapter, made his appearance at three Rivers accompanied by two men of note among those people, who had been delegated to negotiate peace with Onontio (thus they name Monsieur the Governor), and all the French, and all the Savages who are our allies.

A young man named Guillaume Cousture who had been taken prisoner with Father Isaac Jogues, and who had since then remained in the Iroquois country, accompanied them. As soon as he was recognized all threw their arms around his neck; he was looked upon as a man risen from the dead, who brought joy to all who thought him dead,—or, at least, that he was in danger of passing the remainder of his days in most bitter and cruel captivity. As soon as he landed, he informed us of the design of the three Savages with whom he had been sent back. When the most important of the three, named Kiotseaton, saw the French and the Savages hastening to the bank of the river, he stood up in the bow of the Shallop that had brought him from Richelieu to three Rivers. He was almost completely covered with Porcelain beads. Motioning with his hand for silence, he called out: “My Brothers, I have left my country to come and see you. At last I have reached your land. I was told, on my departure, that I was going to seek death, and that I would never again see my country. But I have willingly exposed myself for the good of peace. I come therefore to enter into the designs of the French, of the Hurons, and of the Algonquins. I come to make known to you the thoughts of all my country.” When he had said this, the Shallop fired a shot from a swivel gun, and the Fort replied by a discharge from the cannon, as a sign of rejoicing.

When those Ambassadors had landed, they were conducted into the room of the sieur de Chanflour, who gave them a very cordial reception. They were offered some slight refreshments, and, after they had eaten and smoked, Kiotsaeton, who was always the spokesman, said to all the French who surrounded him, “I find much pleasure in your houses. Since I have set foot in your country, I have observed nothing but rejoicing. I see very well that he who is in the Sky wishes to bring to a conclusion a very important matter. The minds and thoughts of men are too diverse to fall into accord; it is the Sky that will combine all.” On the same day, a canoe was sent to Monsieur the Governor to inform him of the arrival of these new guests.

Meanwhile, both they and the prisoners who had not yet been given up

had full liberty to wander where they willed. The Algonquins and Montagnais invited them to their feasts, and they gradually accustomed themselves to converse together. The sieur de Chanflour treated them very well; one day he said to them that they were with us as if in their own country; that they had nothing to fear; that they were in their own house. Kiotsaeton replied to this compliment by a very well-pointed and neat retort. "I beg thee," he said to the Interpreter, "to say to that Captain who speaks to us that he tells a great falsehood with respect to us; at least, it is certain that what he says is not true." And thereupon he paused a little, to let the wonder grow. Then he added: "That Captain tells me that I am here as if in my own country. That is very far from the truth. I would be neither honored nor treated with such consideration in my own country, while here every one honors me and pays me attention. He says that I am as if in my own house; that is a sort of falsehood, for I am maltreated in my house, and here I fare well every day,—I am continually feasting. Therefore I am not as if I were in my own country or in my own house." He indulged in many other repartees which clearly showed that he had wit.

Finally, Monsieur the Governor came from Quebec to three Rivers; and, after having seen the Ambassadors, he gave audience to them on the twelfth of July. This took place in the courtyard of the Fort, over which large sails had been spread to keep off the heat of the Sun. Their places were thus arranged: on one side was Monsieur the Governor, accompanied by his people and by Reverend Father Vimont, Superior of the Mission. The Iroquois sat at his feet, on a great piece of hemlock bark. They had stated before the assembly that they wished to be on his side, as a mark of the affection that they bore to the French.

Opposite them were the Algonquins, the Montagnais, and the Attikamegues; the two other sides were closed in by some French and some Hurons. In the center was a large space, somewhat longer than wide, in which the Iroquois caused two poles to be planted, and a cord to be stretched from one to the other on which to hang and tie the words that they were to bring us,—that is to say, the presents they wished to make us, which consisted of seventeen collars of porcelain beads, a portion of which were on their bodies. The remainder were enclosed in a small pouch placed quite near them. When all had assembled and had taken their places, Kiotsaeton who was high in stature, rose and looked at the Sun, then cast his eyes over the whole Company; he took a collar of porcelain beads in his hand and commenced to harangue in a loud voice. "Onontio, lend me ear. I am the mouth for the whole of my country; thou listenest to all the Iroquois, in hearing my words. There is no evil in my heart; I have only good songs in my mouth. We have a multitude of war songs in our country; we have cast them all on the ground; we have no longer anything but songs of rejoicing." Thereupon he began to sing; his countrymen responded; he walked about that great space as if on the stage of a theatre; he made a thousand gestures; he looked up to Heaven; he gazed at the Sun; he rubbed his arms as if he wished to draw from them the strength that moved them in war. After he had sung awhile, he said that the present that he held in

his hand thanked Monsieur the Governor for having saved the life of Tokhrahenehiaron, when he drew him last Autumn out of the fire and away from the teeth of the Algonquins; but he complained gracefully that he had been sent back all alone to his own country. "If his canoe had been upset; if the winds had caused it to be submerged; if he had been drowned, you would have waited long for the return of the poor lost man, and you would have accused us of a fault which you yourselves would have committed." When he had said this, he fastened his collar in the appointed spot.

Drawing out another, he tied it to the arm of Guillaume Cousture, saying aloud: "It is this Collar that brings you back this prisoner. I would not have said to him, while he was still in our country: 'Go, my Nephew; take a Canoe and return to Quebec.' My mind would not have been at rest; I would always have thought over and over again to myself, 'Is he not lost?' In truth, I would have had no sense, had I acted in that way. He whom you have sent back had all the difficulties in the world, on his journey." He began to express them, but in so pathetic a manner that there is no merry-andrew in France so ingenious as that Barbarian. He took a stick, and placed it on his head like a bundle; then he carried it from one end of the square to the other, representing what that prisoner had done in the rapids and in the current of the water,—on arriving at which he had transported his baggage, piece by piece. He went backward and forward, showing the journeys, the windings, and the turnings of the prisoner. He ran against a stone; he receded more than he advanced in his canoe, because alone he could not maintain it against the current. He lost courage, and then regained his strength. In a word, I have never seen anything better done than this acting. "Again" (said he), "if you had helped him to pass the rapids and the bad roads, and then if, while stopping and smoking, you had looked after him from afar, you would have greatly consoled us. But I know not where your thoughts were, to send a man back quite alone amid so many dangers. I did not do that. 'Come, my nephew,' I said to him whom you see before your eyes; 'follow me, I wish to bring thee to thy own country, at the risk of my life.'" That is what was said by the second collar, which he tied near the first.

The third showed that they had added something of their own to the presents that Monsieur the Governor had given to the captive whom he had sent back to their country; and that those presents had been distributed to the Tribes who are their allies to arrest their hatchets, and to cause the weapons and paddles to fall from the hands of those who were embarking to go to war. He named all those Tribes.

The 4th present was to assure us that the thought of their people killed in war no longer affected them; that they cast their weapons under their feet. "I passed," he said, "near the place where the Algonquins massacred us last Spring. I saw the spot where the fight took place in which they captured the two prisoners who are here. I passed by quickly; I did not wish to see my people's blood that had been shed. Their bodies still lie in that place. I turned

away my eyes for fear of exciting my anger; then, striking the earth and listening, I heard the voice of my Forefathers massacred by the Algonquins. When they saw that my heart was capable of seeking revenge they called out to me in a loving voice: 'My grandson, my grandson, be good; do not get angry. Think no longer of us for there is no means of withdrawing us from death. Think of the living,—that is of importance; save those who still live from the sword and fire that pursue them; one living man is better than many dead ones.' After having heard those voices I passed on, and I came to you, to deliver those whom you still hold."

The fifth was given to clear the river, and to drive away the enemy's canoes, which might impede navigation. He made use of a thousand gestures, as if he had collected the waves and had caused a calm, from Quebec to the Iroquois country.

The sixth was to smooth the rapids and waterfalls, or the strong currents, that occur in the rivers on which one must sail to reach their country. "I thought that I would perish," he said, "in those boiling waters. This is to appease them;" and with his hands and arms he smoothed and arrested the torrents.

The seventh was to produce a profound calm on the great Lake Saint Louys that has to be crossed. "Here," he said, "is something to make it smooth as ice, to appease the winds, and to allay the anger of the waves." Then, after having by his gestures rendered the route easy, he tied a collar of porcelain beads on the arm of a Frenchman, and pulled him straight across the square, to show that our canoes could go to their country without any difficulty.

The eighth performed the whole journey that had to be made on land. You would have said that he felled trees; that he lopped off branches; that he pushed back the bushes; that he put earth in the deepest holes. "There," said he, "is the road, quite smooth and quite straight." He bent toward the ground, looking to see whether there were any more thorns or bushes, and whether there were any mounds over which one might stumble in walking. "It is all finished. We can see the smoke of our villages, from Quebec to the extremity of our country. All obstacles are removed."

The ninth was to tell us that we would find fires all lighted in their houses; that we would not have the trouble of seeking for wood,—that we would find some already cut; and that the fire would never go out, day or night,—that we would see its light, even in our own homes.

The tenth was given to bind us all very closely together. He took hold of a Frenchman, placed his arm within his, and with his other arm he clasped that of an Algonquin. Having thus joined himself to them, "Here," he said, "is the knot that binds us inseparably; nothing can part us." This collar was extraordinarily beautiful. "Even if the lightning were to fall upon us, it could not separate us; for, if it cuts off the arm that holds you to us, we will at once seize each other by the other arm." And thereupon he turned around, and caught the Frenchman and the Algonquin by their two other arms,—holding them so closely that he seemed unwilling ever to leave them.

The eleventh invited us to eat with them. "Our country is well stocked with fish, with venison, and with game; it is everywhere full of deer, of Elk, of beaver. Give up," said he, "those stinking hogs that run about among your houses, that eat nothing but filth; and come and eat good meat with us. The road is cleared; there is no longer any danger." He accompanied his discourse with appropriate gestures.

He lifted the twelfth collar, to dispel the clouds in the air, so that all might see quite plainly that our hearts and theirs were not hidden; that the Sun and the truth might light up everything. The thirteenth was to remind the Hurons of their good will. "It is five days ago," he said,—that is to say, five years,— "since you had a pouch filled with porcelain beads and other presents, all ready to come and seek for peace. What made you change your minds? That pouch will upset, the presents will fall out and break, they will be dispersed; and you will lose courage."

The fourteenth was to urge the Hurons to make haste to speak,—not to be bashful, like women; and, after taking the resolution to go to the Iroquois country, to pass by that of the Algonquins and of the French.

The fifteenth was to show that they had always desired to bring back Father le Jogues and Father Bressani; that they had thought that Father le Jogues had been stolen from them, and that they had given Father Bressani to the Dutch because he had desired it. "If he had had patience, I would have brought him back. How can I know now where he is? Perhaps he is dead; perhaps he is drowned. It was not our intention to put him to death. If François Marguerie and Thomas Godefroy," he added, "had remained in our country, they would be married by this time; we would be but one Nation, and I would be one of you." When Father le Jogues heard this discourse, he said with a smile: "The stake was all prepared; had not God preserved me, they would have put me to death a hundred times. This good man says whatever pleases him." Father Bressani told us the same thing on his return.

The sixteenth was to receive them in this country when they came to it, and to protect them; to stay the hatchets of the Algonquins and the cannons of the French. "When we brought back your prisoners, some years ago, we thought that we were your friends, and we heard arquebus and cannon shots whistling on all sides of us. That frightened us; we withdrew; and, as we have courage for war, we took the resolution to give proofs of it the following Spring; we appeared in your land, and captured Father le Jogues, with some Hurons.

The seventeenth present was the very collar that Honatteniate wore in his country. This young man was one of the two prisoners last captured. His mother, who had been Father Jogues's aunt in the Iroquois country, sent his collar for him who had given her son his life. When the good woman learned that the good Father whom she called her Nephew was in this country, she greatly rejoiced, and her son still more so; for he always seemed sad until Father Jogues came down from Montreal when he commenced to breathe freely and be in good spirits.

When this great Iroquois had said all that is mentioned above, he added: "I am going to spend the remainder of the summer in my country in games, in dances, in rejoicing for the good of peace; but I fear that, while we dance, the Hurons will come to taunt and importune us." That is what occurred at that assembly. Every one admitted that this man was impassioned and eloquent. I gathered only some disconnected fragments, taken from the mouth of the interpreter who spoke only in a desultory manner and did not follow the order observed by the Barbarian.

He sang some songs between his gifts; he danced for joy; in a word, he showed himself to be a very good Actor, for a man who has learned but what nature has taught him, without rule and without precept. The conclusion was that the Iroquois, the French, the Algonquins, the Hurons, the Montagnais, and the Attikamegues all danced and rejoiced with much gladness.

On the following day, Monsieur the Governor gave a feast to all belonging to those Nations who were at three rivers, to exhort them all together and to banish all distrust that might set them at variance. The Iroquois manifested their satisfaction in every way; they sang and danced according to their custom, and Kiotsaeton strongly urged the Algonquins and Hurons to obey Onontio, and to follow the intentions and the thoughts of the French.

On the fourteenth of the same month; Monsieur the Governor replied to the presents of the Iroquois by fourteen gifts, all of which had their meanings and which carried their own messages. The Iroquois accepted them all with great marks of satisfaction, which they manifested by three loud cries, uttered at the same time from the depths of their chests, at each word or at each present that was given them. Thus was peace concluded with them, on condition that they should commit no act of hostility against the Hurons, or against the other Nations who are our allies, until the chiefs of those Nations who were not present had treated with them.

When this matter had been brought to a happy conclusion, Pieskaret arose and made a present of some furs to the Ambassadors, exclaiming that it was a rock or a tombstone that he placed on the grave of those who had been killed in the last fight, so that their bones might no longer be disturbed; and that the remembrance of what had happened might be forgotten, and revenge might no longer be thought of.

Then Noël Negabamat arose; he laid down in the middle of the square five great Elk skins. "There," he said to the Iroquois, "is something wherewith to cover your feet and your legs, lest you might hurt them on your return journey, if any stone should remain in the road that you have made smooth." He also gave them five others to serve as shrouds for those who had been killed in the battle, and to allay the grief of their relatives and friends, who could not bear to have them left unburied. He said, moreover, that as he and his people at Sillery were invited in heart with their elder brother Monsieur the Governor, they gave but one present with his. Finally three shots were fired from the cannon, to drive away the foul air of war, and to rejoice at the happy advent of peace.

Some time after this meeting, an ill-disposed Huron accosted the Iroquois Captain who had always been the agent and spokesman, and sought to inspire him with distrust of the French. But the Captain nobly replied to him in these terms: "My face is painted and daubed on one side, while the other is quite clean. I do not see very clearly on the side that is daubed over; on the other side my sight is good. The painted side is toward the Hurons, and I see nothing; the clean side is turned toward the French, and I see clearly, as in broad daylight." Having said this he remained silent; and that evil-minded man was covered with confusion.

Toward evening, Reverend Father Vimont the Superior of the Mission caused the Iroquois to be brought to our house, where he presented to them some small gifts; he gave them some petun, or tobacco, and to each of them a handsome calumet or pipe wherewith to smoke it. Kiotsaeton thanked him very wittily: "When I left my country, I gave up my life and exposed myself to death, so that I am indebted to you for being still alive. I thank you that I still see the Sun; I thank you for having received me well; I thank you for having treated me well. I thank you for all the good conclusions to which you have come; all your words are very agreeable to us. I thank you for your presents; you have covered us from our feet to our heads. Only our mouth remained free and you have filled it with a fine calumet and have gladdened it with the flavor of a plant that is very pleasing to us. I therefore bid you adieu, but not for long; you will soon hear from us. Even if we are wrecked in the waters, even if we are quite submerged, I think that the Elements will in some way bear witness to our countrymen of your kind deeds; and I am convinced that some good genius has gone before us, and that our countrymen already have a foretaste of the good news that we are going to bring them."

On Saturday, the fifteenth, they started from three Rivers. Monsieur the Governor gave them two young French lads, both to help them to take back their canoes and their presents, and to manifest the confidence that he had in those people.

When the Captain Kiotsaeton saw that his people had embarked, he raised his voice, and said to the French and to the Savages who were on the banks of the great river: "Adieu my brothers; I am one of your relatives. I am going to carry back good news to our country." Then, turning to Monsieur the Governor, "Onontio, thy name shall be great throughout the earth; I did not think that I would take back my head that I had risked,—I did not think that it would go forth from your doors; and I am going back loaded with honor, with gifts, and with kindness. My brothers," speaking to the Savages, "obey Onontio and the French. Their hearts and their thoughts are good; remain united with them and accommodate yourselves to their customs. You will soon have news from us." The Savages replied by a fine salvo of musketry, and the Fort fired a cannon shot. Thus ended their Embassy. May God cause all this to succeed for his greater glory.

Continuation of the Treaty of Peace

To conclude and to secure peace in this new world, it was necessary that the delegates of the Iroquois, those of the Hurons, and the principal Captains of three or four Algonquin tribes, should meet all together at some place with Monsieur the Governor; in order, too, that all these Nations,—who speak three or four different languages, whose dispositions are so distinct one from another, and who for so many years have been eating, devouring, and burning each other like madmen,—should perform an act of the utmost wisdom, and that so many inhuman barbarians should find enough gentleness to agree together. In a word, to make everything sure, it was necessary that each should visit the others in their own country. All this seemed impossible to human skill. But, when God interposes in a matter, it cannot lack direction. The holy and pure souls who support these poor peoples by their prayers and by their vows have accomplished that great work. Never had all these Nations who are accustomed to come and see us every year, come down so late; and, if they had arrived sooner, they could not have gone up again,—for the Iroquois Ambassadors, who held the knot of this matter in their hands, were not here. We expected them every day, speculating from afar upon the reasons that could have caused so extraordinary a delay. Not a single canoe had come down, whether from the Algonquins, the Nipisiriniens, or the Hurons, to bring us any news of what was going on in the upper country. Each one spoke of it according to his own idea and in accordance with his own inclination. Some said that all the French who had gone up to the Huron country with our Fathers had been massacred; that the Devil had spoken to some Savages, and that consequently we need not expect any news from those countries. Others, who were more inclined to take a favorable view of the matter, conjectured that these tribes would come down in great numbers, and that it required a great deal of time to assemble them. Meanwhile, the season was passing away, and our doubts were about to change to despair, when all of a sudden we saw upon the river saint Lawrence sixty Huron canoes, laden with French, with Savages, and with furs. Father Hierosme Lallemant—whose arrival had been expected and desired for a whole year and more—was in this fine Company, which greatly rejoiced all who had at heart the welfare of the country and the salvation of these peoples. The French soldiers whom the Queen had sent out last year came back in good health, better supplied with virtue and with the knowledge of Christian truths than when they had embarked to leave France. The principal Captains of the Hurons brought back one of the two Iroquois whom they had taken prisoners in the previous year, near Richelieu, with the intention of presenting him to Monsieur the Governor; this they did, as we shall see. These Captains had orders from the whole of their country to enter into full negotiations for peace, and to follow the judgment of Onontio. At the same time, the Algonquins of the upper Tribes arrived, and so opportunely that one would have said that some higher power had sent workmen to make them appear at an appointed spot. All this happened at three Rivers, where only the Iroquois were wanting,

who had given their word that they would be there in a short time. Had they delayed but a few days, this great concourse of Savages—Attikamegues, Montagnais, Island Algonquins and those of the Iroquet Tribe, and others, Hurons—would soon have been dispersed and scattered, without any hope that we could again assemble them together for a long time, But God took pleasure in making them come, one after another, at the most opportune time that could have been chosen. The Montagnais arrived there about the end of August; some Algonquins came shortly afterward. The Hurons landed on the tenth of September; the Island Savages and other tribes came down two or three days before. Monsieur the Governor came up on the twelfth of the same month. They waited only for the Iroquois delegates. Finally, on the fifteenth, a canoe appeared, bearing five men of that Nation, who assured us that the presents of Onontio had been taken to their country for the confirmation of the peace, and that in a few days we should see some Ambassadors delegated to bring him word to that effect. In fact, on the seventeenth of the same month, we saw four of them,—one of whom delivered a harangue on the bank of the river, according to their custom,—causing joy to all the French and to more than four hundred Savages of various tribes who were then at three Rivers. Monsieur the Governor perceived them from afar, and sent a squad of soldiers to meet them and to prevent disorder. The soldiers formed in two lines and the Iroquois passed through them without being impeded by a large number of persons who gazed at them on all sides. They rested for the remainder of the day, and a council was held on the morrow in the same manner that I have related in the previous Chapter. It is needless for me to repeat so often that words of importance in this country are presents. Suffice it to say that, as he who harangued gave no presents, he spoke in these terms:

“I have no voice; do not listen to me. I speak not; I hold in my hand only a paddle to bring you back a Frenchman in whose mouth is the message from all our country.” He spoke of the Frenchman whom I have mentioned above, who had been taken prisoner with Father le Jogues, to whom the Iroquois had confided their presents,—that is to say, their words. This Frenchman drew out eighteen presents, all consisting of porcelain beads, of which he gave this explanation:

The first said that Onontio had a voice of thunder, that he made himself heard everywhere, and that at the sound of his words the whole Iroquois country had thrown away their weapons and their hatchets,—but so far beyond the Sky that there were no arms in the world long enough to draw them back from there.

The second said that, as the arms were beyond the sight of men, they ought to visit each other without fear while they enjoyed the sweets of peace.

At the third present, “Here,” he said, representing the Iroquois, “is a mat or bed on which you can lie softly when you come to our country; for, as we are brothers, we would be ashamed if we did not treat you according to your deserts.”

At the 4th, "It is not enough to have a good bed; the nights are cold; here is something with which to light a good fire, and to keep yourselves warm." Observe, in passing, that the Savages usually sleep close to the fire.

At the fifth, "Of what use would it be to have a good bed and to lie warmly covered on it if you were not well fed? This present assures you that you will be feasted there, and will find the pot boiling on your arrival." He spoke always to the French.

At the sixth, "Here is a little ointment to heal the wounds which have been inflicted on the feet of the French, while they walked in their country, by stumbling against the stones or the roots that are very often found there."

At the 7th, he said that, from the place where they leave the water to take to the land, there was a distance of fully thirty leagues to be gone over before reaching their villages, and that all the baggage had to be carried on foot: that, as the French had had some difficulty, this present would slightly relieve their shoulders that were chafed by the weight of their packs.

At the 8th, "This is to assure the French that, if they wish to marry in this country, they will find wives here, since we are their friends and allies."

At the 9th, as the Algonquins had stated, at the first journey of the Iroquois, that they could not say anything positive during the absence of the chief men of their Nation, this present was given that all might speak, and that they might not cast the blame from one to the other, but clearly declare their presents.

At the 10th, "This," said he who explained them, "is to make the Hurons speak, and to draw their sentiments from the depth of their hearts."

The eleventh present said that the Iroquois chiefs did nothing but smoke in their country, and that their calumets were always in their mouths. They wished to say that they awaited the word of the Algonquins and of the Hurons.

At the 12th, they said that the souls of their relatives who had been killed in war had withdrawn so far into the center of the earth that they could never think of them again,—that is to say, that they had wiped out vengeance from their hearts.

At the 13th, they obeyed the voice of Monsieur the Governor, who had ordered that hostilities be suspended, and that the hatchets be hidden. For that reason, they had passed the summer in dancing and feasting, without thinking of war.

At the 14th, they wished to know as soon as possible if they should continue their dances; and, consequently, they desired that the Algonquins and the Hurons should hasten to speak,—that is to say, to carry presents to their country,—if they wished for peace.

The 15th was to lessen the fatigues of the French who had been in their country, who had used much diligence and had taken much trouble to bring news from the Iroquois to Onontio.

The 16th begged Onontio to have a woman of the Iroquois country sent back to it, who had been taken in war by the Algonquins and given to the

French. This woman was taken to France some years ago and, after having been instructed and baptized, she died at the Convent of the Carmelites of Paris with evident marks of salvation, as has been stated in the previous Relations.

The 17th begged Onontio to sound the Hurons and Algonquins, and get them to say clearly what their opinion was respecting peace or war.

The 18th was an excuse for not having brought back a little Frenchman whom they still detain in their country. "He is not a prisoner," he said, "he will return with those who shall bear the word of the Algonquins and Hurons."

When these presents had been made, the chief man among the Iroquois arose, and, drawing from his pouch some presents of porcelain beads, he spoke in these terms:

At the first present,—which he held in his hands, and showed to the whole assembly, while he walked about the square,—he said that his country was full of Hurons and of Algonquin women (for, as regards the Algonquin men, they never spared their lives); that, however, those men and women were seated on logs or on stumps of trees outside of their villages,—that is to say, they were not detained, and were all ready to return to their country like the dried trees on which they sat, which have no roots and can easily be removed.

At the 2nd present, he said that the little Huron girl called Therese—who had been captured just after she had left the Seminary of the Ursulines, while she was being taken to her own country—was quite ready to be delivered up; and that, if the Hurons joined in the peace, she would return with them, if she wished; if not, that they would keep her as a child brought up by the hand of the French, in order to prepare their food when they went to their own country.

The 3rd meant that all the gifts that Monsieur the Governor had given to the first Ambassadors had been carried, according to his orders, to all the Tribes who are allied to them. He named all these.

At the 4th, he said that Onontio had given birth to Ononjote—this is a village that is allied to them—but that, as it was still only a child, it could not speak; that, if Monsieur the Governor took care of it, it would grow and speak. He meant that the present made to that village was a small one for negotiating an important peace, and that it must be increased, in order to get their promise. When this discourse was ended, the Hiroquois began to sing and to dance. He took a Frenchman on one side, an Algonquin and a Huron on the other; and, holding one another by the arms, they danced in time, and sang in a loud voice a song of peace which they uttered from the depths of their chests.

After this dance, a Huron Captain named Jean Baptiste Atironta, a good Christian, arose and harangued loudly and resolutely. "It is done," he said; "we are brothers. The conclusion has been reached; now we all are relatives,—Hiroquois, Hurons, Algonquins, and French; we are now but one and the same people. Betray no one," he said to the Hiroquois. "As for us, know that we have sound hearts." "I hear thee," replied the Hiroquois; "thy word is good; thou wilt find me true." Then, raising the last present, he exclaimed, "All the country that lies between us is full of Bears, of Deer, of Elk, of Beaver, and of numerous

other animals. For my part, I am blind; I hunt at haphazard; when I have killed a Beaver, I think that I have secured a great prize. But you," speaking of the Algonquins, "who are clear-sighted, you have but to throw a javelin, and the animal falls. This present invites you to hunt, we shall benefit by your skill; we shall roast the animals on the same spit, and we shall eat on one side, and you on the other."

An Algonquin replied to this: "I can no longer speak; my heart is too full of joy. I have large ears and so many good words crowd in there that they drown me in pleasure. It is true that I am but a child. It is Onontio who has great words in his mouth; he it is who makes the earth, and who rejoices all men."

At the conclusion of this council, Monsieur the Governor caused these three Nations to be thanked for the good words that they had given, exhorting them to remain firm in their purposes, and assuring them that he would always be their friend and faithful relative.

Of the Last Meeting Held for the Peace

On the twentieth of the same month of September [*1645], the last meeting was held between the French, the Algonquins,—who comprise several petty Tribes,—the Hurons, and the Hiroquois. Here, in a few words, are all the most remarkable things that occurred.

When Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny had received all the presents mentioned in the foregoing Chapter, he had them divided into three portions, in accordance with the usages of these peoples; and, after having made his Interpreter speak, he offered one portion to the Hurons, another portion to the Algonquins, while the third was for the French. Observe, in passing, that it was necessary to speak in four different languages,—in French, in Huron, in Algonquin, and in Hiroquois; we have here Interpreters of all those languages. When these gifts had been presented, Monsieur the Governor gave two others to the Hiroquois—one to wipe away the tears of the relatives of the Hiroquois woman whom they had asked for, and who had died in France; the other that her bones might be laid to rest in her own country, or that she might be brought back to life, by making some other woman bear her name.

Moreover, he also gave two others to the Hurons and to the Algonquins, to invite them to express their thoughts freely with reference to the peace; for it was he, properly speaking, who was the author of it and who procured it for these peoples.

At this speech, a Huron Captain arose and said that, before replying to the words of Onontio, he wished, on behalf of all his country, to make him a present of a Hiroquois prisoner whom he had expressed a desire to have in the previous year. He therefore took this captive with one hand, and with the other he held a branch of Porcelain on a stick; and, walking across the square, he brought the poor Hiroquois to the feet of Monsieur the Governor, with this Porcelain, that represented his bonds, the mark of his captivity.

Monsieur the Governor accepted the prisoner, and had him taken at once,

with his bond of Porcelain beads, to the quarter where the Hiroquois were seated,—giving him his liberty, and placing him in the hands of his Countrymen. This young warrior showed sufficiently by his countenance that he felt much pleasure at seeing himself gently led toward his Captain, after having escaped the fire and the teeth of his enemies, who had become his friends. This ceremony over, the Huron Captain replied to the summons of Monsieur the Governor by fourteen presents, which he gave to the Hiroquois, and of which the following is an explanation. These presents consisted of Beaver skins and Porcelain beads.

At the first, “Here,” said he, “are the bonds of the prisoner who escaped from our hands last Autumn.” You must know, in passing, that the Hurons had taken three Hiroquois near Richelieu; that they had given one of them to the Algonquins, who was afterward handed over to Monsieur the Governor; and had taken the two others to their own country. One of these two captives escaped on the way, but he died in the woods of cold, hunger, and exposure. He belonged to a village called Ononjoté, that was angered to the last degree against the Hurons; for that nation had, in a battle, exterminated nearly all the men of that village, which was compelled to send to the Hiroquois—who are called Agnierronons [**Mohawks*], and with whom we have made the peace—for men to marry the girls, and the women who were left without husbands, so that their tribe might not become extinct. That is why the Hiroquois call that village their Child; and, because Monsieur the Governor had sent them presents, and made peace with those who had repopled their village, they also called him its Father. Let us return to our subject, if you please. The Huron Captain therefore offered the bonds of the prisoner who had escaped, as a token that they would not have put him to death, and that they had intended to set him at liberty.

At the second present, “This,” said he, “is to carry back the bones of your child to his country.” It is the custom of the Hurons to remove the flesh from the bones of their people, and to place them with those of their relatives, in whatever quarter of the world they may die.

At the third, “Here is the bond that will bind those bones together, and enable you to carry them more easily.” In a word, he wished to console them and to wipe away their tears, according to the fashion of the Barbarians, who give presents to the relatives of their deceased friends.

At the fourth, he said, “This is a token that we are friends; this present will make a road from your villages to ours.”

The fifth opened the gates of their villages and the doors of their houses.

The sixth invited them to go and see some Hiroquois prisoners whom the Hurons detained in their country. This was asking them to bring presents so as to go and claim them in safety.

At the seventh,—as the Hiroquois had said at the previous assembly that Ononjoté was their child, and the child of Monsieur the Governor and that it could not yet speak,—“Here,” said the Captain, “is something to make a cra-

dle for it," meaning that the Hurons wished for peace with that village.

The eighth was given to cause all the weapons and all the hatchets that might still be in the hands of the Iroquois, to drop.

The ninth was to snatch their shields from their backs, where they generally carry them, moving them backward and forward as they please in battle.

The tenth was to lower their war Standard.

The eleventh, to stop the reports of their arquebuses.

The twelfth, to wash away the paint from their faces. These Savages are accustomed, when they go to war, to paint themselves in various colors, and to oil or grease their heads and faces. "Here," said he, "is something to remove the stains from your faces and your eyes, so that the day may be quite fine and serene."

The thirteenth was to break the kettle in which they boiled the Hurons whom they took in war, in order to eat them.

The fourteenth asked that a mat—that is to say, a bed or a lodging—be prepared for the Hurons who would soon go to the Hiroquois country.

"All these presents," he added, "are nothing; we have many others in our country, which await you." When the Hurons had replied to the demand of Monsieur the Governor, and had manifested by all these presents that they desired peace, an Algonquin arose and gave some presents, of which the following is the meaning:

At the first, he threw down a bundle of Beaver skins. "This is to show who I am, and to what nation I belong,—I who live in traveling houses built of small pieces of bark." Thus they distinguish the Wandering Algonquins from the Hurons, who are sedentary.

At the second, "This present will stop your complaints; it will subdue your anger, and will cause our rivers and yours to wash away the blood that has been shed by Algonquins and by Hiroquois."

"This third present will give us free entrance to your houses, after breaking down the gates of your villages."

At the fourth, "Here is something wherewith to smoke with one another, both Hiroquois and Algonquins, in the same pipe, as friends do who use tobacco together."

"The fifth will make us sail in the same ship or in the same canoe; so that, as we shall be but one people, but one village, one house, one Calumet, and one canoe will be needed. The remainder of our words, or of our presents, will be carried to your country." Thus he ended his speech.

Monsieur the Governor afterward made the interpreters speak, offering a present that assured the Hiroquois that he would see that those two great nations kept their word. He also gave another present to be carried to the village of Ononjoté, so as to give news to his child (making use of their own terms), that he desired to make the whole earth beautiful, and to smooth it so that one might walk everywhere without stumbling, and without meeting any misadventure.

When the Hiroquois Captain had received these presents, he arose and, looking at the Sun and then at the entire assembly, he said: "Onontio, thou hast dispersed the clouds; the air is serene, the Sky shows clearly; the Sun is bright. I see no more trouble; peace has made everything Calm; my heart is at rest; I go away very happy."

Onontio caused all these nations to be exhorted to remain constant and faithful; then he broke up the meeting, and on the following day he gave a feast, in the fashion of the Savages, to more than four hundred people.

"Things are going well," said all the guests; "we eat all together, and we have but one dish." Reverend Father Hierosme Lalemant who had started from the Huron country with the fear of meeting Hiroquois, watched them at these assemblies with eyes full of joy. He was delighted to see so miraculous a change, and praised God for it both in public and in private.

Finally, on the 23rd of September, these Hiroquois Ambassadors, accompanied by two Frenchmen, two Algonquins, and two Hurons, returned to their own country, leaving among our Savages, who were now their allies, three men of their nation as hostages, or rather as pledges, of their friendship.

Father Hierosme Lalemant. 1645. Letter from Father Hierosme Lalemant, written from the Huron country to the Reverend Father Provincial of the Society of Jesus. From the Huron country, May 15, 1645.

JR, 28:43 [**Huron defeats, 1644–1645 and French soldiers in Huronia.*]

Wars have been more pitiless, and, although they have ravaged this Country most cruelly, without sparing any sex, age, or condition of persons, nevertheless we may truly say that it seems as if God had chosen to reap the flower of our Churches with that sharp sword. Into the heart of the Country, and to the doors of the villages where the reign of the Faith most prevailed, the Hiroquois have come from a hundred leagues' distance, to slay those who supported it and who by the example and holiness of their lives, by the ardor of their zeal, and the efficacy of the impassioned words that the Holy Ghost placed in their mouths, already possessed the qualities of Apostles of their country, wherein they preached more powerfully than we the greatness of him who makes Saints of barbarians....

A year ago last Summer, our Christians had mustered a band of about a hundred picked men, who joined some Infidel warriors to go and lay ambushes on the frontiers of the enemy's Country. They were met by seven or eight hundred Hiroquois; and, after fighting for a whole evening and a whole night, they were all killed on the field of battle or taken prisoners, not one effecting his escape.

One misfortune attracts another. In the same year, two bands of Hurons fell into the hands of other Hiroquois who are nearer Kebec, and who lay in wait for them on the River which they descend to go and see the French, and to trade their Beaver skins and furs with them.

And last year three other fleets, mostly of Christians, also met with death or captivity on the same road,—one, soon after their departure from Three rivers; another, a little above Ville-Marie; the last, about sixty leagues higher up. For the peril continues over a hundred leagues of road. There is no safety for a moment from an enemy hidden in the rushes along the banks of the river, or in the depths of the forest, which screen them from your sight while they can see you coming from a distance of four, five, or six leagues,—thus having time to prepare for a combat, if they see that you are weaker; or to retreat, or remain hidden in their ambush, if they consider you the stronger.

A single band, which had passed through these dangers, reached here safely, and brought to us Father Jean de Brebeuf, whose absence during three years had been greatly felt by us, and Fathers Leonard Gareau and Noël Chabanel, who had newly come to our assistance. Their arrival consoled us exceedingly in our regret for our recent loss of Father Bressany, who had fallen into the hands of the Hiroquois. This band was escorted by the troops which Monsieur de Montmagny, our Governor, sent us most opportunely, not only for the preservation of the poor Hurons, who ran a great risk of also falling into the ambushes of the enemies, but still more for strengthening this Country, which was threatened this Winter with the sight of a Hiroquois army coming to ravage their villages, bringing with it general desolation, and wasting everything with fire and sword. But the arrival of this relief made them alter their plans. And if this same escort of French Soldiers, which is about to return, in order to accompany the Hurons who are going down the river, reach Kebec as safely as they came up last year, Heaven will have fully blessed all the designs of Monsieur our Governor.

JR, 28:57 [**Hurons consider forgoing trade with the French to escape the Iroquois.*]

Add to this [**list of difficulties faced by the Jesuit missionaries in Huronia*] the fury of a Hiroquois enemy who closes the way to us; who deprives us of the necessities of life, and of the help that may be sent us in a forsaken country; who kills and massacres those who come to our aid; whose insolence grows from year to year; who depopulates the country, and makes our Hurons think of giving up the trade with the French, because they find that it costs them too dear, and they prefer to do without European goods rather than to expose themselves every year, not to a death that would be enduring, but to fires and flames, for which they have a thousand times greater horror.

JR, 28:71 [**Christian Hurons reflect upon war and Iroquois captivity.*]

A Christian who had recently escaped from captivity, and who saw himself on his arrival surrounded by his relatives, who came to console him, astonished all present by the words that he used. “My friends,” he said, “God did not abandon me in my captivity. If we should often think of him in prosperity we should also pray to him unceasingly in the height of our troubles.

We hear, as it were, a voice within, replying to us that the evils of this life are nothing, that there is a Paradise awaiting us, and that death—which is all the less remote from us, the greater are our sufferings—will soon place us in possession of a happiness of which our cruelest enemies cannot deprive us.

“Such,” said he, “were the thoughts that consoled me in the midst of the most frightful tortures that the Hiroquois made me endure, when they applied fire and glowing flames to me. Then I felt truly that God helped me; that he was within me, and animated my heart. I know not how it could have been, but it is true that my soul felt unspeakable pleasures, at the very time when my body endured the greatest pain. After these first sufferings, they consulted whether I was destined for death, or whether my life should be spared. I knew not which of the two to desire, and I did not dare to ask God, except that he might send me either life or death, as he deemed best for my salvation, since I was but a child, and he was my Father who alone knew what was best for me, and loved me more than I can love myself.”

Almost at the same time, another Christian, who was about to go to war, was questioned how he would behave if he were captured by the enemy. “I cannot,” he replied, “promise anything of myself knowing the little good that I can do; but for more than six months I have been questioning myself, and sounding the depths of my heart, and it seems to me each time that nothing in the world could make me forget Heaven. God,” said he, “has deprived me of nearly all my relatives; he has stripped me of my goods. I am waiting now until he tries me in my own person; and perhaps he will permit that I be captured by the enemies and burned in their fires. I dread this, it is true; but I nevertheless control myself when I say my prayers to him. I merely say to him that he sees very well what my heart fears the most, but that I do not ask him to deliver me from it so long as he preserves me in the Spirit of Faith and in the hope of Paradise,—promising myself that, after that, neither the fires nor the flames of the Hiroquois can deprive me of the desire that I have to live and die a Christian, in whatever situation I may be.”

Another, who was taken prisoner by the Hiroquois this Summer, broke from his bonds two hours before they were to burn him, escaped quite naked, and fled through briers and thorns, wherein the enemy pursued him almost an entire day. He found that, after escaping one misfortune, he fell into ten others; he wandered in the woods for three days without food; the mosquitoes disturbed his rest night and day, piercing him with their stings from head to foot; the whole of his body was but one sore; and finally he despaired of his life. Finding himself still at a distance of more than sixty leagues from any settlement,—in a country where the Hiroquois are ever hunting men, and where every step that he took to avoid the enemy, would, he feared, lead him into their ambushes,—his strength at last failed him; and, as he could proceed no farther, he resolved to die upon a bare rock that he chose for his tomb, when some Huron canoes fortunately caught sight of him, and drew him from the gates of death. “Alas!” said that good Christian, “I thought not of my misfor-

tunes, or, at least, I could bear them in the thought that I escaped a greater evil. If dread of a fire that would have burned me but for one night made me insensible to so much misery, could I now," he said, "find the yoke of the Faith a heavy one, and can the troubles that have to be endured in God's service really seem troubles to us, if we truly believe that there is a Hell, and that we must suffer in this world in order not to suffer forever?"

"When I was in the fires of the Hiroquois," said another Christian, who had felt their severity, "this thought consoled me, that God had ordered it. My sufferings were excessive, and yet I could not in any way complain of his kindness; and, whatever evil he may allow to happen to me, I hereafter believe that it can be only through love, since he has shown it to me by calling me to the Faith, and opening to me his Paradise. After that, they may burn me, they may torture me, and make me suffer a thousand deaths; but they cannot prevent my loving him."

JR, 28:93 [**A Huron convert is killed by the Iroquois.*]

A young man—a Catechumen, who could not obtain Baptism from us because we did not see clearly enough into his Faith—resolved to go to war with some Christians....I know not what pressed this young Neophyte so strongly; but, for over seventy days, he kept asking for Baptism from the oldest of our Christians, with such fervor in his requests that finally he was promised that he should be baptized on the Sunday....He was therefore baptized; and, strange to say, the prayers were not yet ended when the advance guard brought the news that they perceived the enemy. All immediately hasten to arms, and take the field; the enemy flees, and is pursued for six whole hours. The newly-baptized man leaves his comrades behind, and advances so far that he finds himself alone, surrounded by thirty Hiroquois, who pierce him with javelin-thrusts, remove his scalp, and continue their flight without one of them being caught.

JR, 28:93 [**A Huron convert is killed.*]

One of the most right-minded men of this Country, and one of the best informed as regards the Faith, had for six whole years refused Baptism; he admitted to us that he saw the truth very clearly, but that he did not feel within himself enough strength thoroughly to give up sin. Finally, he came one day to one of our Fathers and said to him: "Now I beg thee to baptize me. My heart tells me that I shall bear with me to Heaven the innocence of my Baptism; why therefore should I defer it any longer?" He is baptized at the beginning of the Autumn; and, throughout the Winter, the Christians and Infidels admire the power of Baptism in him....When Summer comes, he embarks to go down to Kebec, and, for his last Adieu to his wife and children, he says: "I know not whether I am going to death; but, whatever may happen to me, know that I will die a Christian; and if you seek me when I have departed this life, and if you retain any love for me, lift your eyes to Heaven for it is thither that my

soul aspires, and whither I believe without any doubt that Faith leads me for an Eternity.” In fact, he met the enemies and defended himself bravely. He had already overturned one of their Canoes in the water, when a shot from an arquebus pierced his head through and through, and placed him in the enjoyment of the happiness that he had hoped for, since so innocent a life could only be followed by a saintly death.

Father Isaac Jogues. 1646. *Novum Belgium*. From 3 Rivers in New France, August 3, 1646.

JR, 28:III [**Dutch settlement on the upper Hudson River as observed by Fr. Jogues in 1643.*]

There are two items in this settlement, which is called Renselaerswick:—first, a wretched little fort, named Fort orange,—built of logs, with 4 or 5 pieces of Breteuil cannon, and as many swivel guns,—which the Company of the West indies has reserved for itself, and which it maintains. This fort was formerly on an Island formed by the River; it is now on the mainland on the side of the Hiroquois, a little above the said Island. There is, secondly, a Colony sent thither by that Renselaers, who is its Patron. This colony is composed of about a hundred persons, who live in 25 or 30 houses built along the River, as each has found convenient....

Trade is free to every one, which enables the savages to obtain all things very cheaply: each of the Dutch outbidding his companion, and being satisfied, provided he can gain some little profit.

This settlement is not more than 20 leagues from the Agniehronons [**Mohawks*]; there is access to them either by land or by water,—the River on which the Iroquois dwell falling into that which passes by the Dutch; but there are many shallow rapids, and a fall of a short half-league, past which the canoe must be carried.

JR, 28:II5 [**Report of war between the Dutch and neighboring tribes.*]

There are several nations between the two Dutch settlements, which are 30 German leagues apart,—that is to say, 50 or 60 French leagues. The Wolves, whom the Iroquois call Agotsaganens [**Mahicans*], are the nearest to the settlement of Renselaerswick or to the fort of orange. Several years ago, there being a war between the Iroquois and the Wolves, the Dutch Joined these latter against the others; but, 4 having been taken and burned, peace was made. Later, some nations near the sea having slain some Dutch of the most remote settlement, the Dutch killed 150 savages,—not only men and women, but little children. The savages having, in various reprisals, killed 40 Dutch, burned many houses, and wrought damage reckoned, at the time when I was there, at 200,000*l*,—two hundred thousand livres,—troops were levied in New England. Accordingly, at the beginning of winter, the grass being short, and some snow on the ground, they gave the savages chase with six hundred men, two hundred

being always on the march and one set continually relieving another. The result was, that, being shut up on a great Island, and unable to flee easily, because of the women and children, there were as many as sixteen hundred killed, including women and children. This compelled the remainder of the savages to make peace, which still continues. That occurred in 1643 and 1644.

Father Isaac Jogues. 1646. Account of René Goupil (donné).

JR, 28:119 [**The torture and murder of René Goupil.*]

We departed thence on the 1st of August—the day after the feast of Our Blessed Father. On the 2nd, we encountered the enemies, who, separated into two bands, were awaiting us with the advantage which a great number of chosen men, fighting on land, can have over a small and promiscuous band, who are upon the water in scattered canoes of bark.

Nearly all the Hurons had fled into the woods, and, as they had left us, we were seized....Meanwhile, while the enemies pursued the fugitives, I heard his (Goupil's) confession, and gave him absolution,—not knowing what might befall us after our capture. The enemies having returned from their hunt, fell upon us like mad dogs, with sharp teeth,—tearing out our nails, and crushing our fingers, which he endured with much patience and courage.

His presence of mind in so grievous a mishap appeared especially in this, that he aided me, notwithstanding the pain of his wounds, as well as he could, in the instruction of the captive Hurons who were not Christians. While I was instructing them separately, and as they came, he called my attention to the fact that a poor old man, named Ondouterraon, was among those whom they would probably kill on the spot,—their custom being always to sacrifice some one in the heat of their fury. I instructed this man at leisure, while the enemies were attending to the distribution of the plunder from 12 canoes, some of which were laden with necessities for our Fathers among the Hurons. The booty being divided, they killed this poor old man,—almost at the same moment in which I had just given him a new birth through the salutary waters of holy Baptism....

I sometimes suggested to him, along the way, the idea of escaping, since the liberty which they gave us furnished him sufficient opportunities for this; but as for myself, I could not leave the french and 24 or 25 huron captives. He would never do so,—committing himself in everything to the will of Our Lord, who inspired him with no thought of doing what I proposed.

On the lake we met 200 Iroquois, who came to Richelieu while the French were beginning to build the fort; these loaded us with blows, covered us with blood, and made us experience the rage of those who are possessed by the demon....

On approaching the first village, where we were treated so cruelly, he showed a most uncommon patience and gentleness. Having fallen under the shower of blows from clubs and iron rods with which they attacked us, and

being unable to rise again, he was brought—as it were, half dead—upon the scaffold where we already were, in the middle of the village; but he was in so pitiful a condition that he would have inspired compassion in cruelty itself. He was all bruised with blows, and in his face one distinguished nothing but the whites of his eyes...

Hardly had he taken a little breath, as well as we, when they came to give him 3 blows on his shoulders with a heavy club, as they had done to us before. When they had cut off my thumb,—as I was the most conspicuous,—they turned to him and cut his right thumb at the 1st joint,—while he continually uttered, during this torment: “Jesus, Mary, Joseph.” During six days, in which we were exposed to all those who wished to do us some harm, he showed an admirable gentleness; he had his whole breast burned by the coals and hot cinders which the young lads threw upon our bodies at night, when we were bound flat on the earth. Nature furnished more skill to me than to him for avoiding a part of these pains....

But this urges me to come to his death, at which nothing was wanting to make him a Martyr.

After we had been in the country six weeks,—as confusion arose in the councils of the Iroquois, some of whom were quite willing that we should be taken back,—we lost the hope, which I did not consider very great, of again seeing 3 Rivers that year. We accordingly consoled each other in the divine arrangement of things; and we were preparing for everything that it might ordain for us.... One day, then, as in the grief of our souls we had gone forth from the Village, in order to pray more suitably and with less disturbance, two young men came after us to tell us that we must return home.... We accordingly return toward the Village, reciting our rosary, of which we had already said 4 decades. Having stopped near the gate of the Village, to see what they might say to us, one of those two Iroquois draws a hatchet, which he held concealed under his blanket, and deals a blow with it on the head of René, who was before him. He falls motionless, his face to the ground, pronouncing the holy name of Jesus (often we admonished each other that this holy name should end both our voices and our lives). At the blow, I turn round and see a hatchet all bloody; I kneel down, to receive the blow which was to unite me with my dear companion; but, as they hesitate, I rise again, and run to the dying man, who was quite near. They dealt him two other blows with the hatchet, on the head, and despatched him,—but not until I had first given him absolution...

It was the [29th] of September, the feast of st. Michael, when this Angel in innocence, and this Martyr of Jesus Christ, gave his life for him who had given him his. They ordered me to return to my cabin, where I awaited, the rest of the day and the next day, the same treatment; and it was indeed the purpose of all that I should not long delay, since that one had begun. Indeed, I passed several days on which they came to kill me; but Our Lord did not permit this, in ways which it would be tedious to explain. The next morning, I nevertheless went out to inquire where they had thrown that Blessed body, for

I wished to bury it, at whatever cost. Certain Iroquois, who had some desire to preserve me, said to me: "Thou hast no sense! Thou seest that they seek thee everywhere to kill thee, and thou still goest out. Thou wishest to go and seek a body already half destroyed, which they have dragged far from here. Dost thou not see those young men going out, who will kill thee when thou shalt be outside the stockade?" That did not stop me, and Our Lord gave me courage enough to wish to die in this act of charity. I go, I seek; and, with the aid of an Algonquin,—formerly captured, and now a true Iroquois,—I find him. The children, after he had been killed, had stripped him, and had dragged him, with a rope about his neck, into a torrent which passes at the foot of their Village. The dogs had already eaten a part of his loins. I could not keep back my tears at this sight; I took the body, and, by the aid of that Algonquin, I put it beneath the water, weighted with large stones, to the end that it might not be seen. It was my intention to come the next day with a mattock, when no one should be there, in order to make a grave and place the body therein. I thought that the corpse was well concealed; but perhaps some who saw us,—especially of the youths,—withdrew it.

Journal of the Jesuit Fathers in the year 1646.

JR, 28:147 [**The shaky peace—the Mohawks ask the French to abandon the Algonquins.*]

On the 8th [*of January, 1646], a Huron named Tandihetsi arrived from 3 rivers; he brought letters from Montreal, from richelieu and from 3 rivers, which contained, in substance, that all was well at Montreal, and that four Cabins of savages were there; that at 3 rivers there were 12 of these, but that the mingling of the faithful with Infidels and Apostates there was always injurious. They informed us that the Anniehronons [*Mohawks] who were there had gone away, to return home; that they had been pursued by an Algonquain, drunken with brandy for which those who had supplied it to him had been heavily fined; that they had not been able to prevent the drunken man from dealing a blow with a club to an Annieronon, who still complained of it on going away. The Algonquains wished to detain him forcibly until Cousture's return, but our Fathers prevented this, saying that these were not captives, but free; and that the treaty of peace was apparently not yet broken. One of them stayed behind, and became like one possessed, according to what they said.

This huron Tandihetsi did not come expressly to bring letters, but to invite Atironta, who was wintering here, and was lodged at the hospital, to come to the Council at 3 rivers,—on the part of Annerahwy and of those of his nation who were kinsmen of Atironta or of the Arendaeronons. The reason for the Council was published by all the Algonquains, and was as follows: the Annieronons, to the number of 3 or 4, while returning, spoke in confidence to Tandihetsi, who was accompanying them, and told him the secret of their country,—to wit, that no peace was desired with the Atichawata, but it was

desired with the Hurons and the french; that the french had consented thereto, and that consequently nothing but the opportunity was now awaited for exterminating the Atichawata, and that 300 Annieronons could certainly come by the middle of february for the execution of this plan.

Tandihetsi, having left the Annieronons at richelieu, continued his way as far as Montreal, and gave notice of this to Annerahwy, who came to 3 rivers, and commissioned this man to come in quest of Atironta.

The same Tandihetsi added that Monsieur de la poterie, having heard a Confirmation of that through the Annieronon who remained at 3 rivers, had assembled the Council of the Algonquains who are there, and had declared to them the whole matter, to the end that they should look to their affairs. What was surprising therein was that our Fathers sent us no word of all that.

But the most important was that,—[*translation from Latin] When these things were reported by us—that is, by me and Father de Quen—to Monsieur the Governor, he himself disclosed to us the whole matter, thus: Last summer, when the Annieronon envoys came with Cousture to treat for peace, after they had discussed and transacted many things in public, they demanded—their leader being a man named *le crochet* “the hook”—that Monsieur the Governor would consent to talk with them in a private conference. This man thought that a considerable present should be made to Monsieur the Governor, that, if he desired peace for both himself and the Hurons, he should abandon the Algonquins without shelter. When Onontio was informed of this, he would not even look at any such present, nor would he suffer it to be delivered; and he said that the thing was impossible. *Le crochet* was chagrined at this repulse, and from that time the peace seemed to be endangered. Monsieur the Governor saw this; and both Father Vimont, the superior, and Father le Jeune thought that the difficulty might be smoothed over. In a 2nd private conference,—at which, as at the former, were present Monsieur the Governor, *le Crochet*, and Cousture,—Monsieur the Governor said that there were two kinds of Algonquins,—one like ourselves, recognized as Christians; the other, unlike us. Without the former, it is certain, we do not make a peace; as for the latter, they themselves are the masters of their own actions, nor are they united with us like the others. This, as uttered by Monsieur the Governor, was, and perhaps for a worse reason, thus repeated by the envoy to his own people,—which, being understood by all the Annieronons in his country, was made public by such of them as left it, *sed merito*, denied by the french.

At this same time, the Annierohron who stayed behind asked for his dismissal; it had been granted him, in order to return to his own country with his companion of 3 rivers, who also asked leave to go, that they might return in Company. But—father de Quen having given notice that the Algonquains of Sillery were intending to play him an evil trick, while passing through their district—Monsieur the Governor found it desirable to stop him, and he was sent back to the warehouse to remain there, as the company of Atironta’s wife at the hospital could only be dangerous....

On the 23rd, Pierre boucher arrived, and Toupin his brother-in-law,—also an Annieronon from 3 rivers, who came to see his companion and take him away. They brought letters and Confirmed the idea that everything which the Huron Tandihetsi had said was false,—at least, in the main....

On the 27th, Atironta and Acharo returned; the Council, for the sake of which he had gone, ended in nothing; each one denied having been the author of the rumors, and cast back the blame upon his Companion.

JR, 28:169 [**The peace holds.*]

On the 10th [**of March, 1646*], a frenchman and a Huron, oatentak, arrived from three rivers, bringing letters and news of the return of Cousture, with 7 Annieronons and the Hurons who had gone hence. They brought many gifts for the Confirmation of the peace, etc., and, among others, an explicit disavowal of the murders in the Autumn, perpetrated by the Souriquois or the sokokiois.

JR, 28:187 [**Individual quarrel threatens the peace.*]

Item, I found that a Christian named Ignace,—an yroquois by nation, but long settled here, having picked a quarrel while Gambling with an Abnaquiois, had gone to the outside of the latter's cabin, to the place at which he supposed that this man was, in order to run him through with his javelin; but, instead of reaching the man, it encountered a woman, who was wounded, but not dangerously. That made much commotion among the savages, and greatly complicated matters on all sides. Nevertheless, the man who had dealt the stroke, coming to excuse himself before the woman's relatives, offered his own head; they gave him to understand that they pardoned him, but the affair seemed to depend on the result of the wound.

JR, 28:215 [**Montmagny gives presents to keep the Abenaki young men from going to war.*]

On the 4th [**of July, 1646*], two Abnaquiois Captains,—the principal one of whom, who was a Christian, was named Claude,—together with Noel and Jean baptiste, came to find Monsieur the governor, in order to beg him to make arrangements for a black gown to go to the Abnaquiois, to Instruct them.... Jean baptiste and noel at the same time begged Monsieur the governor to give them a present for covering the dead of the Autumn,—to stop their Young men from going to war; Monsieur the governor did so.

JR, 28:225 [**The Oneidas make war on the Algonquins of the Island and are defeated by the Iroquets.*]

About this time [**August 15, 1646*] came the news of the defeat of le borgne by the oneiochronons [**Oneidas*]; they captured a woman and killed a man, then came to excuse themselves, saying that they thought that those were Hurons. It is said that there were two or 3 Annieronons [**Mohawks*] in their

Company. That took place above the long Sault; the victors, returning, were defeated by the yroquet people; one prisoner was brought in, and the captive woman was set free.

JR, 28:239 [**The Indians at Sillery are given arquebuses.*]

In October [*1646], father le Jeune exhibited a picture to the Savages at Sillery, which had come from the queen,—containing her portrait, that of the king, etc. At the same time, they were given three Blankets and three arquebuses, at the expense of the warehouse; and we made a feast for them.

Father Hierosme Lalemant. 1646. Relation of What Occurred Most Noteworthy in the Missions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, in New France in the Years 1645 and 1646. From Quebec, October 28, 1646.

JR, 28:275 [**The conclusion of the peace treaty.*]

I say then, in the first place, that under the name of “Iroquois” we have hitherto included several confederated Nations, all enemies of the Savages who are Allied to us. These Nations have their separate names—the Annierronnons [*Mohawks], the Oniontcheronons [*Oneidas], the Onontagueronons [*Onondagas], the Sonontwaëronons [*Seneca], and others. We have as yet no peace, in a proper sense, except with the Annierronnons, who are nearest our settlements, and who were giving us most trouble. Henceforth we will distinguish these tribes by their proper and special names, so as to avoid confusion.

In the second place, besides these Iroquois there are other Nations, more to the North, who seem disposed to undertake war with our Savages,—as the Sokoquiois, whom our Savages call Assokwekik; and the Mahingans, or Mahinganak [*Mahicans], with whom the Algonquins formerly had extensive alliances,—but, the Annierronnon Iroquois having subdued them, they have ranged themselves upon their side. There are others, as the Abnaquiois, who are friends to us.

I will remark, in the third place, that last year, at the departure of the fleet, when we were tasting the sweetness of the incipient peace, news was brought to us that three Savages of the village of St. Joseph, or Sillery, had been killed, and some others severely wounded. This report tempered our joy with wormwood, in the doubt lest the Annierronnons had acted in bad faith with us. Finally, after all possible investigation, we found that one of the most fervent Christians of Sillery, or of saint Joseph, had been treacherously slain, with two baptized young lads; that the son of François Xavier Nenaskoumat—one of the two chief pillars of the Savage reduction—had been mortally wounded. Indeed, this man came to give up the ghost very piously in our arms, after having received in the Hospital at Kebec all the charitable attentions with which a poor sick man can be assisted. In that treacherous attack, his wife was left

for dead; they removed a part of the skin and the hair from her head, but Our Lord restored her health. It was a consolation to us that these last two did not die on the spot; for they assured us that the language of the murderers was altogether different from the language of the Iroquois; that stayed the hatchets of the Algonquins, who would not have failed to beat to death some Annierronnons who at that time happened to be among them and among us. At last, it was discovered that this murder had been committed by the Sokoquois, two of whose tribe—having chanced to be, some years before, on the borders of the Iroquois—had been killed by some montagnais warriors; and another had been very badly treated by the Algonquins, but ransomed and sent back to his own country by Monsieur our Governor.

The Devil, foreseeing that the peace would trouble his kingdom, had striven to break it; but the Angel of the Church of God has kept it fast locked; he has brought to a happy conclusion that which has been desired for so many years with a confident humility, and a Christian patience.

The Annierronnon Iroquois have hunted with every liberty in the borders of the Algonquins, and the latter have seen and received them with friendliness, and have conducted them to our settlements; there is no place in all these quarters where from time to time some Annierronnons have not been seen. Those who know the antipathy between these peoples and their frightful proneness to vengeance, regard it as a miracle whenever they see a friendly understanding between an Algonquin and an Iroquois.

It was written last year, how the Annierronnon Ambassadors, having negotiated with the French for a universal peace, had withdrawn to their own country in order to report the word and the voice of Onontio,—that is to say, the opinions of Monsieur our Governor. The Frenchman who had long been a captive in their country, accompanied them, with orders to be present in all their assemblies; here follows what he has observed therein.

Having left the French, they were eighteen days on the way; and, three days after their arrival in the country, the principal persons having assembled from various places, behaved in this manner: Before those Ambassadors spoke, they were given a present, in order to soften the tones of their voices, so that the words of Onontio, which they had received by their ears, might issue without difficulty and without roughness from their lips. This gift made, the Frenchman, who has knowledge of their language, and those Ambassadors, displayed the presents with which they were charged, and then harangued to the satisfaction of all the people. Their speeches finished, the Captains also made other presents, to be conveyed to Onontio and to his confederates.

The first served as a bath in which those Ambassadors, fatigued from the journey, might refresh themselves; or as an ointment which would cure the wounds that the stones, the briars, and the thickets, encountered in so long a journey, might have caused to their feet.

The second proclaimed that their war hatchet—according to the desire of

Onontio, suspended in the air without finishing its blow until the answer of the Hurons and of the Algonquins—had lost its use; and that it had been thrown so far that not a man in the world could ever find it again,—that is, that, the Hurons and the Algonquins having entered into peace, the Annierronnons had no more arms except for the chase.

The third indicated the grief which the Annierronnons received from their miserable daughter onnieoute, who despised the voice of her mother and the counsel of her father; that she was so insolent as even to have sent some of her children to Montreal, in order to surprise those who should happen to be in that country. Onnieoute is a village which, the greatest part of its men having been defeated in war by the upper Algonquins, was constrained to call the Annierronnons to repeople it; thence it comes that the Annierronnons call it their “daughter.” Monsieur the Governor having invited it, as his child, to enter upon a general peace through the mediation of the Annierronnons, they say that it is rebellious to its father and mother. Time will bring about everything, and God will give fruits in his season.

The fourth was a public token of the gratitude of all the villages of the Annierronnons, that Onontio had leveled the earth and united the hearts.

The fifth was an act of thanks to the same Onontio, whom they recognized as the common father of all those Nations,—giving him a thousand praises for having restored sense to the Algonquins, which no other had been able to do before him.

The sixth was a request which they submitted to him, that he should cause fires to be kindled in all the settlements of his government, so that all the Nations coming thither to warm themselves in safety, may listen to his voice and enjoy his friendship; and, in case there occurs some difference, that he be the umpire of the Iroquois, the Hurons, and the Algonquins.

These presents made, there was mention only of feasts, of dances, and of public rejoicings. They spent ten days in these balls and feasts, and then they sent away the Frenchman with seven Ambassadors to convey those gifts, and to rejoice with the French and with their allies over the conclusion of peace.

These Ambassadors having reached, by land, the lake where they must embark, did not find their canoes or their boats of bark; some disaffected person or some thief had broken these, or carried them away; insomuch that they were constrained to retrace their country,—such would be the evil results of your temerity. Begone; hide these heads, take away these bonds; as we have but one heart, we desire but one tongue.”

If there is deceit in this act, it is more than very subtle; and it seems that reason invites these peoples to embrace the peace. God has given them a feeling that the demon of war, which had always favored them, was about to leave them; the resolution of some Algonquins and Hurons—who, having bravely fought toward the last, had taken some Iroquois captive—confirmed this idea. In the second place, as they are hunters, and as most of the animals are on the marches of the Algonquins, they have a great desire to shoot these at their ease

and without fear. Indeed, they have not stinted themselves in this; for it is said that they have killed more than two thousand deer this winter.

Thirdly, the Annierronnon prisoner whom the Hurons had taken near Richelieu, and whom they had led away to their own country, having returned to his native land, has spoken highly of the French; he has given his countrymen to understand that if Onontio lends a hand to the Hurons, the misfortune will fall on their own heads.

*Of the Coming of Seven Iroquois Ambassadors
to the French and Their Negotiations.*

On the 22nd of February in this current year, 1646, seven Annierronnon Iroquois and two Hurons, accompanied by the Frenchman whom I have mentioned above, appeared at Montreal; after having rejoiced that settlement, they come down to the three Rivers, whence advice is sent to Monsieur our Governor of their coming. Now, as this journey had been made over the snows, and as the cold was still causing the ice to accumulate upon our great river, the Annierronnons went away to the chase,—some on this side, some beyond,—while waiting for the month of May, when Monsieur the Governor went up to that settlement.

On the seventh of that month, he gave them audience; here follows what occurred in that assembly.

The most considerable person, raising his voice, chanted a song of thanksgiving. “We were dead,” said he, “and behold us alive; we were bringing our own heads to be sacrificed to the shades of the Algonquins or of the montagnais who were massacred last Autumn,—surely anticipating that we should be held guilty of that murder; but Onontio, staying the wrath of the Algonquins, has made our innocence manifest.” Thereupon they draw forth a gift, and cast it at the feet of the relatives and allies of the departed,—saying that it was to cleanse the place, all bloody, from a murder committed by treachery; and protesting that they had had no knowledge of it until after the act was done, and that all the Captains of the country had condemned this outrage.

It is the custom of the peoples of these countries, when some person of consideration among them is dead, to dry the tears of his relatives by some present. This Captain having learned, on his arrival, of the death—no less glorious than sad—of Father Anne de Noüe of our Society, wished to observe the law of his country. He lifted his eyes to Heaven, as if complaining of its severity; then, turning toward the black robes, he, threw down some Porcelain bracelets. “That,” said he, “is to warm again the place where, the cold has caused this good Father to die; put this little gift in your bosom, to divert yourself from the thoughts which might sadden you.”

They next offered the presents which had been confided to them in their own country,—which I have mentioned in the preceding Chapter,—betokening their joy to see themselves united and allied to the French, the Hurons, and

the Algonquins, who are the three most considerable Nations with which they have negotiated peace,—all the others being comprised under these three most important. They made some other presents to the Hurons, in order to give them warning to be on their guard in the roads, until the upper Iroquois—the Onontagueronons, the Sonontweronons, and some others—should have their ears pierced,—that is to say, open to the benignity of peace.

In short, they offered a *brasse* of Porcelain to kindle a council fire at three Rivers, and a great necklace of three thousand beads to serve as wood, or fuel for this fire. The Savages hold scarcely any assembly without the *calumet* filled with tobacco in their mouths; and, as fire is necessary to the use of tobacco, they nearly always kindle fires at all their assemblies,—insomuch that it is the same thing with them to light a council fire, or to keep a place suitable for assembling, or a house for visiting one another, as do relatives and friends.

Two days after this assembly, Monsieur our Governor, very prudently adapting himself to the usages among these peoples, sent for those deputies; he dealt with them according to their customs; the Hurons who were there, and the Algonquins, did not fail to be present.

The Frenchman who understands the Iroquois language offered a gift on behalf of Onontio, to congratulate the Annierronnon Iroquois, and in token of the esteem in which he held their nation for having kept its word.

He made another, to signify the satisfaction that he received on seeing the earth leveled, and the hatchet lifted and removed from the heads of the Hurons and the Algonquins; for, as regards the French, their peace was made from the time of the first interview.

In the third place, he offered a necklace of a thousand Porcelain beads, for assurance that he would keep lighted that council fire which they had requested at three Rivers, and that the fuel should not fail for it,—that is to say, that they would always be welcome, and that hearing would be given to the Captains who should come to treat of affairs.

A fourth present was made, to give them to understand that Onontio desired to see the little Frenchman who alone had remained a prisoner in their country.

And a fifth, for causing the return of his daughter, named Therese, so that she might prepare Indian corn in their fashion, to feast them when they should wish to visit us.

Mention has often been made, in the Relations, of this girl: she is a Huron, who, having been instructed at the Seminary of the Ursulines, was captured by the Iroquois, with her relatives, when the latter were taking her back to her own country. The Ursuline Mothers—not being able to endure that this poor little creature should remain in that captivity, remote from all the helps which could open for her the gates of salvation—have spared no pains, and have moved Heaven and earth to procure her liberty.

Monsieur our Governor, approving this great zeal and this great charity,

has lost no opportunity for releasing her from that slavery, and of cooperating in the matter with all his power.

Tesouëhat,—called by the Hurons and the Iroquois, Ondesson; and by the French, le Borgne of the Isle,—seeing that our Interpreter spoke no more, chanted a rather lugubrious song; then, lifting his eyes to Heaven, prayed the Sun to be a spectator and to serve as witness of all that occurred in this action, and with his light to make evident the sincerity of his heart and of his intentions. Again he chanted another song; and then, raising his voice, he harangued in the name of all the Algonquins, whose words he conveyed. The first was a protestation that a breach of the peace would not proceed from his side; and, in token of this truth, he presented two robes of Elk skins,—adding, that he had some distrust of the Annierronnons, which he wished to banish by this gift.

The second gift was also of two robes, on which those Ambassadors were to repose themselves, in order to be refreshed from the toil of their journey.

The third conveyed a humble prayer to Onontio, that he should not walk all alone in safety within the roads which he had leveled and broken; but that this happiness should also be common to the Algonquins and to the Hurons. In a word, this man, utterly distrustful and suspicious, was afraid that the French might make their peace in private, without troubling themselves about the Savages, their allies.

The fourth gift gave assurance that the Algonquins had also laid down their arms, and thrown their hatchets into a land unknown to all men.

The fifth requested that no false alarms be given; that the chase be everywhere free; that the landmarks and the boundaries of all those great countries be raised; and that each one should find himself everywhere in his own country.

The sixth assured the Annierronnons that they could freely come to warm themselves at the fire which Onontio had kindled for them at three Rivers; that the Algonquins and the Iroquois would smoke there with pleasure, and that their pipes or their calumets would not burn,—that is to say, that fear would cause no one to tremble there. All these gifts were each composed of two Elk robes, handsomely painted and well trimmed in their fashion.

The last included twelve of these beautiful robes, four for each of the three villages of the Annierronnons, entreating those tribes to give liberty to the children of the Algonquins, or even to the adult persons who should still be in their country; with assurances that the fat would not be spared for the stomachs of those who should lead them back, and that they would find ointments with which to anoint their heads,—in a word, he meant that they would be given good cheer, and that their trouble would be amply rewarded.

These gifts accepted, Kioutsæton, principal Ambassador of the Annierronnons, addressing the Hurons, made them a present of thanksgiving because they had done no harm to the Annierronnon prisoners whom they had taken the year before. He told them, parenthetically, that they would have done well to distribute those prisoners among the other Iroquois nations, their allies;

that they would have obliged them, by this deference, to engage in a universal peace; that, in course of time, they might obtain this good fortune, but that they should still beware of them upon their journeys.

He made them a second present, to invite them to prepare a feast for the Annierronnons, who would go to visit them in their country as their true friends; saying that if these delayed for some time, the Hurons should eat what they might have prepared, on condition of immediately setting the pot back on the fire, for fear of being surprised, since his people were making ready for this journey.

On the thirteenth of the same month of May, Monsieur our Governor entertained these Deputies in the cabin of an Algonquin Captain. Two speeches were conveyed to them by two gifts; the first was only an expression of thanks because they had not been willing to accept the heads or the scalps of his allies from the Sokoquois.

The second indicated to them that he had resolved to send two Frenchmen into their country, and that they would probably start in three days. This made the Algonquins resolve to give them two of their nation, to be of the party.

The conclusion of these assemblies was always marked by public rejoicings; but those who penetrated deeper than the bark admired the conduct of God, and gave him a thousand blessings for his kindnesses.

JR, 29:47 [**Father Jogues returns to Iroquoia.*]

Monsieur our Governor having resolved to send two Frenchmen to the country of the Annierronnons,—in order to convey to them his word, and to betoken to them his joy and satisfaction over the peace happily concluded,—Father Isaac Jogues was presented to him, to be of the party. As he had already purchased an acquaintance with these peoples and their language, with a coin more precious than gold or silver, he was soon accepted; the Iroquois welcomed him, and he who had sustained the weight of war, was not for retreating in time of peace. He was very glad to sound their friendship, after having experienced the rage of their enmity. He was not ignorant, however, of the inconstancy of these Barbarians; the difficulty of the roads was patent to him, as a man who had experienced it; he saw the dangers into which he was throwing himself; but he who never risks for God will never be an extensive dealer in the riches of Heaven.

JR, 29:53 [**Father Jogues holds a council with the Mohawks.*]

On the 10th of June, honored by the feast of the holy Trinity, he gave this Most holy name to that village. There was held, at the same time, a general assembly of all the principal Captains and elders of the country; there were exhibited the gifts which the sieur Bourdon brought with the Father; there were also present the two Algonquins who accompanied them.

Silence procured, the Father sets forth the word of Onontio and of all the French, betokened by the gifts of which I have given the explanation in the pre-

ceding Chapter. He indicates the joy that was caused by the sight of the Ambassadors, and the satisfaction of all the people at the conclusion of the peace between the French, the Iroquois, the Hurons, and the Algonquins. He assures them that the council fire is lighted at three Rivers; he presents a necklace of 5000 Porcelain beads, in order to break the bonds of the little Frenchman captive in their country, and the like for the deliverance of Therese; he thanks them for having refused the heads of the montagnais or of the Algonquins massacred by the Sokoquiois. He made a special present of 3000 Porcelain beads to one of the great families of the Annierronnon scattered through their three villages, in order to keep a fire always lighted when the French should come to visit them.

His harangue was favorably heard, and his gifts very well received. He spoke next for the Algonquins, who were not acquainted, with the Iroquois language, and who were somewhat ashamed at the lack of a great part of their presents; for, of 24 robes of Elk skins, they had left 14 on the way, as we have remarked. The Father excused them by reason of the injury received by one of those two young men, through the weight of his burden, and the difficulty of the roads. He failed not to give the sense of all these speeches, and to specify all these gifts, insomuch that the assembly was satisfied there—with, to the extent that afterward the Iroquois responded with two gifts which they made to the Algonquins; and they sent two others for the Hurons.

As for what concerned Onontio and the French,—as a favor to whom they had made peace with their allies,—they answered with more pomp and with a great manifestation of affection. At the request of the little Frenchman, they drew forth a necklace of 2000 beads. “There,” said they, “is the bond which held him captive; take the prisoner and his chain, and do with them according to the will of Onontio.”

As for Therese, whom they had given in marriage after her captivity, they answered that she would be restored as soon as she should return to their country; and, in token of the truth of their word, they offered a necklace of 1500 Porcelain beads. The family of which we have spoken—which is named “the Wolf family”—assured the French, by a beautiful gift of 36 palms of Porcelain, that they should always have a secure dwelling among them, and that the Father, in particular, would always find his little mat all ready to receive him, and a fire lighted to warm him. All this was done with great demonstrations of good will.

But some distrustful minds did not look with favor on a little chest, which the Father had left as an assurance of his return; they imagined that some misfortune disastrous to the whole country was shut up in that little box. The Father, to undeceive them, opened it, and showed them that it contained no other mystery than some small necessities for which he might have use.

I was almost forgetting to say that the Father, having remarked in the assembly some Iroquois from the country of the Onondaéronnons, made them in public a gift of 2000 Porcelain beads, in order to make them understand the design which the French had in going to see them in their country; and told them

that he made them this gift in advance, so that they would not be surprised at seeing the faces of the French. He said that, furthermore, the French had three roads by which to go to visit them,—one through the Annierronnons; another, by the great Lake which they name Ontario, or Lake of St. Louys; the third, through the land of the Hurons. Some of the elders manifested surprise at this proposition. “It is necessary,” they said, “to take the road which Onontio has opened; the others are too dangerous; one meets in them only people of war, men with painted and figured faces, with clubs and war hatchets, who seek only to kill,”—adding that the way which leads into their country was now excellent, entirely cleared, and very secure. But the Father followed up his point, not considering it expedient to depend on the Annierronnons, in order to go up into the Nations above. He put his gift in the hands of the Iroquois, who promised, in presence of the Onondaeronnons, to go and present it to the Captains and elders of their country. Thus ended the public affairs, in which the Father was not forgetful of those more private and important. He gathered some few Christians,—who are still there,—instructed them, and administered to them the Sacrament of Penance; he often made the round of the cabins, visited the sick, and sent to Heaven by the waters of Baptism some poor dying creatures,—predestined, however, to riches.

After all these assemblies, the Annierronnons urged the departure of the French,—saying that a band of Iroquois from above had started in order to await, at the passage, the Hurons who were to come down to the French; and that those warriors would move thence to Montreal, in order to come and cross before Richelieu, and go back to their own country by the river of the Iroquois. “We do not believe,” said they, “that they will do you any harm when they meet you; but we fear for the two Algonquins who are with you.”

The Father thereupon told them, very pertinently, that he was astonished to see how they permitted those upper Iroquois to come down into their district, and proceed to make war within their limits, descending the rapids and waterfalls which were of the jurisdiction and within the marches of the Annierronnons. “We have given them warning of this,” they answered. “What then?” said the Father, “do they despise your commands? Do you not see that all the lawless acts that they may commit will be imputed to you?” They opened their eyes at this argument, and promised to apply to the matter an efficacious remedy.

JR, 29:81 [**Christianity changes the Algonquin attitude toward war and revenge.*]

The preceding Relations have made mention of the most blessed death of a Neophyte named François Xavier Nenaskoumat; it was he who, in company with Noël Negabamat, laid the first foundations of Christianity in the residence of St. Joseph. He left two children, a boy and a girl; the latter is married, and leads a very Christian life. His son, who was named Vincent Xavier Nipikiwigan, was miserably wounded to death this last Autumn by the

Sokoquois, of whom we have spoken herein above. This poor man was brought back to Kebec, and taken to the Hospital, where he was received and treated with great charity; seeing that his wounds were incurable, he wished to die with the Christians of St. Joseph. He delighted, both in his sickness and at his death, all those who knew the emotions of his heart. One of the strangest passions of the Savages is vengeance against their enemies; it was not possible, at the beginning, to persuade them that it was well done to pray for these,—they were scandalized at that. “Thou dost not love us,” they said to the Father who was giving them this counsel; “that prayer is of no use; what good can come to us, if God bless or succor our enemies?” Those who believe have indeed changed their tone; this man—treacherously murdered, without ever having committed any act of hostility against that nation, which they did not wish to have as an enemy—not only forgave his murderers, but often prayed God to bless them, and to do them the favor of converting them.

JR, 29:145 [**Rumors of war and ambush shake the peace, ca. 1646.*]

Peace, union, and concord have flourished this year in the Island of Montreal; confidence has prevailed among the French, and fear has, from time to time, troubled the Savages....

Teswëhat,—otherwise le Borgne of the Island,—Tawichkaron, Captain of the Onontchataronons, and Makatewanakisitch, Captain of the Mataouchkairiniwek, had resolved to dwell there, to spend the winter there, and there to plant Indian corn in the Spring. The false reports which were current, that the Annierronnons [**Mohawks*] had made only a feigned peace, gave the alarm to the camp, and caused Teswëhat and his troop to dislodge in order to withdraw to three Rivers. The Onontchataronons, whose ancestors formerly inhabited the Island of Montreal, and who seem to have some desire to recover it as their country, remained firm, and, after their example, the Mataouchkairiniwek.

These false reports were followed by another, better founded, which was likely to banish from Montreal all these poor Savages. The Annierronnon Iroquois told them that the Oneiochronons [**Oneidas*] and the Onontagueronons [**Onondagas*] had not entered into the treaty of peace which the former had made with the Algonquins and the Hurons; and that, consequently, they should hold themselves on their guard, because those tribes had set out to surprise the Hurons, and thence come to attack Montreal. Terror seized some of them, who fled like the others. Teswëhat, who had withdrawn among the first, sends messengers, one after another, in order to urge those who remained to come down as soon as possible,—that otherwise they are all dead; but the chase, it is to be supposed, detained them. Indeed, it is excellent in these quarters, because the game, during the war, was as in a neutral region, where the enemy scoured neither the open country nor the woods. Those two squads, having taken resolution to remain, notwithstanding all the dangers with which they were threatened, have passed the winter without any harm, slain animals in

abundance, and cultivated some lands in the Spring. That has not been done without dread and terror,—for from time to time they mistook shadows for men, and phantoms for realities. It is true, nevertheless, that those tribes with which they were threatened were in arms. We have learned this Spring that they have nearly destroyed a village of Hurons; and that Teswêhat, going back to his own country, lost one of those who accompanied him, in an ambush that they set for him,—this was a young man who, being hit by an arquebus shot, was carried back to Montreal.... Unless those tribes make peace, as it is hoped that they will do, or unless the Annierronnons prevent them from crossing through their lands, as they have been requested, they will give no rest to the Savages who shall withdraw to Montreal. Those barbarians have shown that they were friends to the French; but if they came to seek Algonquins or Hurons, and found none of them, I would not like them to encounter Europeans when they had the advantage,—for, when they come to war, they take no pleasure in returning empty-handed to their own country; they very often make enemies for themselves, when they have none. Let us now come down somewhat more to particulars. As this Island is, in some sort, a frontier of the Annierronnon Iroquois, it has, nearly all the winter, some young men of those tribes who come through curiosity to see the French and the Algonquins. It was very fortunate that Father Isaac Jogues happened to be in this settlement, for he maintained their kindly feeling and their desire to continue the peace,—preparing them, little by little, to lend ear to him, when he should go to visit them in their own country.

Those Barbarians looked at the places where they had come in war, where they had massacred French and Algonquins, where they had taken prisoners; and when they were asked how they had treated those whom they had led away into their country, “We were not present,” they said, “when they were taken into our villages; they were not tortured.” We know quite the contrary; for a young Algonquin who has escaped from their hands, has assured us that he had seen them actually burned alive; that the Iroquois have never treated any prisoner with greater rage; that they used all their efforts to make them weep; that those poor Frenchmen were joining their hands in the midst of the flames, and were looking toward Heaven; that the Algonquin women, captive in that country, seeing them in those horrible sufferings, were unable to contain their tears,—stooping and hiding themselves in order to weep. That time of fury is passed: those monsters will become changed into men, and from men they will become children of God. This people, elated with its victories, is haughty even in the land of its enemies. One of them was singing these words in the presence of the Algonquins: “I wished to kill some Algonquins, but Onontio has arrested my anger, he has leveled the earth, he has saved the lives of many men,”—intending to signify that, but for the peace, he would have struck down a great number of his enemies.

Some others having encountered a small cabin of Algonquins who were hunting, the women, having perceived them, fled into the depth of the woods, except one old woman, who having no more use of her legs, acted the resolute.

Those Iroquois shout to her that they are friends; “Very well,” she answers, “come into our cabin to refresh yourselves.” The men, arriving toward evening, found these guests, who were making sport of the dread of the Algonquins; but the latter answered them gently: “We dread only the wicked; you are good. It is not you who give us fear, but the Onontagueronons, who are wanting in sense, since they have refused you to enter into the treaty of peace which you have made with us.”

JR, 29:173 [**A fragment of the pre-colonial history of Montreal.*]

An old [**Algonquin*] man, aged perhaps 80 years, has retired to Montreal. “Here,” said he, “is my country. My mother told me that while we were young, the Hurons making war on us, drove us from this Island; as for me, I wish to be buried in it, near my ancestors.” This man has been a warrior; his mind was very averse to our belief.

JR, 29:229 [**Skirmish between the Oneidas and the Hurons.*]

Here is an incident which recently happened. Seventeen warriors from Ononniote, having placed themselves in ambush, wounded to death a young lad of the band of Teswehat, Captain of the Island,—as we have said herein above,—and besides took two women, one of whom was already very aged. While they were returning thence to their own country, dragging after them those two poor creatures, they perceived from afar a canoe of Hurons, and were at the same time discovered by those who were guiding that canoe. Straightway the Hurons, who numbered thirty warriors, disembark, in order to take counsel as to what they should do. Those of Ononniote do the same. Neither party knew the number of the other. The Captains of these two little bands encourage their people; they exhort them not to recede, and to die rather than to give way. It is the custom of those Captains, when they find themselves on the verge of combat, to draw forth sticks which they purposely carry with them, and to present these to their men that they may fix them in the ground,—that they may protest by this act that these sticks will sooner leave their place than they will retreat. However, it happens very often that, the sticks remaining firm, the warriors nevertheless flee. These latter having fastened their sticks well forward, and sworn, after their fashion, that they would die sooner than waver in the combat, those of Ononniote come the first, in order to attack the Hurons, who were a point behind. At their approach, there arose a great shout on both sides, according to the custom of the Savages, to whom this noise serves for trumpets and drums. The Hurons—imagining that their enemies, forestalling them, were in great number—fled straightway into the woods, with the exception of those who held firm as well as their sticks, and were resolved to die on the spot. Those of Ononniote having recognized that the shout of the Hurons at the start was greater than their own, all fled, so that not a single one was left; the five Hurons who had not given way found themselves without friends or enemies, and they looked at one another in astonishment. The two captive women—seeing that all

the people were running, some hither, some thither—unbind each other and escape into the woods, as well as the rest. While they were fleeing in disorder, one of these women encounters a Huron; they recognize each other, and that poor prisoner relates her fortune, and says that those of Ononiotte were only seventeen. The Huron, quite surprised, immediately runs to notify his comrades; he shouts with all his might: they rally themselves and begin to run, to cut off their enemies' path. They succeed in catching one of them, whom they bring to Montreal; and they gave liberty to that captive Algonquin woman....Monsieur d'Allibout strove, as well as he could, to release that prisoner from the hands of the Hurons, in order to make peace with his nation; he offered great presents for his deliverance. But, seeing that those young warriors wished to take him into their own country, he begged them, by a gift, to save his life, and to conduct him back the next year to Onontio,—intending to make alliance with those tribes by the mediation of that prisoner. Some time later, three hundred Hurons having come down to three Rivers, Monsieur our Governor urged them not to ill-use that prisoner whom they had taken into their country, and to bring him back in due time, according to the promise that had been given him by those who had the prisoner in their hands. Sixty worthy Huron Christians appeared in this assembly, where on behalf of the Iroquois presents were made,—in token that they were enjoying the quietness of the peace; and in order to assure the Hurons and the Algonquins that, if they killed any one of their nation in their combats with the *Sountwaronons* [*Senecas] the country would not undertake the defense of such. In this council the Hurons set aside some presents for the Iroquois, beseeching Ondesson—this is the name which they give to Father Isaac Jogues—to convey their word to those peoples.

Father Paul Ragueneau. 1646. Relation of what occurred most noteworthy in the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus among the Hurons, a country of New France from the month of May in the year 1645, until the month of May in the year 1646. From the Hurons, May 1, 1646.

JR, 29:247 [**War continues in Huronia despite the peace with the Mohawks.*]

Although, truly speaking, this past year cannot be called a happy one for our Hurons, yet, their misfortunes having been less frequent than in the past, I may compare them to those who, having been submerged for a time in the storm of some tempest, begin to breathe again from their shipwreck. The earth has been more liberal than last year,—the Indian corn, which is the chief of their riches, having come almost everywhere to a fortunate maturity. The lakes and the rivers have furnished them with fish in abundance. The trade which they have had with distant nations has brought them no little gain. All those who went down, last Summer, to the warehouses at Quebec and Three Rivers, having found the entire road at peace, through the care of Monsieur de Montmagny, our governor, have filled the country with joy as well as with our French wares, of which last they had seen themselves robbed, during five or six

years past, by the hostile Iroquois, who were rendering that commerce impossible,—or, at least, so perilous that it cost life and martyrdoms of fire most of those who fell into their hands. The contagious diseases which were depopulating our villages now leave them at rest.

It is only the war that keeps affairs in suspense, for it still continues with the four Iroquois nations nearest to our Hurons; it is only the fifth, the most distant from here [*the Mohawks] which has entered into the treaty of peace that began last year. I mean to say that, in the various encounters which our Hurons have had within a year with their enemies, the successes of their arms have been divided.

At the beginning of Spring, a band of Iroquois—having landed near one of our frontier villages, by favor of a very dark night, and having concealed itself in the woods—surrounded a company of women who were just going out for work in the fields, and so quickly carried them off in their canoes, that two hundred men in arms, who ran up at their first cries, could not arrive soon enough to save one of them, but were only in time to witness the sad tears of their wives, their mothers, and their children, who were taken captive.

Toward the end of the Summer,—the Iroquois and our Hurons having taken the field on both sides, and having come to hostilities in the midst of the woods,—our Hurons had so resolutely thrown themselves upon the enemy intrenched in a fort, where he had passed the night, that the victory was already half won, if their tactics had corresponded to their courage. The Iroquois demand a parley, and protest that they have only designs of peace; they throw down their arquebuses and tie them in bundles, to show that they have not even the intention to fight, even should the Hurons choose to massacre them all; they display great porcelain collars, which dazzle the eyes of our Huron Captains; they present to the young men, who are quite famished, many elk, Deer, and Bears, entire, which they had taken by the way; they invite the elders to an amicable conference; and they distribute much tobacco, in order meanwhile to entertain the rest of the army.

During this negotiation, an Iroquois—who had formerly sojourned a very long time here, a captive among the Hurons, and had become naturalized with them; but within these last years had been recovered by the enemies,—gave them, himself alone, the victory. This man detaches himself from his people, and makes his way into the Huron army, where—having perceived certain men of note, dissatisfied at not having been called to that council of peace—he scatters distrust in their minds, persuades some that there is treason, and corrupts others by presents. Finally, he acts his character so well that—these latter having withdrawn from the army, others having taken flight, and everything being in disorder—the enemy recovered their spirits, and fell upon those who, having lost the thoughts of fighting, saw themselves conquered in their victory. Some were massacred on the spot, and others dragged into captivity,—most having found their safety only in flight.

Our Hurons too have had, in their turn, success in warfare, have put to

flight the enemy, and have carried off their spoils and some number of captives; these have served as victims to their flames, and to the bonfires that they have made of them, with the cruelties common to these peoples.

I speak not of various massacres which have occurred on both sides, in secret, as it were—though I cannot pass over in silence two acts of courage which deserve to find some room here.

Our Hurons, having had information of an army which had designs on the Village of Saint Joseph, were awaiting that enemy there, fully resolved to combat him. The young men keep guard at night, mounting aloft on their watch-towers, and uttering various war songs in voices so terrible that, the fields and the neighboring forests bearing them still further, no one can doubt that they are prepared for the combat. Some Iroquois adventurers who, notwithstanding these cries, had secretly made their approaches, performed an act sufficiently resolute. Seeing that sleep was causing those sentinels to be silent,—the dawn of day, which was beginning to break, having entirely removed their distrust concerning the enemy,—one of these Iroquois climbs alone, like a squirrel, to the top of the watch-tower, and finds two men asleep there. He splits the head of one, dashes down the second and throws him to his companions, who cut and remove the skin from his head, while the murderer was descending; and all escaped by running, so swiftly that the Hurons, hastening to the voices of those who were being slaughtered, could never catch them.

To avenge this affront, three Hurons, some time after, struck a blow not less daring. After twenty days' march, they arrive at Sonnontouan [*chief village of the Senecas], the most populous of the hostile villages; finding there the cabins closed, they break into one of them, at the side, and enter it in the silence and darkness of the night. They rekindle the fires therein, which had gone out; by favor of this new light, each one chooses his man, in order to split his head. They remove their hair, as is usual with the victors, set fire to the cabin, and inspire terror in the Village,—whence they withdraw, with so much good fortune and skill that more than nine hundred warriors could never arrest their flight.

Such are the wars of these peoples, the scourge of which has not fallen upon the infidels alone,—several of our Christians having been killed or taken in these encounters, and having left us only this consolation, that Heaven finds itself each year enriched by our losses.

Section Four

“My Pen Can No Longer Express the Fury of the Iroquois”

Shattered Peace, Iroquois Victory, and the Destruction of the Hurons

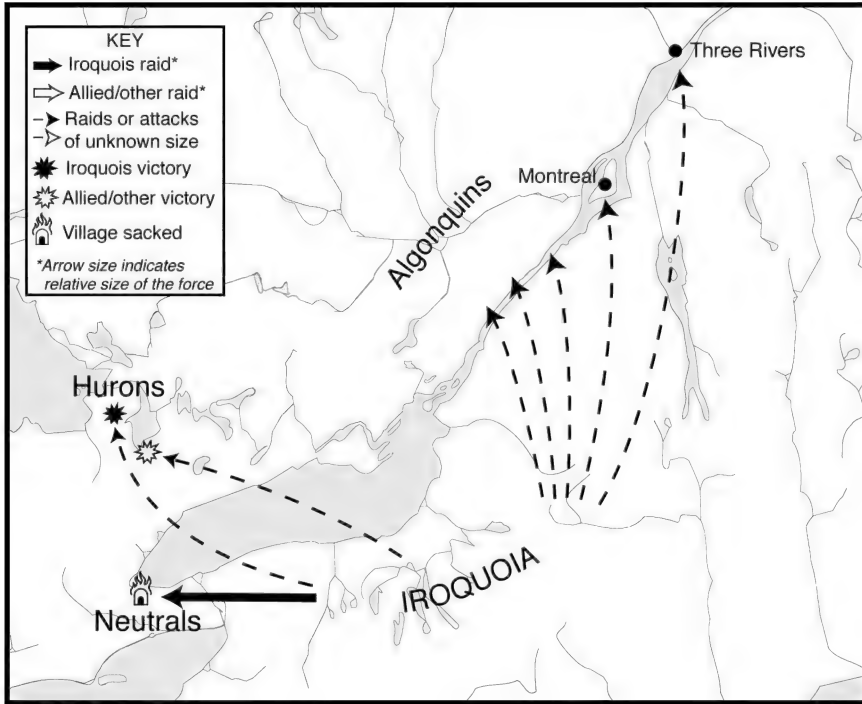
1647–1650

The murder of Father Jogues while an ambassador in Mohawk country in 1646 spelled the end of the peace which had been painstakingly concluded the previous year. Using the element of surprise to their advantage, the Mohawks launched damaging raids against the unsuspecting Algonquins in 1647. In this same year, the Hurons defeated an Onondaga war party and arranged a truce with this nation of the Iroquois under favorable circumstances. Unfortunately, the more powerful Senecas and Mohawks continued on the warpath against the Hurons, ravaging Huronia and pressing them to the point that no Hurons were able to ascend the St. Lawrence that year to trade with the French.

The year 1648 brought no respite for the beleaguered Hurons, who were increasingly imperiled even within sight of their own villages. Responding to the pressure, the Arendaenronnon Hurons abandoned their frontier villages and moved to more populous areas. In July, a large Iroquois force destroyed and burned the Huron town of Teanaustayé (St. Joseph). Though the Huron trading flotilla was able to force its way through to the French, the soldiers and supplies they brought back were not enough to withstand the approaching whirlwind.

In March of 1649, an Iroquois army some 1,200 strong appeared in Huronia. They destroyed the villages of Taenhatentaron (St. Ignace) and St. Louis and defeated a Huron war party of 300 warriors. This terrible defeat caused a general panic among the Hurons and a complete collapse of their confederacy. The remnants of the Hurons abandoned their villages and scattered in every direction, many seeking refuge on St. Joseph Island. There they suffered through a horrible famine and were continuously harassed by Iroquois raiding parties. During the winter of 1649–1650, the Iroquois destroyed the Petun village of Etharita (St. Jean) and raided deep into the country of the Algonquins, destroying the dwelling places of the Nipissings and others.

By the time a bedraggled group of Huron and Jesuit refugees made its way to Quebec in July 1650, the formerly powerful Huron confederacy was no more and the Iroquois reigned supreme along the banks of the St. Lawrence and the shores of Lake Ontario.



Map 4. The peace is broken, 1647. With the renewal of war, the Mohawks launched surprise raids, catching river traffic and Algonquin fishing and hunting camps unawares. In Huronia, an Onondaga war party is defeated, spurring peace talks. However, the Senecas and Mohawks menace the Huron frontier, finally forcing the Arendaenronnon Hurons to abandon their towns.

Journal of the Jesuit Fathers. 1647.

JR, 30:161 [**Iroquois depredations indicate a breaking of the peace.*]

On the 11th [**of March, 1647*] came the news of the robbery of two frenchmen's houses by the yroquois, near 3 rivers, and of the pursuit of the Algonquains by these yroquois: this robbery occurred on Ash Wednesday....

On the 22nd came the certain news of the capture of a hundred Algonquains, or thereabout, by the treacherous hyroquois,—who, having wintered here the past year, and knowing every turn and byway, came to surprise them while hunting....

Toward the end of the month, Noel, Jean baptiste, and other savages of Sillery returned from the chase; the fear of the yroquois caused them to hasten.

Of 5 hurons who had gone to the chase in the same direction, the south, three returned and reported that two of their companions had been taken by the yroquois.

JR, 30:165 [**The Hurons decide to go to war.*]

About the 8th of the month [**of April, 1647*] arrives a man of

Kontrande,en, from 3 rivers, to convene all the Hurons who were here, and invite them to go to war. They asked to hold a council at monsieur the governor's; they were 8. Armand was the spokesman, who declared to monsieur the governor their purpose. Monsieur the governor told them to do as they chose, but said that it was his opinion that they should wait for news of the Enemies' treatment of the Captives; and that, moreover, it would surely be a better plan to proceed to their own country, and to give warning to their people that they should be on their guard. The Hurons appeared hardly satisfied with this answer; and, having left Monsieur the governor's, they held a council among themselves, at which they decided upon war; and, in fact, they soon went away. I gave a Storm-cap, etc., to Armand; they went only as far as la poterie.

JR, 30:171 [**Events at Montreal during the winter of 1646-1647.*]

But, on the 27th of the month, arrived Jean Amyot, who had been sent from 3 rivers, in order to bear tidings to montreal concerning what had occurred here through the winter, and to bring back to us news from that quarter; and we learned that, since the month of november in the past year, the yroquois had taken two frenchmen there, and 4 hurons. The letter from father le Jeune will be found in the Archives, *titulo* Montreal.

This news made Monsieur the governor resolve to give 5 or 6 frenchmen to the savages, in order to go with them on a hostile expedition. They started from Sillery on the 4th of May; Chastillon was their Chief.

JR, 30:175 [**Iroquois depredations and the first reports of the murder of Fr. Jogues in Iroquoia.*]

On the 22nd [of May, 1647], Monsieur the governor departed, and I with him, for 3 rivers; 3 shallops.

On the 24th, we were met by a Shallop from 3 rivers, commanded by Crapaudiere, who notified us of the capture of a Huron by the yroquois at the river faverel, the monday before. At midnight of the 25th and 26th, father Daran arrived, who informed us that the yroquois had been encountered by our people, who held the yroquois besieged; the rest of the account will be found in the Archives, *titulo* yroquois.

On the 4th of June, we set out to return from 3 rivers; on the 5th, we arrived at Quebec. The same Day, about 11 o'clock, a Shallop arrived from 3 rivers, which informed us that the son of Ignace otouolti had returned from the yroquois to 3 rivers,—who announced, among other matters, the death, or rather the murder, of father Jogues and his companion Lalande, for whom the next day we said a high mass for the dead....

The Shallop which brought the news of the arrival of the son of Ignace otouolti, set out again on the 7th of June. It was defended by soldiers, that it might proceed with safety as far as the bark, and even to montreal, in order to convey the news which that son of Ignace was reporting,—to wit, that there was especial ill feeling against montreal, and that 200 men were going thither.

JR, 30:179 [**The tribes near Sillery fortify themselves and head off to war, ca. June 1647*]

The savages of Sillery asked permission to retire inside the palisaded enclosure of the house at Sillery; that was allowed them, and they labored to make a new stockade. Monsieur the governor also went thither, to designate the site for a fort in the fields.

On the 20th [*of June 1647], the other Abnakiouis Canoes arrived, to the number of 5 or 6. And the next day, the 21st, the savages of Tadousak and of Sillery started to go to war; father Druilletes went with them as far as 3 rivers and beyond....

This same Day [*June 30, 1647], at night, the Savages returned from the war, or a visit to the lake, and with them father Druilletes; they saw nothing.

JR, 30:183 [**Fort Richelieu is abandoned.*]

A little while before [*June 30, 1647], monsieur bourdon's bark had returned from its voyage to Richelieu and Montreal; it brought back from Richelieu the Cannons, spiked.

JR, 30:187 [**An Algonquin war party returns after a successful raid.*]

On the 21st, the Algonquains of the petite nation arrived, with 6 yroquois Scalps; the narrative will appear in the Archives.

JR, 30:191 [**Iroquois capture some Algonquins.*]

On the 17th [*of August, 1647], the news arrived of the capture of 6 or 7 Algonquains by the yroquois, at la poterie.

JR, 30:193 [**Sillery Algonquins capture an Iroquois, ca. September 1647.*]

They returned from war, in which several frenchmen were wounded; an yroquois was captured, who was burned at Sillery on the 16th. Monsieur the governor kept him in prison 8 or 10 days; finally, the savages growing impatient, Monsieur the governor sent him to them. He lived in the torments only one hour; his body was thrown into the water; he was baptized, and died piously.

JR, 30:195 [**The Huron trade flotilla does not come down to trade.*]

The Hurons did not come down this year....

On the 4th [*of November, 1647], the snow began; and 2 hurons were captured at 3 rivers.

Father Hierosme Lalemant. 1647. Relation of What Occurred Most Noteworthy in the Missions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, in New France, on the Great River St. Lawrence, in the year 1647.

JR, 30:219 [**The Mohawks break the peace. Fr. Jogues is killed.*]

These last two years, the flowers of the peace with the Hiroquois, our enemies, had caused us to hope for some agreeable fruits thereof, and a fortunate

ingathering; but the treachery of those barbarians coming unexpectedly there-upon, like hail upon a field ready to reap, seems to have somewhat retarded and set back our hopes.

The first outburst of this treachery has fallen upon the one who deserved it the least,—that is, Father Isaac Jogues, who, as I sent word last year to your Reverence, left here toward the end of September, 1646, in order to return for the second time to his mission of the Martyrs among the Hiroquois, purposing to maintain the peace there, and to manage there the interest and the affairs of Paradise. But hardly had he set foot in the land when, against all divine and human law, he was treated as a captive by those barbarians; he and his companion, who was a young lay Frenchman, were beaten, robbed, and stripped naked, and led in that condition to the next village, where, the day after their arrival, the eighteenth of the same month of October, Father Jogues was murdered, and his companion likewise. And the storm increasing from that on, we were surprised by it before we had perceived it; and entire villages of our Christians and other allied Savages were carried off in it, without speaking of some Frenchmen and Savages who were thus surprised in lonely places.

Consequently, those perfidious people, resuming their former routes, hold the approaches to the upper nations blocked, which makes me almost despair of being able to receive, this year, the Relation of the Hurons,—at least, soon enough. God, nevertheless, has not permitted that we should be frustrated in the consolation of learning news of them, by way of the nations of the North; news which enables us plainly to see that, if the paths and ways of God are different from those of men, for arriving at an end, they are none the less certain.

JR, 30:227 [**General war erupts. Algonquin captain Simon Piescaret is killed.*]

The 24th of September of last year, 1646, Father Isaac Jogues left Three Rivers in order to go to the country of the *Agneronon* Hiroquois [**Mohawks*], to the end of maintaining the peace which they had so solemnly concluded, and in order to cultivate and augment the seed of the Gospel which he had begun to cast into that wretched and thankless land. Before he arrived in that country, this people had sent presents to the Hiroquois of the upper countries,—whom we call *Onondageronons* [**Onondagas*], *Sountwaronons* [**Senecas*], and some others,—in order strongly to confirm their alliances, and to form a conspiracy for the ruin of the French and of their allied tribes. The cause of this treachery proceeds, in my opinion, from their warlike temper, which cannot stay at rest, and from the glory and advantages which they drew from war; and, furthermore, from their superstition, and from the hatred which the captive Hurons have given them for the doctrine of Jesus Christ. Those captives—having seen us the reproach of their whole country, on account of the contagious and general diseases, of which they made us the Authors through our prayers, which they called charms—have cast these notions into the minds of the Hiroquois, that we carried the Demons and that

we and our doctrine tended only to their ruin; insomuch that they accused Father Isaac Jogues, on his first journey after the conclusion of peace, of having concealed some spells in a small chest, or little box, that he left with his host as pledge of his return. The Father, seeing them disturbed, took that box, opened it before them, and showed them and left with them everything that was in it. Sickness having fallen upon their bodies after his departure, as we have learned from the Savage prisoners who have escaped, and the worms having perhaps damaged their corn, as the letter of the Dutch testifies,—these poor blind creatures have believed that the Father had left the Demon among them, and that all our discourses and all our instructions aimed only to exterminate them. These are the reasons for which they have resumed the war; insomuch that the good Father Jogues, murdered on the eighteenth of October, has had the honor to be a symbol of Jesus Christ,—being regarded as a man who had the Devil with him, and who employed Beelzebub for driving out the Demons from their souls and from all their country. They killed at the same time a young lad who accompanied him, named Jean la Lande, a native of the City of Dieppe.

Immediately after these murders, of which we had no knowledge until Spring, they spread themselves about in various places, in order to capture, kill, and massacre as many French, Algonquins, and Hurons as they could. Let us follow them in their raids, and mark the times of their attacks and of their chase after men.

The seventeenth of November of last year [*1646], three Hurons out of four who were at Montreal, returning from the hunt, told us that they had lost one of their companions; having undertaken the duty, some days afterward, of going to look for him, they were taken by a band of Hiroquois, in ambush on that Island. We have since been told that they were captives in the country of their enemies, and that no news had been learned of their comrade whom they went to seek.

The thirtieth of the same month, the day of St. Andrew, two Frenchmen, having gone a little distance from the settlement of Montreal, were taken and carried away by those Barbarians. We have asked news of them from the captives who have escaped from the country of the Agneronons; these have had no knowledge about them. This makes us conjecture that, having perhaps unbound themselves in order to escape, they have been taken again and beaten to death, or that they have died of hunger and cold in the woods: or—which is more probable—that those perfidious ones, finding no provisions at their return,—for the season was bad,—may have killed and eaten them by the way. The rumor has been current that their scalps had been seen in the country of the Hiroquois.

The fifth of March of this year, 1647, two Algonquins of Three Rivers—having started with two women in order to go four or five leagues thence, to bring away the meat of an Elk killed by a Huron—were met by a squad of Hiroquois, who seized them, and who learned by their means the condition of

the French at Three Rivers and the places where the Algonquins had recently gone for their great hunt.

The next day, the sixth,—which was Ash Wednesday, when all the French were assembled at the Church in order to begin there the Service of Holy Lent,—those Barbarians came to plunder two houses somewhat isolated from the fort. It is estimated that they carried off what would load more than fifteen men; for several Frenchmen had reserved in that place the greater part of their little property. At the end of Mass, they found themselves stripped of clothing, blankets, powder, lead, and arquebuses, and of other like things,—those robbers having left them nothing save what they could not carry away. The resignation and patience of those afflicted was excellent, and the charity of the other French was delightful.... Those thieves, having placed their booty in safety, divided themselves into two bands in order to go and find the Algonquins who were hunting,—some on the South side, others on the North side, of the great River. As they had learned from their captives the places whither those poor people had gone, they easily found their tracks, marked upon the snow. Those who proceeded to the North by their trail came to their cabins; but, all the men being at the chase, they encountered only women and children. Having seized persons and baggage, without allowing any one to escape, ten Hydroquois went to seek the place where the men were. They perceived Simon *Piescaret*, who was returning all alone and carelessly; they accosted him treacherously, knowing very well that, if they assailed him openly, they would have to deal with a man who would not surrender without fighting. As he saw only ten of them, he supposed that they were coming as friends and on a visit; for that reason, he began to sing his song of peace, expressing to them his joy at their coming. They accosted him with friendly mien; but one man, treacherous and false, thrust a javelin into his loins, and pierced him through and through. The poor man fell dead upon the spot; the Hydroquois remove his hair, and carry it back to the cabins; and they straightway go in pursuit of the others, whom they soon encountered and surprised, “It is thus,” said a captive woman, “that we were betrayed, according to what our enemies themselves relate.”

Those who marched to the South, attacked Jean *Tawiskaron* and some other Captains and their followers; these poor people had just prayed to God, intending to leave their cabins and advance farther into the woods. They were accompanied by their wives and children, and were consequently less prepared to defend themselves. Marie, wife of Jean Baptiste *Manitounagouch*,—walking among the last, with her child,—having perceived them as they were casting themselves upon a Huron who marched as rear-guard, cries to her husband to quicken his pace, in order to give warning to those who were at the front, to place themselves on the defensive. He forthwith lays hands on his weapons, and kills the first Hydroquois, who was marching ahead; but he was soon murdered by those who followed this man. The enemy spreads immediately on all sides, surrounding those good Neophytes and Catechumens.

Bernard *Wapmangouch*, an adroit and valiant man, kills the first one whom he had at close quarters; but he was soon put to death, without being recognized by the Hiroquois, who would have granted him his life, as being of their nation. The Algonquins had taken him quite young, with a brother of his; both were baptized, and both good Christians. His brother, named Pierre *Achkameg*, having been recaptured by the Hiroquois, chanced to be in this combat; it was he who seized Jean Baptiste's wife,—who, having recognized him, at once asked him whether there were not a Father of our Society in the Hiroquois Villages. "No," said he, "the French were killed before we came to war." This poor woman was already thinking of confessing when she should have arrived in the enemies' country. In short, there were some wounded and killed on both sides,—but very few on the side of the Hiroquois, because they were in arms; whereas the Algonquins were surprised in a train of women and children, and baggage. As soon as the conquerors had caused the conquered to give up their arms, and had fast bound those who were likely to escape, they throw themselves upon the old men, the children, and the women, who were not able to follow them. They slash, they cut, they gash, they burn, they put everything to fire and to blood; they beat, they strike, they tear out the nails of those whom they wish to lead in triumph into their country. A poor Algonquin woman, seeing a relative of hers severely wounded, and fearing lest the Hiroquois should despatch him, fastens him upon a sledge, and drags him after the enemies, who were all laden with prisoners and spoils. Those Barbarians, before separating, had appointed their rendezvous on a little river of lake Saint Pierre, where these latter ones arrived first; the others, who had murdered Simon Piescaret, appeared the next day, leading in triumph their captives, with barbarous hootings. These poor people, knowing nothing of the capture of their friends and allies, looking at one another burdened with wounds and bonds, lowered their eyes to the ground, overwhelmed with anguish and pain. Jean *Tawichkaron*, who, was of the number of the prisoners, did not lose heart in this great consternation; he rises, and, with a steadfast look, he addresses all the Christians and Catechumens. "Courage!" he says to them; "my brothers, let us not forsake the Faith or prayer. The arrogance of our enemies will soon pass away, our torments will not be of long duration, and Heaven will be our eternal dwelling. Let no one waver in his belief, we are not abandoned of God, to be miserable: let us kneel down and pray him to give us courage in our torments." Immediately, not only the Christians, but also the Catechumens and the relatives, fall upon the ground; and, one of them pronouncing the prayers in a loud voice, all the others followed him distinctly, in their usual way; they next sang some Spiritual Hymns, in order to console themselves with our Lord in their anguish, The Hiroquois looked at them with astonishment; one of them beginning to laugh, Marie *ka makatewingwetch* wife of Jean Baptiste *Manitounagouch*, said to Pierre Achkameg, "Tell thy people that they must not jeer at a thing so Holy. It is our custom to pray to God; he will punish those who despise him." Those Barbarians, having learned what she was saying,

broke out in derision, mocking at the piety and devotion of their captives. Pierre *Achkameg*, who had become a wolf among the wolves, was touched; he lowered his head without saying a word, respecting the prayers which he had formerly uttered with his own lips. The women were not frightened by these shouts and taunts,—those who carried their children with them had them make the sign of the Cross; and not one, small or great, would eat without making this sign in the presence of their enemies. They used their fingers to recite their rosary,—the Hiroquois having pillaged and taken away from them everything that they had, even to the smallest tokens of their devotion. Before leaving that river, they burned alive that man who had been wounded, fearing lest he should die on the way, by a death less cruel; it is strange how pleasant, and almost natural, is cruelty to these Barbarians. We have learned all these particulars from those who have escaped from the hands and the country of those treacherous people. These related to us that one man, having detached himself, had been overtaken in his flight; and that they had burned the soles of his feet, in order to prevent him from fleeing another time. We have been assured that those Tyrants crucified a little baptized child, aged three or four years, by stretching its body upon a great piece of bark and piercing its little hands and feet with pointed sticks. These unheard-of cruelties give us plainly to understand that these peoples are not far from the limit of their crimes.

Those victims, having arrived in the country, were received with shouts, with jeers, with taunts, with beatings, and with the customary fires. There had been set up two great scaffolds,—one for the men, and the other for the women, who were all exposed, naked, to the derision of small and great. As soon as they were upon these stages, they all requested, both men and women, to speak to Father Isaac Jogues,—that he might baptize the Catechumens, and hear the Christians in confession. Some Algonquin women, who had long been captive in that country, quietly approached their fellow-countrymen and told them that the poor Father had been wretchedly murdered. After the greetings and parading in the three Villages of the Agneronons, where their nails are torn out, if any are still left; where their fingers are cut; where they are struck upon their wounds,—in a word, where rage and fury are unchained,—life was spared to the women and the girls, and to two little boys. As for the men and the youths able to hurl a javelin or a lance, they were distributed through various Villages, in order there to be burned, boiled, and roasted. The Christian who said the public prayers was broiled and tormented in a horrible fashion; never, according to the report of a person who saw him in his sufferings, did he utter any cry, or give any sign of a dejected heart. He raised his eyes to Heaven in the midst of his flames, looking fixedly at the place whither his soul was aspiring. They began to torment him before Sunset, and all night they burned him, from the soles of his feet up to the waist. The next day, they burned him from the waist to the head; and toward evening, his strength failing him, they threw his whole broiled body into the flames. This rage surpasses the nature of men; the Demons have a large part in it.

There was, among this band of youth, a stripling aged about 15 or 16 years,—fair as the day, in the esteem of the Savages. The Hiroquois clothed him in their most beautiful robes, and adorned him to, advantage, taking pleasure in seeing his gait and deportment; for, in truth, he had grace. Certain persons, won by the tenderness of his age and the beauty of his body, talked of sparing his life; but, their rage against the Algonquins is too great; they stripped him like the others, and made of him their plaything in the flames, Let us return, if you please, to the place of their capture.

The defeat of these poor people occurred on the, fifth of March; five persons alone escaped from the band of *Tawizkaron*. They came, one after the other, to Three Rivers, crying out that all their people were dead or captive. Two of these five had started very early in the morning, to go to the chase; returning, toward evening, they heard from afar, fierce yells and loud jeers, as of persons who rejoice in their prey, and who are making their prisoners dance, according to the custom of the Savages. That astonished them; they lent ear more attentively, and recognized that those noises did not proceed from their own people; therefore, turning about, they hastened to Three Rivers to give notice of their defeat. The French were touched to the, last degree: they manifested a grief as keen as if they had learned the death of their own relatives. The noble examples of virtue which some had given, and the generous disposition of most to receive Holy Baptism, striking their minds, softened their hearts, and they made Panegyrics on those good Neophytes. One lamented a Christian, another a Catechumen; several deplored the misery of those who had asked for admission into the Church of God, and who had not obtained it because it was desired to keep them in a longer probation. There was especial regret for a woman who, before her departure, seeing that a little child at the breast had become an orphan, offered herself to nurse it,—a very extraordinary charity for a pagan, on account of the great difficulties which they have in bringing up their children. Their custom was formerly, when a woman left her little one incapable of eating, and of walking quite alone, to kill it, and bury it in the same sepulchre with its mother,—saying that it might just as well die, if some nurse who was its near kinswoman would not take charge of it.

For the rest, it seems as if God had given to the Algonquins presentiments of their death. Those two women who were the first to be taken, having started from Three Rivers without wearing their porcelain collars, retraced their steps in order to get these. “We shall fall,” they said, “into the hands of the enemy; perhaps our necklaces will save our lives.”

Simon Pieskaret, coming to take leave of our Fathers, said to them: “It seems to me that I am going away to death. I feel something strange, which tells me, ‘The Hiroquois will make thee die;’ but my consolation is, that I am reconciled to the Church, and that I shall go to Heaven after my death.”

Bernard *Wapmangouch* confessed even twice before his departure, and when they asked him the reason of this so extraordinary care, he said: “I am

called into the woods to die there; pray for me, for I shall come back no more. See that I be given a ball, in order to kill the first Hiroquois who shall try to kill me." The matter came to pass as he had thought.

Augustin *Tchipakouch* addressed these remarks to a Father: "Adieu, my Father, for the last time. I know not what act of thanks to render you for so many benefits as I have received from your charity; love me still after death, and pray for my soul when you shall learn that I am in the hands of our enemies, so that I be not twice burned."

A certain *Kitouchi* said to the same Father: "There is a bundle of beaver skins, that I beg thee to give such a one when thou shalt see him in this country." "Yes, but," said the Father, "are not these beaver skins thine?" "They are so no longer," he answers; "for I account myself already dead."

The Father who was instructing them during the Winter remarked, after their deaths, that his more usual conversations were upon the means for dying well,—how one should behave, if one were taken by the Hiroquois; how one should make profit from the great torments which they cause their prisoners to suffer; and, though often he had no design of speaking to them on a subject so sad, he commonly found himself engaged in these discourses without intending it. All these feelings have not prevented their deaths, it is true; but they have strongly fortified their souls. God was preparing his elect by these thoughts, to which no credence was attached,—they being given not for the life of the body, but for the salvation of souls. I know well that the inconstancy of the Hiroquois was quite enough to give them those feelings of distrust; but—as they were almost universal, and in the most courageous souls; and as, furthermore, they produced moral actions, acts of humility, and inclinations for going to Heaven—one must not doubt that they took their source in the blood of Jesus Christ, whence proceeds everything which tends toward, and which leads us to, our salvation.

In conclusion, those treacherous people have often prowled about the settlement of Three Rivers, but much oftener about that of Montreal; which has caused Monsieur d'Aillebours to fortify himself ably. He is praiseworthy in this respect,—having preferred to give up some very important private undertakings than to be wanting to the public. The settlers at Three Rivers have also joined and assembled themselves together that they may more easily resist the incursions and robberies of those Barbarians.

Now it must not be imagined that the rage of the Hiroquois, and the loss of several Christians and Catechumens, are capable of nullifying the mystery of the Cross of Jesus Christ, or of checking the efficacy of his blood. We shall die, we shall be captured, we shall be burned. Granted; but the bed does not always make the most glorious death. I see no one here lowering his head; on the contrary, people ask to go up to the Hurons, and some protest that the fires of the Hiroquois constitute one of their motives for undertaking so dangerous a journey.

At the same time when God has scourged us on one side, he seems to

choose to console us on the other. Our Fathers with the Hurons have sent us word that the Savages of Anastohé [*Andastes or Susquehannocks of Maryland and Pennsylvania],—whom we believe to be neighbors to Virginia, and who had formerly close alliances with the Hurons, insomuch that there are still found in the Huron country people from their districts,—those Savages, I say, have conveyed these few words to the Hurons: “We have learned that you had enemies. You have only to say to us, ‘Lift the axe’; and we assure you, either they will make peace, or we will make war on them.” The Hurons, very joyful at these fine offers, have sent an Embassy to those peoples. The Chief of this Embassy is a worthy Christian, accompanied by eight persons, four of whom have embraced the Faith of Jesus Christ. It must not be feared that the children of God and the Gospel laborers lack assistance; if they are not wanting in courage, crosses and sufferings are the mark, and the characteristic of their mission.

JR, 30:255 [**Algonquin women desire to escape from Iroquois captivity.*]

The country of the Algonquins has been, for some years past, nothing but a field of dead and sick; and, nevertheless, the women whom the Hiroquois set at liberty in their country, in order to marry them to their children, have always so great a desire and so great an inclination toward their native land, that many cast themselves into horrible dangers, and into frightful difficulties and toils, in order to see it again.

JR, 30:281 [**Skirmishes between the Iroquois and Algonquins.*]

The twenty-ninth of May [*1647], there arrived at Montreal a canoe conducted by three Savages of the petite nation of the Algonquins. These poor people were much astonished at learning the defeat of the upper Algonquins, of which we have spoken herein above; they had nevertheless strong suspicions regarding the treachery of the Hiroquois. “We have,” said they, “noticed this Winter a trail of some enemies who have approached us very closely; and,—what has caused us astonishment,—some one of them having encountered a trap which we had set up for bears, instead of awaiting us or seeking our trail, he took down the trap, and so separated the pieces which composed it that we plainly see that no animal can have made this wreck. It is some one who has wished to give us to understand that we should be on our guard, and that the enemy was not far away.” Such charity is not common among Barbarians. They added that there had arisen a certain disease among the Caribous, which made them vomit blood through the throat, remaining quite still when they were pursued. They have seen as many as five, six, or seven fall stiff in death in a moment: that has so terrified them that they have resolved to leave their country in order to come and live near the French.... These poor people, being afraid of meeting the Hiroquois on their return, besought Monsieur d’Aillebours to assist them with some arms,—well resolved to fight if they found enemies; Monsieur d’Aillebours believed that

they ought not to be denied in a matter so important. Being armed, they make a journey to Three Rivers, and thence go up again to their own country, without finding any enemy. One of them, supposing that the river was quite free, embarks his wife in order to journey as far as the Island, and to give warning to the Savages of that country, that their relatives had been taken and massacred toward Three Rivers; and that, in consequence, they should be on their guard. As he was, then, navigating in his little bark gondola, he perceived from a distance a canoe of Hiroquois. Turning toward his wife, who was steering the canoe, he said to her: "Wouldst thou really have the courage to aid me? I desire to go and attack that canoe." It was conducted by perhaps seven or eight men, and he was all alone; but he had resolution. His wife answered him: "I will follow thee everywhere; I wish no more of life after thy death." They ply their paddles, in order to overtake that little craft; but, before being discovered, they saw, a little beyond, four or five canoes filled with men. That stopped them;—they concluded that they ought not to cast themselves rashly into the irons of their enemies. What, then, will this poor man do? He is not willing to flee: he cannot pass on without dying. "I must," said he to his wife, "know what capture those people have made; for I plainly see by their bearing that they journey like people victorious. Surely, they have taken some of our fellow-countrymen." He puts his wife ashore; then, going to the other side of the river, as if he had come from the country of the Hiroquois, he fires an arquebus shot. The Hiroquois, not seeing him clearly, and supposing perhaps that it was some troop of their own warriors which was newly arriving in that quarter, gave forty shouts, drawing forty times these vowel sounds from the pit of their chests, *hee*. "It is enough," said that Algonquin; "I wanted nothing more; I know what I desired,—they certainly hold forty of our people prisoners." He takes his wife on board again, and hastens away, by dint of paddling, toward some men whom he had left; he relates to them what he has seen and heard, exhorting them to follow the enemy. Seven young men offer themselves to him; they get into two canoes, and go quickly to the place where the enemy was. There are no hunters so eager for game as the Savages are for the chase of men; there is no cat so adroit to crouch, and hide itself, and jump upon a mouse, as a Savage is shrewd in surprising and rushing upon his prey. They glide softly; they notice the trail of their enemies; they go to reconnoitre, with the step of a wolf. They noticed in the darkness five cabins together; "Come," they said, "let us kill and die; let us sell our deaths." A single cabin contained more combatants than they were assailants: the order was, that six should enter into the three largest cabins, two into each one, and the two others into the two smallest. There were two Christians in this little number, who said their prayers, like persons who thought they were going to death. Toward midnight they enter, javelin in hand; with an admirable promptness, they transfix those poor sleeping people; but inadvertently they killed a woman of their own nation, recently captured by those Barbarians. In a word, they took away the lives of ten Hiroquois; they wounded many others, and delivered ten

captive persons. The fight occurred with a strange hubbub. "Who are you?" said the Hiroquois; the others answered with javelin thrusts; the darkness rendered this confusion more horrible. A tall Hiroquois, pierced by a javelin, falling upon the one who had wounded him, broke the weapon in grappling him. The Algonquin, having released himself from his hands, pursued him with a volley of stones; the other, having caught him again, was about to destroy him, if his companion, happening thither, had not given him a blow which felled him to the earth. The captive women, being set free, cried to their liberators: "Escape; there are many Hiroquois near here; if the light reveals you, you are lost." At these words, they tear off the scalps of the dead: they throw into the river great bundles of beaver skins taken from the Algonquins by those treacherous people; as they could not carry these away, they were also not willing that their enemies should use them. Finally, having embarked the persons whom they had delivered, they retired to a place of safety. It would not take a great number of such warriors to give plenty of trouble to the Hiroquois.

Those captives, seeing themselves entirely delivered, related how they had been taken. "Many Savages of the upper countries," they said, "had come to station themselves at the Island, in order to join the Hurons who were to go down toward the French. Thirty families had the intention of settling near those who teach the way to Heaven. There was not a Savage who was not laden with peltries, in order to buy his little necessities at the stores of the country. A Huron, taken some years ago by the Hiroquois, having become Captain of these robbers, led them to the place where we were,—which he did the more easily, because he had a thorough knowledge of all those regions. Our people, who were not expecting them, were much astonished when they saw them, arms in hand; they made, at the start, some resistance, but having seen, at the outset, three of our men down, killed by arquebus shots, they took flight. Avarice prevented the Hiroquois from pursuing them, their eyes being dazzled by the great number of beavers that we had, which made them think of pillage. That saved the lives of many people; as for those of us who had children, we were soon taken. It is thus," they said, "that our misfortune came to pass."

Besides these ten persons set at liberty by those eight Algonquins, an Amazon, taken with the others, has bravely escaped from the hands of those who held her captive. For ten days, the Hiroquois had been dragging her with the other prisoners; now, though she was bound by both feet and both hands to four stakes,—fastened in the earth, and arranged like a St. Andrew's cross,—she nevertheless took the resolution to escape. Noticing that the bonds on one of her arms did not press her very tightly, she managed so well that she set that arm free; this free arm soon detaches the cords which held captive the rest of her body. All the Hiroquois were sleeping profoundly; behold her on her feet. She passes over those great bodies buried in sleep; being all ready to go out, she comes across a hatchet; she seizes it, and, impelled by a strange

warlike fury, she deals a blow from it, with all her might, upon the head of a Hiroquois lying at the entrance of the cabin. This man struggles, and others are awakened; they light a torch of bark, and they see that wretched man plunged in his own blood. They seek the author of this murder; they find that woman's place empty, and that man's hatchet covered with blood. Every one leaves the cabin, and the young men run hither and thither: but that good woman, who after her blow had thrown herself into a hollow stump which she had previously well observed, listens to all their hubbub, not without fear of being discovered. Finally, seeing that the runners who sought her had darted to one side, she leaves her den, and runs to the other side as fast as she can. The day having come, those Barbarians make a great circuit in order to discover her tracks; they find these, and pursue her two whole days, at the end of which this poor creature heard them running all around the place where she was. She believed that it was over with her life; but having, by good fortune, encountered a pond formed by beavers, she plunges into it, breathing only from time to time, and so adroitly that she was not perceived. Finally, those runners, being wearied, returned toward their own people, despairing of being able to find her. Seeing herself free, she sets forth on the way, and passes thirty-five days in the woods, without a robe and without clothing; having only a little piece of the bark of a tree, with which to hide herself from her own eyes. She finds no other hostelries than currant bushes and some small wild fruits, or some roots. She crossed the smaller rivers by swimming; when it was necessary to cross the great stream, she gathered pieces of wood, which she attached and bound stoutly with the bark of a tree which the Savages use for making cords. Finding herself in a safer place, she walked along the banks of the great stream, without well knowing whither she went, for never had she approached any of the French settlements, nor, perhaps, had she ever seen any Frenchman—she only knew that people came to see them by water; so that she had no other guide than the current of that great river. The mosquitoes,—that is to say, the gnats,—the flies, and the wasps were devouring her; she could not defend herself from them on account of her nakedness. At last, having found a wretched hatchet, she built her, a canoe of bark, in order to reach the current of the water, and to look from side to side, if she might not see some houses. I leave you to think in what anxiety she might be, having no knowledge of the place which she sought, and not knowing where the great stream which guided her was likely to end. It is so broad in several places, it makes so great spaces or expanses of water, that it is difficult, from the middle of its bed, to see a house located on its shores. Finally, having traversed lake St. Pierre, which is near Three Rivers, she perceives a canoe of Hurons, who were going fishing. She straight-way rushes into the woods, unable to recognize whether they were friends or enemies; add that modesty made her conceal herself, in order to proceed thereafter only by night. In fact, she resumed her journey toward eight o'clock in the evening: and when she discovered the French fort, she was at the same time recognized by some Hurons, who moved

straight toward her, in order to know who she was. Seeing them come, she leaves the shores of the river, and returns to the woods, shouting to them that they should not approach,—that she was entirely naked, and that she had escaped from the hands of the enemy. One of those Hurons throws her a mantle, and a sort of robe; having put this on, she leaves the woods and comes away with them to the house of the French. Our Fathers send for her, and question her about her journey; she relates what I have just told,—very joyful to see herself at liberty, and admiring the charity of those whom she had so earnestly sought without knowing the place of their dwelling. She arrived at Three Rivers on the twenty-sixth of July, greatly exhausted and emaciated. O God, what sufferings! What a lover of life is man! If these crosses were accepted for Jesus Christ, how precious they would be! She had no thought of suffering them for her God, since she had never had knowledge of him, because she had never come near to those who distribute the bread of life to poor famished ones.

JR, 31:19 [**A detailed retelling of the capture of Father Isaac Jogues and his treatment by the Iroquois in August 1642.*]

The Reverend Father Hierosme L'alemant, at that time Superior of the Mission among the Hurons,... sent for him [**Fr. Jogues*], and proposed to him the journey to Kebec,—a frightful one, on account of the difficulty of the roads, and very dangerous because of the ambuscades of the Hiroquois, who massacred, every year, a considerable number of the Savages allied to the French. Let us hear him speak upon this subject, and upon the result of his journey. “Authority having made me a simple proposition, and not a command, to go down to Kebec, I offered myself with all my heart,—and that the more willingly, because the necessity of undertaking this, might have cast some one else of our Fathers, much better than I, into the perils and hazards that we all anticipate. So there we were, on the way and in the dangers all at once. We were obliged to disembark forty times, and forty times to carry our boats and all our baggage amid the currents and waterfalls that one encounters on this journey of about three hundred leagues. And, although the Savages who were guiding us were very adroit, we nevertheless incurred some disasters, to the great peril of our lives, and with some loss of our small baggage. At last, thirty-five days after our departure from the Hurons, we arrived, much fatigued, at Three Rivers; thence we went down to Kebec. We blessed God everywhere, in that his goodness had preserved us. Our affairs being finished in fifteen days, we solemnly observed the feast of saint Ignace; and the next day, the first day of August in the same year 1642, we left Three Rivers, in order to go up again to the country whence we came. The first day was favorable to us; the second caused us to fall into the hands of the Hiroquois. We were forty persons, distributed in several canoes; the one which kept the vanguard, having discovered on the banks of the great river some tracks of men, recently imprinted on the sand and clay, gave us warning. A landing was

made; some say that these are footprints of the enemy, others are sure that they are those of Algonquins, our allies. In this dispute, Eustache Ahatsistari, to whom all the others deferred on account of his exploits in arms and his virtue, exclaimed: 'Be they friends or enemies, it matters not; I notice by their tracks that they are not in greater number than we; let us advance, and fear nothing.' We had not yet made a half-league, when the enemy, concealed among the grass and brushwood, rises with a great outcry, discharging at our canoes a volley of balls. The noise of their arquebuses so greatly frightened a part of our Hurons that they abandoned their canoes and weapons, and all their supplies, in order to escape by flight into the depth of the woods. This discharge did us no great hurt, and no one lost his life; one Huron alone had his hand pierced through, and our canoes were broken in several places. We were four French,—one of whom, being in the rear, escaped with the Hurons, who abandoned him before approaching the enemy. Eight or ten, both Christians and Catechumens, joined us; having been made to say a brief prayer, they oppose a courageous front to the enemy; and although the latter were thirty men against twelve or fourteen, our people valiantly sustained their effort. But, having perceived that another band—of forty Hiroquois, who were in ambush on the other shore of the river—was coming to attack them, they lost courage; insomuch that those who were least entangled fled, abandoning their comrades in the fight. A Frenchman named René Goupil, whose death is precious before God, being no longer sustained by those who followed him, was surrounded and captured, along with some of the most courageous Hurons. I was watching this disaster," says the Father, "from a place very favorable for concealing me from the sight of the enemy, being able to hide myself in thickets and among very tall and dense reeds; but this thought could never enter my mind. 'Could I, indeed,' I said to myself, 'abandon our French and leave those good Neophytes and those poor Catechumens, without giving them the help which the Church of my God has entrusted to me?' Flight seemed horrible to me; 'It must be,' I said in my heart, 'that my body suffer the fire of earth, in order to deliver these poor souls from the flames of Hell; it must die a transient death, in order to procure for them an eternal life.' My conclusion being reached without great opposition from my feelings, I call the one of the Hiroquois who had remained to guard the prisoners. This man, having perceived me, dared not approach me, fearing some ambush. 'Come on,' I say to him; 'be not afraid; lead me to the presence of the Frenchman and the Hurons whom you hold captive.' He advances and, having seized me, puts me in the number of those whom the world calls miserable. I tenderly embraced the Frenchman, and said to him: 'My dear brother, God treats us in a strange manner, but he is the master, and he has done what has seemed best in his sight; he has followed his good pleasure. May his holy Name be blessed forever,' This good young man at once made his confession; having given him absolution, I approach the Hurons, and instruct and baptize them; and, as at every moment those who were pursuing the fugitives brought back some of them, I

heard these in confession, making Christians those who were not so. Finally, they brought that worthy Christian Captain named Eustache, who, having perceived me, exclaimed: 'Ah! my Father, I had sworn and protested to you that I would live or die with you.' The sight of him piercing my heart, I do not remember the words that I said to him. Another Frenchman, named Guillaume Couture, seeing that the Hurons were giving way, escaped like them into those great forests; and, as he was agile, he was soon out of the enemy's grasp. But, remorse having seized him because he had forsaken his Father and his comrade, he stops quite short, deliberating aside with himself whether he should go on or retrace his steps. The dread of being regarded as perfidious makes him face about; he encounters five stout Hiroquois. One of these aims at him, but, his arquebus having missed fire, the Frenchman did not miss him,—he laid him, stone-dead, on the spot; his shot being fired, the four other Hiroquois fell upon him with a rage of Lions, or rather of Demons. Having stripped him bare as the hand, they bruised him with heavy blows of clubs, and tore out his finger-nails with their teeth,—crushing the bleeding ends, in order to cause him more pain. In short, they pierced one of his hands with a javelin, and led him, tied and bound in this sad plight, to the place where we were. Having recognized him, I escape from my guards, and fall upon his neck. 'Courage,' I say to him, 'my dear brother and friend; offer your pains and anguish to God, in behalf of those very persons who torment you, Let us not draw back; let us suffer courageously for his holy name; we have intended only his glory in this journey.' The Hiroquois, seeing us in these endearments, at first remained quite bewildered, looking at us without saying a word; then, all at once,—imagining, perhaps, that I was applauding that young man because he had killed one of their Captains,—they fell upon me with a mad fury, they belabored me with thrusts, and with blows from sticks and war-clubs, flinging me to the ground, half dead. When I began to breathe again, those who had not struck me, approaching, violently tore out my finger-nails; and then biting, one after another, the ends of my two forefingers, destitute of their nails, caused me the sharpest pain,—grinding and crushing them as if between two stones, even to the extent of causing splinters or little bones to protrude. They treated the good René Goupil in the same way, without doing, at that time, any harm the Hurons: they were thus enraged against the French because the latter had not been willing to accept the peace, the preceding year, on the conditions which they wished to give them.

"All their men being assembled, and the runners having come back from their hunt for men, those barbarians divided among themselves their booty, rejoicing in their prey with great shouts of mirth. As I saw them engrossed in examining and distributing our spoils, I sought also for my share. I visit all the captives; I baptize those who were not yet baptized; I encourage those poor wretches to suffer with constancy, assuring them that their reward would far exceed the severity of their torments. I ascertained, on this round of visits, that we were twenty-two captives, without counting three Hurons killed on the

spot. An old man, aged eighty years, having just received holy Baptism, said to the Hiroquois who were commanding him to embark: 'It is no more for an old man like me to go and visit foreign countries; I can find death here, if you refuse me life.' Hardly had he pronounced these words when they beat him to death.

"So there we were, on the way to be led into a country truly foreign. Our Lord favored us with his Cross. It is true that, during thirteen days that we spent on that journey, I suffered in the body torments almost unendurable, and, in the soul, mortal anguish; hunger, the fiercely burning heat, the threats and hatred of those Leopards, the pain of our wounds,—which, for not being dressed, became putrid even to the extent of breeding worms,—caused us, in truth, much distress....

"Eight days after our departure from the shores of the great river of saint Lawrence, we met two hundred Hiroquois, who were coming in pursuit of the French and of the Savages, our allies. At this encounter we were obliged to sustain a new shock. It is a belief among those Barbarians that those who go to war are the more fortunate in proportion as they are cruel toward their enemies; I assure you that they made us thoroughly feel the force of that wretched belief.

"Accordingly, having perceived us, they first thanked the Sun for having caused us to fall into the hands of their Fellow-countrymen; they next fired a salute with a volley of arquebus shots, by way of congratulation for their victory. That done, they set up a stage on a hill; then, entering the woods, they seek sticks or thorns, according to their fancy. Being thus armed, they form in line,—a hundred on one side, and a hundred on the other,—and make us pass, all naked, along that way of fury and anguish; there is rivalry among them to discharge upon us the most and the heaviest blows; they made me march last, that I might be more exposed to their rage. I had not accomplished the half of this course when I fell to the earth under the weight of that hail and of those redoubled blows. I did not strive to rise again,—partly because of my weakness, partly because I was accepting that place for my sepulchre.... Seeing me prostrate, they rush upon me; God alone knows for how long a time and how many were the blows that were dealt on my body; but the sufferings undertaken for his love and his glory are filled with joy and honor. Seeing, then, that I had not fallen by accident, and that I did not rise again for being too near death, they entered upon a cruel compassion; their rage was not yet glutted, and they wished to conduct me alive into their own country; accordingly, they embrace me, and carry me all bleeding upon that stage they have prepared. When I am restored to my senses, they make me come down, and offer me a thousand and one insults, making me the sport and object of their reviling; they begin their assaults over again, dealing upon my head and neck, and all my body, another hailstorm of blows. I would be too tedious if I should set down in writing all the rigor of my sufferings. They burned one of my fingers, and crushed another with their teeth, and those which were already torn, they

squeezed and twisted with a rage of Demons; they scratched my wounds with their nails; and, when strength failed me, they applied fire to my arm and thighs. My companions were treated very nearly as I was. One of those Barbarians, having advanced with a large knife in his right hand, took my nose in his left hand, wishing to cut it off; but he stopped suddenly, and as if astonished, withdrawing without doing aught to me. He returns a quarter of an hour later, as if indignant with himself for his cowardice; he again seizes me at the same place; you know, my God, what I said to you at that moment, in the depth of my heart. In fine, I know not what invisible force repulsed him for the second time. It was over with my life if he had proceeded; for they are not accustomed to leave long on the earth those who are notably mutilated." Among the Hurons, the worst treated was that worthy and valiant Christian, Eustache. Having made him suffer like the others, they cut off both thumbs from his hands, and thrust through the incisions a pointed stick even to the elbow. The Father, seeing this excess of torment, could not contain his tears. Eustache, having perceived this, and fearing lest the Hiroquois should regard him as effeminate, said to them: "Do not suppose that those tears proceed from weakness; it is the love and affection that he feels for me, and not the want of courage, that forces them from his eyes. He has never wept in his own torments; his face has always appeared dry, and always cheerful. Your rage, and my pains, and his own love are the theme and the cause of his tears." "It is true," the Father answers him, "that thy pains are more keenly felt by me than are my own; it is true that I am covered with blood and wounds; my body, nevertheless, does not feel its torments as keenly as my heart is afflicted for thy sufferings. But courage, my dear brother; remember that there is another life than this; remember that there is a God who sees everything, and who will well know how to reward the anguish that we suffer on his account." "I remember very well," that good Neophyte said to him; "I will remain firm even till death;" and, indeed, his constancy appeared ever admirable and ever Christian.

"Those warriors, having made a sacrifice of our blood, pursued their course, and we ours. The tenth day after our capture, we arrived at the place where it was necessary to cease navigation and to proceed by land; that road, which was about four days long, was extremely painful for us. The man to whose guard I was given, unable to carry all his booty, put a part of it on my back, which was all torn; we ate, in three days, only a few wild fruits, which we gathered by the way. The heat of the Sun, at the warmest season of the Summer, and our wounds, greatly weakened us, and caused us to walk behind the others. Seeing ourselves considerably separated from them, and near the night, I told poor René that he should escape,—indeed, we were able to do so; but, for myself, I would rather have suffered all sorts of torments than abandon to death those whom I could somewhat console, and upon whom I could confer the blood of my Savior through the Sacraments of his Church. This good young man, seeing that I wished to follow my little flock, would never leave me: 'I will die,' he said, 'with you; I cannot forsake you.'

"I had always thought, indeed, that the day on which the whole Church rejoices in the glory of the blessed Virgin—her glorious and triumphant Assumption—would be for us a day of pain. This made me render thanks to my Savior Jesus Christ, because, on that day of gladness and joy, he was making us share his sufferings, and admitting us to participation in his crosses. We arrived on the eve of that sacred day at a little river, distant from the first village of the Hiroquois about a quarter of a league; we found on its banks, on both sides, many men and youths, armed with sticks which they let loose upon us with their accustomed rage. There remained to me now only two nails,—those Barbarians tore them from me with their teeth, rending the flesh from beneath, and cutting it clean to the bone with their nails, which they allow to grow very long. A Huron, to whom they had given his liberty in that country, having perceived us, exclaimed: 'You are dead, Frenchmen, you are dead; there is no liberty for you. Think no more of life; you will be burned; prepare yourselves for death.' This fine reception did not afflict us to the degree that our enemies believed it would; my guard, nevertheless, seeing me all covered with blood, touched with some compassion, told me that I was in a pitiable state; and, in order to render me more distinguishable to the sight of his people, he wiped my face.

"After they had glutted their cruelty, they led us in triumph into that first village; all the youth were outside the gates, arranged in line,—armed with sticks, and some with iron rods, which they easily secure on account of their vicinity to the Dutch. Casting our eyes upon these weapons of passion, we remembered what saint Augustin says, that those who turn aside from the scourges of God, turn aside from the number of his children; on that account, we offered ourselves with great courage to his fatherly goodness, in order to be victims sacrificed to his good pleasure and to his anger, lovingly zealous for the salvation of these peoples. Here follows the order which was observed at that funereal and pompous entry. They made one Frenchman march at the head, and another in the middle of the Hurons, and me the very last. We were following one another at an equal distance; and, that our executioners might have more leisure to beat us at their ease, some Hiroquois thrust themselves into our ranks in order to prevent us from running and from avoiding any blows. The procession beginning to enter this narrow way of Paradise, a scuffling was heard on all sides; it was indeed then that I could say with my Lord and master, *Supra dorsum meum fabricaverunt peccatores*,—'Sinners have built and left monuments and marks of their rage upon my back.' I was naked to my shirt, like a poor criminal; the others were wholly naked, except poor René Goupil, to whom they did the same favor as to me. The more slowly the procession marched in a very long road, the more blows we received. One was dealt above my loins, with the pommel of a javelin, or with an iron knob the size of one's fist, which shook my whole body and took away my breath. Such was our entrance into that Babylon. Hardly could we arrive as far as the scaffold which was prepared for us in the midst of that village, so exhausted were we; our bodies were all livid, and our faces all stained with blood. But more

disfigured than all was René Goupil, so that nothing white appeared in his face except his eyes. I found him all the more beautiful as he had more in common with him who, bearing a face most worthy of the regards and delight of the Angels, appeared to us, in the midst of his anguish, like a leper. Having ascended that scaffold, I exclaimed in my heart: *Spectaculum facti sumus mundo et Angelis et hominibus propter Christum*,—‘We have been made a gazing-stock in the sight of the world, of Angels, and of men, for Jesus Christ.’ We found some rest in that place of triumph and of glory. The Hiroquois no longer persecuted us except with their tongues,—filling the air and our ears with their insults, which did us no great hurt; but this calm did not last long. A Captain exclaims that the Frenchmen ought to be caressed. Sooner done than it is said,—one wretch, jumping on the stage, dealt three heavy blows with sticks, on each Frenchman, without touching the Hurons. Others, meanwhile drawing their knives and approaching us, treated me as a Captain,—that is to say, with more fury than the rest. The deference of the French, and the respect which the Hurons showed me, caused me this advantage. And old man takes my left hand and commands a captive Algonquin woman to cut one of my fingers; she turns away three or four times, unable to resolve upon this cruelty; finally, she has to obey, and cuts the thumb from my left hand; the same caresses are extended to the other prisoners. This poor woman having thrown my thumb on the stage, I picked it up and offered it to you, O my God!... One of my two French companions, having perceived me, told me that, if those Barbarians saw me keep my thumb, they would make me eat it and swallow it all raw; and that, therefore, I should throw it away somewhere. I obey him instantly. They used a scallop or an oyster-shell for cutting off the right thumb of the other Frenchman, so as to cause him more pain. The blood flowing from our wounds in so great abundance that we were likely to fall in a swoon, a Hiroquois—tearing off a little end of my shirt, which alone had been left to me—bound them up for us; and that was all the dressing and all the medical treatment applied to them.

“Evening having come, they made us descend, in order to be taken into the cabins as the sport of the children. They gave us for food a very little Indian corn, simply boiled in water; then they made us lie down on pieces of bark, binding us by the arms and the feet to four stakes fastened in the ground in the shape of saint Andrew’s Cross. The children, in order to learn the cruelty of their parents, threw coals and burning cinders on our stomachs,—taking pleasure in seeing us broil and roast. Oh, my God, what nights! To remain always in an extremely constrained position; to be unable to stir or to turn, under the attack of countless vermin which assailed us on all sides; to be burdened with wounds, some recent and others all putrid; not to have sustenance for the half of one’s life: in truth, these torments are great, but God is infinite. At Sunrise, they led us back upon our scaffold, where we spent three days and three nights in the sufferings that I have just described.

“The three days having expired, they parade us into two other villages,

where we make our entrance as into the first; they give us the same salutes of beatings, and, in order to enhance the cruelty of the earlier ones, they deal us severe blows on the bones,—either at random or on the shin of the legs, a place very sensitive to pain. As we were leaving the first village, a wretch took away my shirt and gave me an old rag to cover what ought to be concealed; this nakedness was very painful to me. I could not abstain from reproaching one of those who had had the bulk of our spoils, saying: ‘Art thou not ashamed to see me in this nakedness,—thou who hast had so great a share of my baggage?’ These words somewhat abashed him: he took a piece of coarse cloth, with which a bundle was enveloped, and threw it to me. I put it on my back in order to defend myself from the heat of the Sun, which heated and corrupted my wounds; but—this cloth having glued itself fast, and, as it were, incorporated itself with my sores—I was constrained to tear it off with pain, and to abandon myself to the mercy of the air. My skin was detaching itself from my body in several places; and,—that I might say that I had passed per ignem et aquam, through cold and heat, for the love of my God,—while on the scaffold during three days, as in the first village, there fell a cold rain, which greatly renewed the pains of my sores. One of those Barbarians having perceived that Guillaume Cousture, although he had his hands all torn, had not yet lost any of his fingers, seized his hand, striving to cut off his forefinger with a poor knife. But, as he could not succeed therein, he twisted it, and in tearing it he pulled a sinew out of the arm, the length of a span. At the same time his poor arm swelled, and the pain was reflected from it even to the depth of my heart.

“On departing from that second village, they drag us into the third; these villages are several leagues distant from one another. Besides the salute and the caresses, and the reception which was given us at the two preceding ones, note what was added to our torture. The young men thrust thorns or pointed sticks into our sores, scratching the ends of our fingers, deprived of their nails, and tearing them even to the quick flesh; and, in order to honor me above the others, they bound me to pieces of wood fastened crosswise. Consequently, my feet not being supported, the weight of my body inflicted upon me a gehenna, and a torture so keen that, after having suffered this torment about a quarter of an hour, I plainly felt that I was about to fall in a swoon from it, which made me beseech those Barbarians to lengthen my bonds a little. They ran up, at my call; and, instead of lengthening them, they strain them more tightly, in order to cause me more pain. A Savage from a more distant country, touched with compassion, broke through the press, and, drawing a knife, boldly cut all the cords with which I was bound. This charity was afterward rewarded a hundredfold, as we shall see in its place.

“That act was not without providence: for, at the same time when I was unbound, word was brought that some warriors, or hunters of men, were conducting thither some Hurons, recently taken, I betook me to the place as best I could; I consoled those poor captives, and, having sufficiently instructed them, I conferred upon them holy Baptism; in recompense I am told that I

must die with them. The sentence decreed in the Council is intimated to me; the following night is to be (as they say) the end of my torments and of my life. My soul is well pleased with these words, but not yet was my God,—he willed to prolong my martyrdom. Those Barbarians reconsidered the matter, exclaiming that life ought to be spared to the Frenchmen, or rather, their death postponed. They thought to find more moderation at our forts, on account of us. They accordingly sent Guillaume Cousture into the largest village, and René Goupil and I were lodged together in another. Life being granted us, they did us no more harm. But alas! it was then that we felt at leisure the torments which had been inflicted on us. They gave us for beds the bark of trees, flat on the ground; and for refreshment they gave us a little Indian meal, and sometimes a bit of squash, half raw. Our hands and fingers being all in pieces, they had to feed us like children. Patience was our Physician. Some women, more merciful, regarded us with much charity and were unable to look at our sores without compassion.”

*God preserves Father Jogues after the Murder of his Companion.
He Instructs Him in a Very Remarkable Manner*

When those poor captives had recovered a little of their strength, the principal men of the country talked of conducting them back to Three Rivers, in order to restore them to the French; the affair made so much progress that it was considered as settled. But, as their captors could not agree, the Father and his companions endured, more than ever, the pangs of death. Those Barbarians are accustomed to give prisoners, whom they do not choose to put to death, to the families who have lost some of their relatives in war. These prisoners take the place of the deceased, and are incorporated into that family, which alone has the right to kill them, or to let them live. The others would not dare to offend them; but when they retain some public prisoner, like the Father, without giving him to any individual, this poor man is every day within two finger-lengths of death. If some rascal beat him to death, no one will trouble himself about it; if he drag out his poor life, it is by favor of some individuals who have love for him. In such condition was the Father, and one of the Frenchmen; for the other had been given to take the place of a Hiroquois killed in war.

The young Frenchman who was the Father's companion was accustomed to caress the little children, and to teach them to make the sign of the Cross. An old man, having seen him make this sacred sign upon the forehead of his grandson, and that he took the child's hand in order to teach him to form it, said to a nephew of his: "Go and kill that dog: the Dutch tell us that what he does is of no account; that act will cause some harm to my grandson." The nephew obeyed, as soon as possible; when he, accordingly, sought the opportunity to commit this murder outside the village, it presented itself thus: Father Jogues—having learned that their purpose to release the French was set aside, and that, in consequence, some young men had come to seek him even in his

cabin, in order to torment him and to treat him as a victim destined to death—wished to forewarn and strengthen his poor companion. He leads him to a grove near the village, and explains to him the dangers in which they stood. They both offer prayers, and then recite the rosary of the Blessed Virgin; in a word, they cheerfully prepare themselves for death, encouraged by strength from him who never fails those who seek and love him. While they were returning toward their village, talking of the blessings of the other life, the nephew of that old man, and another Savage, armed with hatchets and watching for an opportunity, go to meet them. Having approached them, one of these men says to the Father, “March forward;” and at the same time he breaks the head of poor René Goupil, who, on falling and expiring, pronounced the Holy Name of Jesus. The Father, seeing him prostrate, falls upon him and embraces him; those Barbarians draw him away, and deal two more blows with the hatchet on that blessed body. “Give me a moment’s time,” the Father said to them, supposing that they would accord him the same favor as to his companion. He then falls on his knees, he offers himself in sacrifice to the divinity; then, turning toward those Barbarians, “Do,” he said to them, “what you please; I fear not death.” “Get up,” they reply; “thou wilt not die this time.” They drag the dead man through the streets of the village, and then go and throw him into a very sequestered place.... This death occurred on the twenty-ninth of September, in the year 1642....

*The Father Is Given as Servant to Some Hunters. He Suffers;
He Is Consoled; He Exercises His Zeal in His Journeys*

...From the month of August [*1642] till the end of March [*1643], the Father was every day in the pains and terrors of death. A lesser courage had died a hundred times, from apprehension. It is easier to die all at once than to die a hundred times. Toward the end of April, a Savage Captain from the country of the Sokokiois appeared in the land of the Hiroquois, laden with presents, which he came to offer for the ransom and deliverance of a Frenchman named Ondesson,—thus the Hurons and Hiroquois named Father Jogues. This man related that one of his fellow-countrymen, a man of note, having fallen into the hands of the Algonquins, had been very badly treated; but that Onontio and the French had made great gifts to redeem him, and had saved his life; and thereupon he drew forth some letters from the Captain of the French, to be delivered to Ondesson. This embassy gave some credit to the Father, and caused him to be regarded for a short time with more compassionate eyes; but those Barbarians, having accepted the gifts, nevertheless did not set him at liberty,—violating the law of nations, and the law accepted among all these tribes....

[*Father Jogues escaped from Iroquoia in November of 1643 with the help of the Dutch.]

JR, 31:111 [**Father Jogues returns to Iroquoia as an ambassador and is killed on October 18, 1646.*]

Hardly had the poor Father been refreshed among us two or three months, when he recommenced his expeditions; on the twenty-fourth of September in the same year, 1646, he embarks with a young Frenchman, in a canoe conducted by some Hurons, in order to return to the land of his crosses....

We have learned that he was slain directly upon his entrance into that country full of murder and blood: here follows a letter announcing this, from the Governor of the Dutch, to Monsieur the Chevalier de Mont-Magny. "The present letter is sent to thank your Lordship for the remembrance that you have had of me,—a favor which I will try to reciprocate, if God please to grant me the opportunity" (*these are his terms*). "Moreover, I send this by way of the northern regions,—by means of either the English or Monsieur d'Aunay,—in order to inform you of the murder which the Barbarous and inhuman Maquois, or Hiroquois, have committed upon Father Isaac Jogues and his companion. I would also inform you of the design which they have, to surprise you under pretext of a visit, as you will see by the letter enclosed herewith; which, although it is poorly worded and spelled, acquaints you, to our great regret, with the details of it all. I am grieved that the subject of this is not more agreeable; but the importance of the matter has not allowed me to be silent. Our Minister up yonder" (*that is to say, at a settlement situated on the upper part of the river*) "has carefully inquired, from the principal men of that canaille, concerning the reason of this wretched deed; but he could not obtain other answer from them, except that the Father had left the Devil among some clothes which he had left in their custody, who had caused their indian corn to be devoured. This is all I can write, for the present, to your Lordship." The enclosure mentioned in the preceding, written by a Dutchman to Sieur Bourdon, is expressed in the following terms.

"I would not miss this opportunity of acquainting you with my welfare. I am in good health, thank God; and pray God that it may be so with you and your children. For the rest, I have not much to tell you, except how the French arrived, on the 17th of this present month of October, 1647, at the fort of the Maquois [**Mohawks*]. This is to inform you how those ungrateful Barbarians did not wait after they had actually arrived in their cabins,—where they were stripped all naked, without shirts, save that they gave them each a breech-clout to hide their wretched plight. The very day of their coming, they began to threaten them,—and that immediately, with heavy blows of fists and clubs, saying: 'You will die to-morrow; be not astonished. But we will not burn you; have courage; we will strike you with the hatchet and will set your heads on the palings' (that is to say, on the fence about their village), 'so that when we shall capture your brothers they may still see you.' You must know that it was only the nation of the bear which put them to death; the nations of the wolf and the turtle did all that they could to save their lives, and said to the nation of the bear: 'Kill us first.' But alas! they are not in life for all that. Know, then,

that on the 18th, in the evening, when they came to call Isaac to supper, he got up and went away with that Barbarian to the lodge of the bear. There was a traitor with his hatchet behind the door, who, on entering, split open his head; then immediately he cut it off, and set it on the palings. The next day, very early, he did the same to the other man, and their bodies were thrown into the river. Monsieur, I have not been able to know or to learn from any Savage why they have killed them. For the rest, their desire and undertaking is to go away, three or four hundred men, that they may try to surprise the French, so as to do the same with them as they have done with these others. But God grant that they may not accomplish their design.”

Such is, word for word, what the Dutch have written concerning the death of Father Isaac Jogues. One of these two letters is dated the thirtieth of October; the other, the fourteenth of November, of last year, 1646. They were not delivered to Monsieur our Governor until the month of June in this year, 1647. A little before having received them, some Algonquin women and a Huron, having escaped from captivity among those Barbarians, had indeed told us of this murder; but they did not describe the particulars of it,—we shall know them still more fully some day.

JR, 31:121 [**Christianity is blamed for disasters among the Indians.*]

The Algonquins and Hurons—and next the Hiroquois, at the solicitation of their captives—have had, and some have still, a hatred and an extreme horror of our doctrine. They say that it causes them to die, and that it contains spells and charms which effect the destruction of their corn, and engender the contagious and general diseases wherewith the Hiroquois now begin to be afflicted. It is on this account that we have expected to be murdered, in all the places where we have been; and even now we are not without hope of one day possessing this happiness.

JR, 31:165 [**The Algonquins, Montagnais, and Hurons flee a massacre.*]

I will relate, farther on, how the Algonquins who were massacred this Winter, had I know not what premonition of their defeat. The Montagnais who were hunting in the environs of Kebec and saint Joseph were almost at the same time seized with a fear which caused them to leave the woods; they composed three bands, and all these bands, though separated from one another, were affected with a like terror, almost at the same time. While they were on the way to reach Kebec, there arrived a messenger from Three Rivers, who said to them: “Escape! everything is dead in the quarter whence I come.” Terror straightway entered their souls; each one wished to get the start. “Softly!” said to them a Christian who has authority among them; “let us not be headlong,—let us observe the blessed Lord’s day; and to-morrow we will depart at daybreak. Do not fear, God will preserve us if we obey him.” In fact, they did not break up camp till the following day.

Hardly had they arrived, when three Hurons of their squad appeared, thor-

oughly frightened. "Two of our companions are taken," they said. "I am astonished that we have not all been massacred. It is possible that the enemy, having had knowledge through his prisoners of the place where we were, has pursued us; but God has blindfolded his eyes; for there was nothing easier than to meet us.

JR, 31:171 [**A skirmish between the Iroquois and Hurons.*]

Last Spring [*of 1647], the Christians of saint Joseph armed three shallops and some canoes, in order to go and scour, not the country, but the great river; and to give chase to the enemy, who appeared from time to time in various places. They were escorted by some Frenchmen, whom Monsieur our Governor had given them. Having reached Montreal, they were all feasted with much benevolence....

Two days after their arrival, they embarked again in order to go down to Kebec. Now, as they had not encountered enemies, they imagined that the great river was free therefrom; for that reason, they were not on their guard. A canoe conducted by two Hurons, preceding the shallops, was attacked and taken in lake saint Pierre by a squad of Hiroquois. The canoes which followed, having perceived this, straightway go up again toward the shallops; several young men had gone aside here and there among the Islands, in order to hunt muskrats. Finally, having come together again, they proceed toward the enemy,—who, not thinking that he can resist those shallops, casts himself, along with his prey, into the forest; in a place flooded by the Spring rains, they fortify themselves as best they can. A Christian Captain, preparing himself for combat, made a vigorous harangue to his people, holding in his hand a Crucifix and a Rosary enriched with a great medal. Another, javelin in hand, seconded him. The French meanwhile confessed to a Father who happened to be present on that occasion. A good Neophyte, seeing that he was not understood in his own language, asked to confess through an interpreter. "One would need," said the Father afterward, "to come from the end of the world, in order to see Savages painted in various colors, speak so ardently of God, and think so diligently upon their salvation." Now as night was approaching, it was deemed best that the Father should get into a canoe and take a trip to Three Rivers, to warn Monsieur our Governor of what was occurring. He learned the news toward ten o'clock in the evening; and on the next day he was present with a reinforcement of two good shallops and ten canoes, at the place where those Barbarians had intrenched themselves. A Huron, desiring to reconnoitre them, was killed by an arquebus shot, and eaten by those Cannibals. They had tied their canoes together, in order not to have their feet in the water, because their fort was flooded. Monsieur the Governor, having arrived, wished to reconnoitre the place; but the rain fell in so great abundance, all night, that the weapons could not be handled. The next day, at dawn, those birds had flown away.

JR, 31:175 [**A convert of the Fire Nation is pressed to war by his comrades.*]

The Relation of the Hurons made mention, last year [*1646], of a young man called Michel, of the nation of fire; he brought to Kebec a little Huron girl, to be placed in the Seminary of the Ursulines. As he could not go up again to his country, he remained from that time in the little house of those good Mothers' Chaplain....

Some of his comrades urging him to go to war this Spring, he answered them that he could not go thither without the order of him who directed him. "We see plainly," they reply, "that thou art a woman, and not a man." He lowered his eyes and restrained his words, but his heart was piqued; he went, some time afterward, to unburden it in the presence of his good Mother,—telling her his trials, and his ideas concerning the war. The Mother having consoled him, exhorts him to bear this wrong like a Christian. "Ah! Marie," he answers, "how hard a thing it is for a man to be accounted a woman!" In conclusion, he went to the war and came back thence; and he who, among others, had given him that insult, was taken by the Hiroquois.

JR, 31:193 [**The Abenakis are identified as enemies of the Iroquois.*]

At the beginning of the year [*1647], when these good people [*the Abenakis] were preparing themselves for their great hunt, the sorcerers or Jugglers, taking occasion by the hair, acted as soothsayers: they published through the cabins that all those who prayed, and who denounced what these had preached to them would be wretched and would soon die; that the Patriarch,—thus they named the Father [*Gabriel Dreuilletes],—and all those who should keep his path, would be taken by the Hiroquois, who molest this nation as well as the others.

JR, 31:271 [**A Christian woman is captured and tortured by the Iroquois.*]

The wife of that miserable Apostate, whose death was abominable before God and before men, seeing herself ill-treated by her husband, left him in order to go up with her father-in-law to her own country. On the way, the Hiroquois, having fallen upon their squad, took away that poor wretched woman with another who was of her company.... A band of Hurons, going to war, encountered the enemies who held these two poor victims in their fetters and bonds: they pursued the latter so hotly that they had not the leisure to kill their prisoners before taking flight....The Hiroquois had crushed her fingers between two stones, and had treated her so harshly that she did not live long after her return....

JR, 32:19 [**The Iroquois and Hurons skirmish; an Iroquois captive is killed.*]

The Hiroquois appearing in various places on the banks of our great stream, a squad of French and Savages undertook to give them chase. It is certainly very difficult to overtake those Barbarians, because they are always on the watch at the points or upon elevated headlands, discovering from afar the

vessels and their Pilots in order to surprise them, or to combat them if they are in small force; but, if their forces are unequal, they stay concealed in the woods without presenting themselves,—unless through bravado, when they see well that their legs give them the advantage over our weapons. But the time will come when the French, trained for war in the manner of the Americans, will easily find means to stop those runners.

Not long ago, a score of these cannibals giving chase to some of our canoes, a shallop of our party went to attack them, and compelled them to go ashore, but not to give way and flee. Having placed themselves behind the shelter of their canoes, they promptly discharge their arquebuses; and while our French were seeking an advantageous place to disembark, those Barbarians in four minutes erected a little wooden fort, into which they shut themselves with the resolution to fight stubbornly. They were valiantly attacked; but, in truth, they sustained the shock with unexpected courage and dexterity. After all, however, believing themselves too weak to resist the assaults which they must expect on the following day, they asked that there be no firing on either side during the night; and meanwhile they escaped stealthily, before daybreak. The Sun appearing, our people found no more enemies to combat, though they made search all about their fortification. A young Frenchman [*Jean Amiot], filled with more courage than physical strength, seeking to follow the enemy by their trail, found one of them concealed in the hollow of a tree: he is drawn from that sepulchre, to be given another. Being questioned, he says that he could have escaped as well as the others, but that, his brother having been wounded, he had concealed himself in order to aid him. He says that there were seven Hiroquois severely wounded, and that he believes that two were killed on the spot; their bodies have not been seen,—it may be that they have carried them away to burn them, according to their custom. There were found in their redout some arquebuses, much heavier and far longer than ours. Two Savages of our band were killed, and six Frenchmen wounded, one of whom died some time later. They were taken to the *Hostel Dieu* at Kebec,—which assists to the utmost the Colony, both French and Savage,—and were there nursed and aided with the greatest care. Those who put arms in the hands of these Barbarians would deserve the punishment due to all the crimes which the avarice of the one party and the fury of the other have engendered.

This poor prisoner was taken first to three Rivers; and thence was conducted to Kebec, in order to be delivered to Monsieur the Governor. The latter gave him, a few days later, to a Savage Captain, with orders not to torture him as long as is their wont, or reduce him to a filthy nakedness, or make quarry of him like dogs. This poor man was conducted to Sillery on the sixteenth of October of this year, 1647; we had already begun to instruct him, that he might die a Christian.... “Yes, I believe,” he said; “I wish to go to Heaven, but I am grieved to have offended him who has made all. Jesous, pardon me; Jesous, pardon me,” he said in his own language. “Do not doubt,” he added, “that I believe with all my heart what you teach me. And since, according to your say-

ing, we must all appear before God, reproach me then with my treachery, if my heart has not now the belief which my mouth declares to you." These excellent inclinations softened all those who were near; he was baptized, and was made to bear the name of Father Isaac Jogues,—whom, as some said, he himself had killed.

As soon as he was baptized, he was delivered into the hands of the Savage Captain to whom Monsieur the Governor had given him, in order to exact Justice from him. This poor man, under the stress of his torments, exclaimed many times: "Jesous, Jesous." He offered no insult to those who were tormenting him. It is the custom of these wretched nations to make the prisoners sing, while in their tortures; this man used no bravado, or any threat, but uttered in his song only these few words: "Antaiok,"—the name, in the Savage tongue, of the Frenchman who captured him,—"Antaiok is the cause of my going to Heaven; I am very glad of it." Now, before this victim was led to the sacrifice, he was questioned on various points, to which his answers were as follows: Father Isaac Jogues, he said, was not killed by the general consent of the three Hiroquois villages; he was not beaten or stripped, but simply struck down. I will say in passing, with reference to this matter, that we attach more Credence to the letters sent by the Dutch than to the words of this prisoner, because we have strong suspicions that it was he himself who killed the Father,—since a Huron, who has escaped from that country, having seen him in the hands of the French, said to him, "Comrade, what canst thou expect from those who have captured thee, having unluckily slain a person whom they loved?" Furthermore, when the interpreter asked him how the man who had massacred the Father's companion was called, he named him without delay; but when he was asked the name of him who had taken the Father's life, he hung his head, without saying aught. He was urged during two days, but opened not his lips: finally, he uttered the name of a Hiroquois. He added that that good woman whom Father Isaac Jogues called his aunt, and from whom he had received some aid, said to the murderers, "It is I myself whom you kill; what will the two other villages say, whom you have not consulted about this death, so sudden and so rash?"

He was asked what had become of the two Frenchmen who had been taken at Montreal. He answered that they had not appeared in their country, and that their scalps alone had been brought thither; he named the Hiroquois who had taken and slain them. He said, besides, that three Hurons had been taken at Montreal, and that their lives had been spared; that two had escaped, and that the third had said to his two companions who wished to take him away: "I love my mother too well; she has saved my life, and I cannot leave her." This was a Hiroquois woman to whom they had given him, in place of her children and relatives killed in war.

JR, 32:27 [The use of dogs to detect Iroquois ambushes.]

During the first war with the Hiroquois, there was in Montreal a bitch,

which never failed to go scouting every day, taking her little ones with her; and if any one of them acted stubbornly, she would bite it, to make it go on. Nay, more, if one of the pups turned back in the midst of its run, she would fall upon it at her return, as if by way of punishment. Moreover, if she scented, while on the patrol, some Hiroquois, she would turn short, moving directly homeward, barking, and announcing that the enemy was not far away. Her natural inclination was for hunting squirrels; but her constancy in making the round every day as faithfully as men, beginning now on one side, now on the other; her perseverance in directing her little ones, and in punishing them when they failed to follow; and her fidelity in turning short, when the scent of the enemies caught her sense of smell,—all these caused astonishment.

JR, 32:29 [**Some Hurons escape capture by the Iroquois; bird calls are used as signals.*]

The fear of the enemies has kept away, this year, the Savages from Montreal: there have appeared there only six Hurons, three of whom have been taken by the Agneronons [**Mohawks*], the fourth has been lost, the two others have made a narrow escape. These good people cannot help going to the chase: it must also be acknowledged that that is their pleasure and their life. Having gone away some leagues from the settlement, a Frenchman who accompanied them, while aiding them to build their cabin, wounded one of them with a heavy blow of the axe, which he dealt inadvertently upon his hand. All three are astounded; they wrap up the wound as best they can, proceeding as quickly as possible toward the settlement, in order to have that poor man cared for....He endured for several days that severe treatment, without giving any sign of impatience.

His companion, unable to remain at rest, stole away in order to go and kill some beavers or bustards. Approaching a little pond, he saw a quantity of game arise in great confusion; he suspected, indeed, that it was beaten up by some hunters. Having slipped into the rushes, he heard some cries or songs of birds, which were answering one another; fear seized him, for it is the custom of the Hiroquois and other Savages to call one another by the cries of screech-owls during the night, and by the warbling of other birds during the day. Advancing a little further, he perceived 7 or 8 Hiroquois, with arquebuses on their shoulders, hunting on the shores of that pond. He commended himself to God; and, as soon as they had taken one route, he hastened to the opposite one, in order to put himself in a place of safety. The hunt for beasts is very often a passion, but the hunt for men is a madness among these Barbarians.

Journal of the Jesuit Fathers. 1648.

JR, 32:87 [**News of talks between the French and Iroquois.*]

On the 23rd [**of May, 1648*], Amyot and Marguerie were drowned. The news of it was brought by the bark which came back from Montreal, bringing

Mademoyselle d'Ailleboust and the news of the conference with the yroquois at Montreal,—*cujus historia* will be seen in a letter from father Dendemare in the Archives.

On the 30th of May, another meeting with some yroquois, at 3 rivers, *cujus historia ibidem*, and others thereafter.

JR, 32:93 [**An Iroquois captive mocks Algonquin war attempts.*]

Item, Noel with his people went away to 3 rivers, with the Intention of making war; it was only a farce, which ended in nothing, except eating bread and peas at the fort of 3 rivers. The captive yroquois saw all that, and had good reason to make sport of it. Noel and his people, having left here on the 21st of June, returned on the 3rd of July [*1648].

Father Hierosme Lalemant. 1648. Relation of What Occurred Most Remarkable in the Missions of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in New France in the Years 1647 and 1648. From Quebec, October 15, 1648.

JR, 32:131 [**D'Ailleboust replaces Montmagny as governor in New France.*]

It is a pleasure to see two persons of merit and virtue vying with each other in deference,—especially when one of them lays aside the interests that might induce him to dispense with it did he not fortify his courage with some thought more worthy and more elevated than those of the commonalty. So soon as Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny became aware of the wishes of the King and the Queen, and learned on the arrival of the ships that their Majesties had appointed Monsieur d'Ailleboust to the Government of the country throughout the whole extent of the River St. Lawrence, he not only received the order with honor and respect, but he further manifested a generous magnanimity by making, with much display, all necessary preparations for the reception of the new Governor.

JR, 32:143 [**Parleys and skirmishes along the St. Lawrence River.*]

On the eighteenth of May [*1648], two canoes full of Hiroquois crossed the great River in sight of the fort of Montreal. They coolly landed on the Island, and, without manifesting any apprehension, seven or eight of their band went straight to the French quarter. Monsieur de Maison-neufve, the Governor of the Island, sent out some soldiers to reconnoitre. When the Barbarians observed them, they halted, and made signs that they wished a parley. Two Interpreters were sent, and remained with them a very long time. "We have no war with the French," they said; "we war only on the Algonquins who alone are our enemies. Let us forget the past, and renew peace more strongly than ever." Our Interpreters were delighted with this fine speech, and reciprocally assured them of the sincerity of our thoughts, and the kindness of our hearts. In a word, they became so confident that two Hiroquois passed in

among the party of French, while one of the two interpreters went to join the Hiroquois, for both sides spoke to one another only from a distance. Monsieur de Maison-neufve, who feared a surprise, went with some soldiers to the spot where this parley was going on; and, after having given the Interpreter who was with the Hiroquois to understand that he should try to escape on the following night, he took with him the two Hiroquois with the intention of sending them to Monsieur our Governor after the Interpreter should escape. The parley being ended, each one retired to his own quarters, The Interpreter passed the night with the Hiroquois, and the two Hiroquois with the French. Mutual inquiries were made for news; the Hiroquois asked what had become of one of their warriors, who had been taken prisoner by the French in the previous Autumn. The Interpreter did not wish to tell them how the poor wretch had been burned, so he endeavored to turn the conversation and to evade their question; but, when the Hiroquois persisted, he retorted: "And you, tell us what has become of Father Jogues and a Frenchman, who went to your country confiding in the plighted word of the people." The Hiroquois, who were more cunning than they seemed, changed their tune at this retort. "Let us speak of pleasant things," one of them replied, "You will soon see at your gates the oldest and most prominent men of our country, who will come to ask the French for peace; and to prove their sincerity they are bringing some Dutchman with them." It must be admitted that there is goodness and simplicity among the French, who listened to these discourses with as much pleasure as if they came from innocent lips and hearts.

On the following day, as the Interpreter had not effected his escape,—either because no opportunity of doing so presented itself, or because he considered that he was bound to keep his word with people who have none to keep, and who make a profession of surprising us,—we were obliged, in order to get him back, to give up the two hostages whom we had seized. When the Hiroquois received their people,—of whose return they had some doubts, owing to their own treachery,—they felt such joy that they approached our French unarmed, except one alone, who was more distrustful than the others. Now as we were more numerous than they, and well armed, it would have been very easy to capture them all, had we wished to do so.

We have been told that, at about that time, a Frenchman had wandered a little distance from his house. A Hiroquois who lay in ambush waited until he had discharged his arquebus at some pigeons that he was pursuing, and then rushed at him; but the Frenchman bravely extricated himself from the danger. And now rely on the fine words of those innocents! In conclusion, they gave us a present of their game, while Monsieur de Maison-neufve had them taste some French bread; and as a proof of their good-will toward us, they stole the nets that had been set in the river at a spot quite close to the fort; this was their last adieu. One must never expect the Hiroquois to keep their word, unless they be influenced by some motive of fear or of hope, because they have no Religion, and their government is not such that, when an individual kills a

Frenchman for his pleasure, he need fear any punishment. If we had a considerable number of Hiroquois in our hands, and by delivering them up could obtain that the children of the principal men of the country be brought to us, the fear that the older ones would have of our doing an injury to the little ones would prevent them from attacking us unseasonably. But so long as they consider us incapable of doing them any harm, or of procuring them any great advantage, our kindness will not protect us from their treachery and cruelty. Let us continue our route, if you please.

On the thirtieth of the same month of May, some French canoes went to visit their nets that were set on the other side of the great River, opposite the fort of three Rivers. A Hiroquois, who lay hidden in the forest, observed their shallop and swam out to it. As he was alone, he was received without any distrust; and he did his best to explain, by signs, that he was a friend of the French. A Huron, who had become a Hiroquois in his captivity, appeared on the bank and called out, asking to be taken with his comrade. They approached him, held out their hands to him, and took him on board the shallop, where he displayed much affection toward the French, who did the same to him, but in much more innocent kindness. While these compliments were going on, their canoe made its appearance, paddled by three Hiroquois, their companions. Our people spoke to them, received them kindly, offered them fish, and invited them to visit the French with their comrades; but they still kept aloof. When those who were in the shallop saw this, they withdrew, bringing back those two voluntary prisoners to Monsieur de la Poterie, the Governor of three Rivers; he put them in a secure place, and ordered those who were in the shallop to return at once with a reinforcement, to endeavor to attract the three other Hiroquois. They were found at the same spot where they had been left. Now, as they did not think that there were any Savages with us, they were almost on the point of following us, when a Huron happened to speak, and that frightened them so much that they fled. Two Hurons and an Algonquin, who had slipped in among our people, started in pursuit. The Algonquin caught one, whom he wished to take alive; but, meeting with too much resistance, he killed him and tore off his scalp which he brought back in token of his victory. The two others escaped into the woods.

Now, after several questions had been put to the two prisoners, the Huron confessed that, after having hunted near Richelieu from the month of February to that time, they had resolved before returning, to their country, to come and break the heads of some Algonquins, if they should meet any. I do not think that they would have spared the French one whit more, had any fallen into their hands. As to the Hiroquois, he protested that, as he owed his life to the French,—because, when he was captured by an Algonquin Captain, Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny had redeemed him and set him at liberty in the treaty of peace,—he protested, I say, that from that time he had felt love and respect for Onontio and for all the French; and that he had received a wound in the arm—of which he showed the scar—for having opposed him who unfortu-

nately had slain Father Isaac Jogues. He added that, after the death of the Father, he had become the protector of the Frenchman who accompanied him; that he had forbidden him to go far from him, because he saw that his life was not safe; but that the young man, he said, had gone to get something, I know not what, that he had brought with him, and was killed with a hatchet by those who watched him. "I have always intended," he added, "to give you, information of that treachery; but I have been unable to do so until now, when I have cast myself into your hands." However it may be as regards this one, who seems more grateful than the others, there is no doubt that the Hiroquois would have gloried in massacring us if they could. It is one of their stratagems of war, when they meet bands composed of several nations, to call out aloud that they are at war only with one of those nations, and therefore they beg the others to remain inactive during the battle. In a word, they act every sort of personage, in order to deceive all classes of persons. Their might is their right; their interest is their fidelity; and their treachery, their politeness. Let us proceed.

On the twentieth of June, two canoes full of Hiroquois crossed the great River at midnight and landed a little below three Rivers. Some of the boldest approached stealthily and quietly, to see if they could enter a place where a Frenchman lodged. The latter awoke, and called out in a loud voice: "Who goes there?" The Hiroquois were alarmed, and withdrew. But, as they were at a distance of only about a gunshot from the fort, the sentry discovered them, and, finding that they did not answer his challenge, he notified the Corporal, who, suspecting that they were Hiroquois, brought the voluntary prisoner up to the bastion. He spoke in his own language and was heard by his countrymen. "I am alive," he said to them. "The French treat me like a friend; there is nothing to fear." On hearing these words, they asked that a shallop be sent to them. This was promptly done; nevertheless they did not dare to approach it very closely: but the chief of the band threw himself into the water to join the French. He was kindly received, and taken to the fort with his countryman, whose feet were fettered; he hid the irons at first, for fear of frightening him. When they were both in the guardhouse, and had been given something to eat, he opened his robe and showed the other the marks of his captivity. When his comrade saw those iron garters, he smiled; but it was not, in my opinion, with the best of feeling. They were allowed to converse at will; they did not tell us what the first part of their discourse was, but here is the conclusion: "Our band," said the newcomer, "consists of a hundred men, four of whom are elders, and among the most notable of our country. If you will give my comrade his liberty, or if you will take him in a good shallop to our people, he will bring back some of them with him." His suggestion was carried out. The prisoner was accompanied by two well-armed shallops, and, as a mark of our confidence, he was allowed to enter the camp of his people,—whence, after a long parley, he returned, accompanied by two of his countrymen who voluntarily came with him to the fort of the French. We were thus in possession of four voluntary prisoners. When they were questioned more at leisure, it was seen

that there was deceit in their words, for they admitted that the band consisted of only twenty-nine men, among whom there was no elder nor any man empowered to negotiate; that the rumor of the coming of the elders for the purpose of negotiating peace was false; and that the Hiroquois should not be trusted more than they deserved. Nevertheless, it was considered advisable that one of the four should return to his own country, to inform the chief men among the Hiroquois of the detention of the three others, so that they might not commit any foul deed against the French and their allies. When the time came to choose which of the four should be set free, each one tried to confer that honor upon his companion; each sought that favor for the others, and not one would accept it for himself; each one wished to risk his life with his comrades, whom they considered in danger among the French. Owing to the uncertainty of success in this matter, they finally condemned the youngest to enjoy that liberty. He therefore embarked with the first prisoner, to be conducted by our French to his countrymen, who received him with open arms. But when he saw his comrade return to the French, according to his plighted word, he left his people and accompanied him,—saying that he wished to share the fortune of those with whom he had just risked himself; that, moreover, those who were returning to their country had tongues, and could speak as well as he. These were people skillful enough to surprise men, as well as animals; but they were caught in their own toils.

On the third of July, the Huron who had surrendered to the French with our first prisoner, as we have related above, told some of his countrymen that he was going to Montreal to get some beaver skins that he had deposited in the hands of the French. This opportunity was gladly seized for informing Monsieur de Maison-neuve of the inroads of our enemies, and of the detention of the four prisoners. But that perfidious Savage did not go far before he met another band of Hiroquois, for whom he was seeking. He gave them to understand that the four voluntary prisoners were very badly treated by the French, and were sure to lose their lives. After so black and treacherous a falsehood, on the following day, the fourth of the same month of July, an Algonquin discovered the tracks of the enemy; he notified Monsieur de la Poterie, who warned the inhabitants by the tocsin and by the discharge of the cannon, the usual signal for all to be on their guard. Five Hurons who were nearest the spot where the enemies were already in conflict with two of our Frenchmen in charge of some cattle, ran up on hearing the voices and clamor of the combatants; they joined them and withstood the assault of more than eighty men. At the sound of the fight, two armed shallows were sent by water: but, before they could reach the scene of the combat, the Hiroquois had already killed one Frenchman and a Huron, and taken two French and two Hurons prisoners. Nevertheless, they were so terrified when they saw two of their people fall upon the spot, slain by the hand of one Frenchman, and two others wounded, that they fled, although they were at least ten to one. One of the two French prisoners was a nephew of Monsieur de la Poterie, who had

wandered a little too far while hunting, and had been caught in the toils without knowing how he had got there. The Huron who was killed was a good Christian, and had been to confession on the previous Sunday, as had also the Frenchman. The two Huron captives are not baptized; as to the French who are prisoners, there is strong evidence of their having led a good life. They are, nevertheless, somewhat to blame for having exposed themselves too much, knowing the enemy as they did. When our four voluntary prisoners heard of this defeat, they considered their own lives forfeited, as they would have regarded ours under similar circumstances. "Despatch us," they said; "we are dead; do not make us linger in pain." Some of them asked to be instructed before being put to death; but they were told that we were not so hasty in our judgments and actions as the Savages generally are. Here is another alarm.

On the fourteenth of the same month, saint Bonaventure's day, a man appeared on the other side of the village of three Rivers, waving a blanket in the air, as if he wanted some one to go to his assistance. A shallop was manned, but as it took too long to suit him, he made a small raft on which he embarked and proceeded straight toward those who were going to reconnoitre, calling out in French: *Allons, allons! venez, venez!*—"Come along! come, come!" On hearing these words, they thought that it was one of our two Frenchmen who had escaped; but finally they found that it was a young Huron, named Armand, who, through having been at our Seminary, speaks a little French. He had been captured the previous year, and taken to the Hiroquois country, where he endured horrible tortures. As he is well known to the French, they received and embraced him affectionately. After having briefly answered the most pressing questions of the French, he said: "Take me to the house of prayer, and bring me a Father; I am very anxious to confess." I assure you that he was well prepared. Faith does wonders in the midst of dangers. After his Confession, and after his penance, which he wished to perform before going out of the Chapel, he exclaimed, as if he breathed freely once more: "Now I am free! Ah! how long I have desired to free myself from the weight of my sins! Ah, how often in my captivity did I think of the house of God! I commended myself to the prayers of the Christians who are here, and of those who are in France." And then, changing his tone, he said in quite a gay and joyful accent: "Since we have relieved the mind, let us think of the body. If you will give me some dinner, you will oblige me. I have eaten nothing for twenty-four hours." God knows how cheerfully we gave him some. Here is the news we have received from his lips:

1. That he had escaped from a band of Hiroquois consisting of a hundred men, who held both sides of the river for three leagues below our fort.

2. That about a fortnight before, at a distance of two days' journey from their own country, they had met the comrades of our voluntary prisoners; that band had told them that they were going to inform the country of the kind treatment that we gave four of their warriors who were in our hands; and that therefore these fresh troops had changed their war-like plans into a desire to

prevent any harm being done to their comrades, and, for that purpose, had taxed themselves for the quantity of Porcelain beads that were needed to make up four collars which were to be presented to those who had the prisoners in their hands.

3. That that plan was altered through their meeting, within eight days, those who were taking away our two Frenchmen whom they held captive; that that band was angry with us through the perfidy of a Huron renegade of whom I have spoken in this Chapter. That treacherous Savage asserted that he had been commissioned by our prisoners to go and tell their relatives to consider them as dead, so badly were they treated by the French. Armand could not refrain from giving him the lie. "I know the French well," he said; "they are people who keep their word, and who abhor cruelty."

4. He reported to us that our two prisoners still had their clothes on when he had met them; that only some of their nails had been torn out; that he had asked the taller of them if he would like to write to three Rivers, and that he himself had prepared some bark that serves as paper, and had made some ink in his own fashion; that the Frenchman had in fact written, and had given him the letter, but their Captain wished to hold it, for fear that the Huron might, on account of it, seize the opportunity to escape. He added that they who conducted our French talked of keeping them alive, if we kept the Hiroquois. God grant that they remember that promise, if it has ever issued from their lips; for they take so much pleasure in tormenting captives that there are rewards for those who display the most cruelty toward them, and the greatest. butchers are considered most able and are best rewarded among this people.

Finally this good young man told us that his band was to go down secretly, to Quebec to surprise our Christian Savages; and that they have no intention of sparing the French, if they can entrap any.

After all the above news had been related, the four Hiroquois prisoners asked Monsieur de la Poterie to permit one of them to go and see these new warriors, to disabuse them of the wrong impressions that the wretched Huron renegade had conveyed to them. They said that by this means the hostile acts that they might yet commit against the French would be averted; and that, if he who should be delegated did not return, the three others might be killed. This proposition was accepted, and a canoe was given to the eldest of the prisoners who went straight to his people, and, after having spoken to them, he returned at night. He called out before the door of his prison, and when he had entered, he said that when the Hiroquois perceived him they posted themselves on both sides of the river to surprise him; and they would probably have done him an injury, had he not made himself known by his voice, by his name, and by his songs. "When they recognized me," he said, "they were seized with astonishment; but they were still more surprised when I assured them that my companions had suffered no more harm than I. Then they railed against the treacherous Huron who had given them wrong ideas of the goodness of the French. Seeing them so well disposed I told them that the best way to deliver us from

your hands was to stop all hostile acts against the French, and to bring back their prisoners as soon as possible. Finally I gave them to understand that I was pledged to return and I took my leave after they had first promised me to follow faithfully the advice that I gave them. Moreover they begged the Captain of the French to send them provisions, and to order a cannon to be fired on my arrival at the fort to let them know that I have arrived safely, and have not come across any Algonquins on my return. They were so afraid of that," said the negotiator, "that they gave me an arquebus with which to defend myself." Monsieur de la Poterie, it is true, had the cannon fired; but he did not deem it advisable to send them food. On the following day two canoes detached themselves from their main body, came before the fort, just beyond the range of the cannon, and asked for food. Their comrades hurled a thousand insults at them from the top of a bastion,—reproaching them with not caring for them, because they did not go and get the two French prisoners who alone could set them free. I cannot positively assert that those voluntary prisoners had not some secret arrangement with their people, and some desire to make us fall into their ambushes. It is very probable that their going and coming, and their long parleys, were not always harmless,—especially as they write to us from the Huron country that the Hiroquois who were captured in that quarter had stated that it was their intention to surprise the fort of three Rivers this year; and that, in their songs, their imprecations were directed equally against the French and the Algonquins. In any case, they awaited the misfortune that they did not foresee. The following Chapter will tell you of it; but, before commencing it, I shall write down an item of news that has just been brought to us.

On the twenty-eighth of the same month of July, twelve or thirteen Hiroquois lay in ambush at Montreal, in the corner of a wood adjoining a meadow where some mowers were cutting and gathering hay, while other men were cutting down the brushwood. Suddenly the report of some arquebus shots was heard, which brought down a Frenchman; and then the barbarians, after giving a loud yell, were observed running as fast as they could to cut off the others. But our people were not frightened; they seized their arms, and fired three shots at those who showed themselves, causing one or two to drop, who were soon dragged into the wood by their comrades. This prompt resistance so astonished the perfidious foes that they disappeared in an instant. The poor Frenchman who was killed was one of the gentlest and best men of that settlement. Now you may judge whether those whom I mentioned at the beginning of this Chapter were so very innocent when they promised wonders to the Interpreters of Montreal.

JR, 32:173 [**The French and Hurons defeat an Iroquois war party.*]

On the seventeenth day of July of this year, 1648, about a hundred Hiroquois—of whom I have spoken in the foregoing Chapter, and who had no wish to return to their own country without striking some blow worthy of notice—approached to within cannon-range of the fort of three Rivers. Some

Hurons among those who dwell in our settlements through fear of their enemies,—who, like sprites, infest the woods and rivers,—joined our French, and, with a small party of Algonquins, went to meet them. When the Hiroquois saw us advancing, they halted, and made signs that they wished to confer with us peaceably; and, at the same time, some of them came forward between the two parties, to speak to us; our people, to the same number, approached them. They asked us to give or sell them some provisions. We replied that, if they would go and get their French prisoners, they would receive every satisfaction. They pretended to be pressed by hunger, but we have since learned that these appearances were assumed in order to surprise us, for we found more than eighty sacks of Indian corn in their fort. When they found that we were on our guard, they withdrew, greatly dissatisfied. As they were turning away, a Huron, who was a captive with their band, recognized a countryman among our party; he approached him quietly, and whispered to him that we were lost; that in a day or two we would be invited to a parley, and be surrounded on all sides; and that the Hiroquois were preparing their weapons for that purpose. After receiving that warning, we kept a vigilant watch. At night, the first of our voluntary prisoners who was often allowed liberty to go and see his countrymen, our enemies, returned from their camp, and told us on their behalf that we were not to place any reliance on certain false rumors, that some evil-disposed persons might spread. As they had observed their Huron speaking with ours, they suspected that their plot was discovered; therefore, wishing to conceal it better, they promised that on the morrow they would send two of their people to our fort to transact business; but they begged us to send them back when we should have heard them. They half kept their word, for when our prisoner went to see them, he returned with only one who said that he was a relative of sieur Cousture who was formerly a captive in the country of those barbarians.

At the same time that this new negotiator was preparing to return, some canoes appeared paddling to the North of the great river, along the banks where the French are settled; and, at the same moment, on the South bank the Hiroquois were observed embarking in numbers and paddling with all their might in pursuit of those two canoes. The tocsin was sounded; the French and the Savages armed themselves in an instant, and hastened to their assistance as fast as they could. But when our people came close to the spot where they had observed those canoes, they suddenly heard a great discharge of many arquebuses, without being able to discern whether it was a real fight or a feint; for all this passed in the woods. Remembering the warning that had been given them, they thought that it was a stratagem and retraced their steps. Hardly had they reached their post when a rumor spread that two hundred Hurons had just been defeated, and that the fray that we heard arose from that combat. At this news the blood froze in their veins; all hung their heads, without saying a word; they considered themselves almost guilty of the death of so many men, through having mistaken a reality for a feint or a dream. While sorrow

devoured the hearts of the French and the Savages, suddenly a Huron canoe appeared, followed by two Hiroquois canoes that seemed to be pursuing it. Each one called out to embark and help the poor Hurons. Two canoes were promptly manned and went to meet them, while many people spread themselves along the beach. When those in the Huron canoe saw the two canoes approaching it, they thought at first that they contained Hiroquois; they continued to advance; finally they recognized and saluted one another and went in company toward our settlement. It was found that those two Hiroquois canoes were two canoes that had been taken from the enemy, and were manned by Hurons. In the Huron canoe we perceived Father François Bressany, who lifted his voice before a great crowd of people that ran up to get news, and called out aloud: "Let us go and thank God, who has just given us the victory. Our Hurons have defeated the Hiroquois who prowled around your doors. Many enemies lie dead on the field; eighteen or twenty prisoners are in bonds, and the young men are pursuing the fugitives." This glad news rejoiced our hearts all the more that sorrow had saddened them; all hastened to the Chapel, where the *Te Deum* was chanted; then we embraced the Father who told us how it had occurred.

The Hurons, he said, did not come down last year to the French through fear of the enemies, who on the one hand threatened the country, and on the other beset all the roads. But the necessity of obtaining hatchets and other French goods compelled them to expose themselves to all those dangers. Two hundred and fifty men, led by five brave Captains, resolved to die, or to pass through in spite of all the enemy's resistance. In that band there are Christians and Catechumens to the number of over 120. Those good Neophytes have never failed to say their prayers publicly twice a day, all together, in the presence of the Pagans. The Hurons have on former occasions come down in still larger numbers, but never in so good order. After a journey of over two hundred leagues without meeting any one, when they drew near the fort of three Rivers they pushed their canoes in among the rushes, to put themselves in proper attire previous to showing themselves before the French,—that is, they painted their faces in various colors; they greased their hair; in a word they wished to appear in orderly condition. Some canoes that acted as an advance-guard pushed out toward the open water, and were observed at the same time by the French and by the enemies. The latter, who were on the other side of the river, embarked with unequalled celerity, to swoop down on those canoes; while the French ran, as fast as they could, along the beach to succor them. But they arrived, as I have already said, during the fight that was going on in the woods, and retired, thinking that it was a feint. When the advance-guard of the Hurons perceived the enemy, they immediately gave notice to the Captains who at once threw aside their oils and paints to seize their weapons. They ran, as fast as they could, to the spot where the Hiroquois were to disembark, but they arrived too late; so they collected and disposed themselves in the form of a semi-circle or crescent, to meet the first assault of the enemy,

and to hem them in should they come to blows and lance-thrusts. The Hiroquois advanced furiously,—without, however, uttering their usual yells and war-cries, which serve them as trumpets and drums to dispel the warriors' fear and to intimidate the enemy. When almost close enough to scorch their doublets, as the saying is, they fired a volley from their arquebuses, which our Hurons received lying on the ground; after delivering their volley, they charged, not expecting to meet with so much resistance. But the Hurons rose, and, uttering loud yells, they received their enemies with heavy discharges from their pieces; those poor people were taken by surprise, and fled in every direction, with the exception of one squad who tried to defend themselves with their knives; but they were soon surrounded by our people. And, if the Hurons, at the base of the crescent had not given way at the first report of the arquebuses, not one of the enemy would have escaped; but those cowards left a door open by which many got away. Three Frenchmen were present in that battle,—Father Bressany, who ran about everywhere, inspiring the Hurons with courage, and watching carefully to see if any one needed his assistance; and two others, who fought bravely, but, when the melee began, they stopped short, not knowing whom to strike for they could not distinguish the Hiroquois from the Hurons. One of these two Frenchmen observed a terrified Hiroquois; he went up to him, clapped him on the shoulder, and said to him: "Courage, my brother! let us fight bravely." He took him for one of our party; but a Huron came up, fell upon him, and took him away, whereat the Frenchman was astonished. That prisoner afterward sang that he had been captured by a Frenchman; for he imagined that he who had clapped him on the shoulder had said to him: "Thou art my prisoner." When the battle was over, the swiftest warriors pursued the fugitives, some of whom they captured and killed, bringing back their heads and scalps; but the desire of appearing and refreshing themselves at three Rivers, after the fatigues of a journey of over two hundred leagues, prevented them from completely following up their victory, and a great many escaped.

They wrote to us from Montreal that one of the fugitives ran as far as there, crossed the river, and went to surrender to the French. He entered the courtyard of the hospital without meeting any one except Mademoiselle de Boulogne, sister of Mademoiselle d'Ailleboust, to whom he held out his arms. Those who know that the modesty and bashfulness of that good Lady cause her a terrible fear of those barbarians said, through the respect which they feel for her gentleness and virtue, that she had captured a Hiroquois; and that she accomplished more with her prayers and her rosary, which she was saying at the time, than the soldiers with their swords and muskets.

After that defeat Father Bressany went on ahead, as we have stated, to carry the welcome news to our French. The Hurons followed some time afterward, in good order, bringing their prisoners and making them sing and dance after their fashion. It was a fine sight,—about sixty canoes floating quietly down the great River, and all the Hurons gravely seated in them, keeping time

with their voices and their paddles to the songs and airs sung by their enemies. But it was a sad and doleful sight to cast one's eyes on the victims who will perhaps become food for the flames, and for the stomachs of the barbarians.

They gave a prisoner to the Algonquins, who soon despatched him saying that their old cruelties must be abandoned. When the Hurons observed their gentleness, they said that before long every one would be baptized in their country, and they would then adopt the usages of the Christians. They burned a Huron renegade, who had been taken among the Hiroquois. I learn that the hatred that they had conceived for him arose from the fact of his having abandoned the Faith among their enemies; and this decided them to treat him in a very cruel manner.

When all those people had refreshed themselves to some extent, and Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny had arrived at three Rivers, they began to discuss affairs. The chief men, who were present at a council, brought four words, represented by five presents. It should be observed, by the way, that what passes for a word and for a present at public meetings must be of some considerable value. The first of these presents was but a salute and an honor that they paid to Monsieur the Governor, and to all our French. The second, a request that the warehouses be opened for trade. The third, a prayer that the price of the goods be reduced. The fourth and the fifth were in thanksgiving for the trouble taken in going to teach them in their country amid so many dangers, and through so many enemies who threaten but fire and flames. They gave two presents for that purpose, because, they said, that was of much greater importance than anything else on earth. They begged us to persevere constantly, stating that the country had a great affection for a doctrine that promised a life as sweet in its delights as it was of long duration.

Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny also gave them presents in return,—one, among others, to soothe the minds of the country that had been disturbed on account of the murder committed on the person of a Frenchman. The Hurons uttered a thousand insults against the murderers, so that Monsieur de Montmagny—seeing that they disapproved of the crime, for which they had given satisfaction according to the laws of their country—showed them by this present that in his mind the dead man had come to life again. He gave another present to urge them earnestly to keep the promise that they had given, that they would willingly listen to the Preachers of the Gospel. It is a strange thing that, as a rule, men yield to God only through calamities. Since plagues, war, and famine have fallen on these peoples, the elect have been distinguished from the reprobate; the latter have died like beasts, while the former have hastened to become children of God and a great many have ascended to Heaven.

Finally, when all these matters were concluded, those good people embarked in their little bark vessels, taking with them, in addition to Father Bressany four other Fathers of our Society, and one of our Brethren,—namely, Father Gabriel Lalemant, Father Jacques Bonin, Father Adrian Greslon,

Father Adrian d'Aran, and our Brother Nicolas Noirclair,—together with 25 or 30 Frenchmen. It is a great blessing to see the courage and zeal of those good Fathers. The blood and the deaths of those who have preceded them animate them; so great joy showed itself on their countenances that one would have said that they were all about to take possession of a Crown and an Empire. And what seems to me still more surprising is, that on such occasions young men are to be found who, incited by the example of the good Fathers, wish to run the same risks, and who protest that zeal for the salvation of souls, and not the hope of transitory lucre, makes them undertake so long, so rough, and so dangerous a journey.

We have learned since their departure that, when this small army of Hurons reached the point of the Island of Montreal, it divided. Some wished to pass by the settlement of the French who are on that Island, as they had promised Monsieur the Governor; while the others wished to take the other side as being shorter, easier, and less dangerous. We greatly fear that this division will bring misfortune upon them; for the Hiroquois, who are irritated by their losses, will not remain at rest; it will be easy for them to destroy those poor people if they find them separated. I pray Our Lord to be their guide in their devious paths, their support in their fatigues, and their arm and their strength in battle.

JR, 32:225 [**The effect of Christianity upon the Indian view of revenge.*]

A young Savage who spoke of the great perfidy of the Hiroquois and of the horrible massacre that they had made of his countrymen, was asked what his sentiments were respecting those wretches. "I often pray to God for them," he replied, "and I say in my heart that I wish they would be baptized, and that they would have sense, and would go to Heaven. Those are my sentiments." Such thoughts are not common to all the Savages, who are vindictive to the last degree against their enemies. It is also true that it is impossible to love enemies, if one be outside of God.

JR, 32:243 [**Some Iroquois are impressed by the courage of Christians.*]

Here is praise which is all the truer that it comes from the mouth of an enemy. Some one said to the Hiroquois prisoners that, if we did not take any revenge for their treachery, it was not through want of courage, but through our desire to open their eyes to eternity; that, moreover, those who know God fear not death, because it gives entrance to a life much more agreeable than this one. "Thou art right," said one of the Hiroquois. "We have seen it with our own eyes in the person of Ondesson,"—thus they called Father Isaac Jogues,— "and even in several Algonquins whom we burned; they scorned torture and death. And, within the year, we have admired the courage and resolution of one Apmangouch;" this was a brave Christian who was named Bernard at his baptism. "I was present," said the Hiroquois, "at the fight in which he was killed. One of my comrades, who recognized him, told him that

we would give him his life if he would surrender, as he belonged to a nation that is allied to the Agneronon Hiroquois; and we would have kept our word. But he replied in a loud voice and in a bold tone: 'I cannot yield to treacherous foes and to cowards who rely solely on their numbers and their surprises. I do not wish to live. If any one among you has any spirit, let him come forward and give proof of his courage against me.' One of our warriors, whom we considered a very Demon, started at once and tried to strike him with his javelin; but Bernard avoided the blow, ran him through in a moment, and, as he fell, split his head with his war-hatchet. Our people were enraged," said the Hiroquois; "they discharged a gun into his thigh and pierced his side with an arrow. Finding himself wounded, he called out in the Hiroquois tongue: 'A truce, I pray you, for an instant. Give me a little leisure; let me speak to him who has made all. I am going with him to Heaven. As to you who know him not, you shall be cast into flames in the bottom of the pit.' At these words all stopped; he knelt down, and raised his hands and his eyes to Heaven, speaking aloud,—but in the Algonquin tongue, which we did not understand. We all were astonished. Finally, when he had finished his prayer which lasted for some time, he looked at us with a steady gaze and said: 'Do what you will; I feel no regret at suffering a death that gives me life.' They pierced him on the spot with some lance-thrusts."

JR, 32:259 [**Fear of Mohawk attack forces the Algonquins to hunt far away.*]

The Agneronon Hiroquois, who have but little love for the French, who hate the Hurons, and who are enraged against the Algonquins, compel the latter to wander far away from our settlements in order to carry on their great hunts.

JR, 33:39 [**The Montagnais urge the French governor not to make a separate peace with the Iroquois, and call upon their allies for reinforcement.*]

Here is a prudent answer for a Savage. Those of Tadoussac united with those of Kebec, and came to salute Monsieur our Governor, to ascertain what were his opinions respecting the Hiroquois prisoners who had cast themselves into our hands. They feared that we might make peace independently of them; they alleged a thousand arguments to prove the treachery of that nation, and to induce us to continue the war. Monsieur the Governor caused them to be told that he was surprised that they should see to know his opinions,—they who seemed to conceal their own designs. "We see," he added, "a great number of stranger Savages arriving daily. Who among you has sent for them, without letting me know anything of it? Who is to command them?" A Captain very adroitly replied: "Those whom you see are children without fathers, without relatives, without chiefs, and without leaders. Their Captains, who served them as Fathers last year, are dead; and the poor orphans have come to live with their Allies. 'Come' (they said to one another), 'let us go and see our Friends; we are told that they are at war; let us go and taste the flesh of their

enemies.' Moreover, they are under your leadership; they will advance or fall back, according to your orders." This very prompt reply was considered a clever evasion; for it was well known that those strangers had been sent for.

JR, 33:43 [**An elderly Huron excuses his cowardice in battle.*]

I must not forget the clever evasion, accompanied by bluster, of one who showed himself a coward in the battle between the Hurons and the Hiroquois. A Huron, already advanced in years, who was frightened by the sight of the fires and the noise of the weapons, fled so far into the woods that it was a long time before he reappeared. When his victorious comrades, who had not found him among the dead, saw him return, they laughingly gave him a nickname. He tried to elude their banter, and said to them: "My nephews, you have no occasion to laugh and to jeer at me, as much as at your own cowardice. Had you displayed as much courage as your uncle showed in pursuing the enemy, you would have had more prisoners than you have. I ran so far and so fast that at last, when those whom I pursued had tired me out, I lost myself and strayed in the woods; that is why I delayed so long after the others." The Savages were satisfied with this explanation,—not because they did not perceive the falsehood, but because they know not what it is to cover the face of a poor man with shame and confusion. They never push one another to extremities, so as to be reduced to silence and to be nonplused.

JR, 33:43 [**Fraternal commitment among Iroquois warriors.*]

I shall here relate an instance that deserves to be classed among the memorable friendships of antiquity. A young Hiroquois, 19 or twenty years of age, had escaped from the defeat of those people whom we mentioned above. But, when he was quite out of danger, he observed that his elder brother, whom he had given his word never to abandon, did not make his appearance; he coolly retraced his steps, and, suspecting that his brother was captured, he came to seek him in the hands of his enemies. He landed at three Rivers and passed before several Frenchmen, who said not a word to him because they did not distinguish him from a Huron. He ascended a small mound, on which the fort is built, and coolly went and sat down at the foot of a cross erected at the gate of the fort. A Huron perceived him, and, unlike the French, recognized him; he seized him at once, despoiled and bound him, and made him ascend with his brother a scaffold on which all the captives were placed. When the poor lad was asked why he came to throw himself into the fires, the kettles, and the stomachs of the Hurons, his enemies, he replied that he wished to share his brother's fortunes, and that he had more love for him than fear of the tortures; and that he could not have endured, in his own country, the reproaches that would have been cast at him for abandoning him like a coward. Such friendship is not common.

Father Paul Ragueneau. 1648. Relation of What Occurred in the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus in the Huron Country, in New France, in the Years 1647 and 1648. From the Hurons, April 16th 1648.

JR, 33:63 [**The displacement of the Eries by enemies to the west.*]

This Lake, called Erié, was formerly inhabited on its Southern shores by certain tribes whom we call the Nation of the Cat [**Eries*]; they have been compelled to retire far inland to escape their enemies, who are farther to the West. These people of the Cat Nation have a number of stationary villages, for they till the soil, and speak the same language as our Hurons.

JR, 33:69 [**The Hurons do not descend to Quebec in 1647 for fear of the Iroquois.*]

I may say that this country has never been in such deep affliction as we see it now, and that never has the Faith appeared to greater advantage. The Hiroquois, the enemies of these people, continue to wage a bloody war against them that destroys our frontier villages and causes the others to dread a similar misfortune....

Almost the whole of last Summer was passed in expectations and alarms of a hostile army of the Hiroquois, our neighbors; that was the reason why the Hurons did not go down to Quebec, but remained to defend their threatened country. They also feared another army of the Annieronnon Hiroquois, who lay in ambush for them on the way, had they gone down the River.

JR, 33:71 [**Attempts at peace are made between the Hurons and the Onondagas. Help is sought from the Susquehannocks.*]

Our Hurons have made considerable advance in negotiations for Peace with the Onnontaeronnons [**Onondagas*] (that is one of the five Hiroquois nations that hitherto has most harassed this country), and there is some hope that two others of the hostile Nations will enter into the same treaty,—embassies are being sent on both sides. If this affair be successful, they will have to contend only with the Sonnontoueronnons [**Senecas*], the nearest enemy that we have, and the Annieronnon Hiroquois [**Mohawks*], who are nearer to Quebec,—against whom we could war with advantage, for our arms would not be diverted elsewhere.

Moreover, our Hurons have sent an embassy to the Andastoeronnons [**Susquehannocks*], peoples of New Sweden, their former allies, to solicit them to enter into a full Peace with them, or to resume the war that they waged but a few years ago against the Annieronnon Hiroquois. Considerable assistance is expected from this, as well as a great relief for this country. But, after all, our hopes rest in God; for the treachery of those peoples does not allow us to rely in any way upon their words, and makes us dread as great a misfortune during those treaties of peace as in the midst of war.

JR, 33:81 [**The Iroquois inflict heavy defeats upon the Hurons and Neutrals.*]

The Arendaenronnons [**the Huron Nation of the Rock*], who were on our frontiers toward the East, that we called “the Mission of St. John the Baptist,” met with so many defeats in the past years that they were compelled to leave their Country, which was too much exposed to the enemy, and to withdraw into other and more populous Villages, which are also more easily defended. We have lost a good many Christians thereby; Heaven ever enriches itself by our losses.

The whole of this country was threatened last Summer [**1647*] by a hostile army,—which indeed came to fall upon us, but their designs were thwarted for reasons which we will mention hereafter; and after most of them had dispersed, a band of three hundred Sonnontoueronnons [**Senecas*] attacked the village of the Aondironnons, where they killed a great many, and took away all the captives they could.

These Aondironnons are a tribe of the Neutral Nation who are nearest to our Hurons. Not being at war with the Sonnontoueronnons, they had received them in their villages as friends, and had prepared food for them in all their cabins,—among which the Sonnontoueronnons purposely divided themselves, the more easily to strike their blow. Their stratagem was successful, for they massacred or seized all who might have resisted, before the latter could perceive their evil design, because they all commenced the massacre at the same moment.

What led the Sonnontoueronnons to this act of treachery was the resentment that they felt on account of the death of one of their men. While returning, during the previous Winter, from a warlike incursion,—in which he had committed a murder on the frontier of the Tobacco Nation,—he was hotly pursued and caught by the Hurons at the gates of the Aondironnons, before he had time to enter any cabin. For that reason it was considered a fair capture; but, nevertheless, his death was avenged as we have stated.

It was thought that, after such base treachery, the entire Neutral Nation would go to war against the Hiroquois; and, in fact, both sides stood on their guard and distrusted each other. However there seems to be no stir in that direction, and they continue in their neutrality. Some say that it cannot be for a long time, and that the intention of the Neutral Nation is to get back their captives peacefully and amicably, and then to seize their opportunity to avenge, in their turn, their losses.

The last misfortunes happened to us about the end of the Winter. Some persons of the village of Saint Ignace to the number of about three hundred, both men and women, had encamped, for the purpose of hunting, at a distance of two days’ journey in the woods, in the direction of the enemy’s country. A band of Sonnontoueronnons fell on one of the cabins, which was somewhat remote from the others, at a moment when it was least defended, because most of the party had scattered here and there while following their game. Seven persons were killed on the spot; and twenty-four, both men and women, were carried off as captives. The enemy promptly retired, fearing pursuit....

Of those who were killed on the spot, I can truly say that one was a pearl among our Christians. He was a young man twenty-four years old, named Ignace Saonaretsi,—a pattern to all the young men, and of irreproachable morals; he had an excellent mind, but his faith and piety were as steadfast as any I have seen in this country. He had been preparing himself for death for some months, saying that he thought earnestly upon that subject....

While fighting the enemy, he saw that the forces were unequal and that he might be taken captive; so he said to his cousin, whom he saw escaping: "My cousin, go and inform my mother that I shall be burned but tell her not to mourn for my death; then I shall have nothing in my mind but Paradise." Near him was his elder brother, a Catechumen, whom we are told he baptized; and they were the first two to fall. Their mother and all her family have embraced the Faith since their deaths; and we see clearly that that young Christian has left them heirs to his piety....

This loss was followed by a still greater one, a very few days afterward. Over three hundred persons of that village of Saint Ignace returned to this same spot for the purpose of burying their dead, and of removing a quantity of the flesh of the wild cattle that they had killed. On their way home, they scattered here and there, without order, and were surprised by about a hundred Annieronnon Hiroquois [*Mohawks], at a distance of four or five leagues from the village; about forty of our people were killed or taken captive. This has since compelled those who dwelt at Saint Ignace to come nearer to us, and to shelter themselves better against the incursions of the enemy.

JR, 33:91 [**The Iroquois raid Huronia; some Hurons are captured and some escape.*]

Toward the end of Summer, a band of Hiroquois adventurers, led by a Huron who had long been a captive among them, surprised, on a lonely Island, a cabin occupied by some Christians who were engaged in fishing. They killed four or five on the spot, and took seven captives. One who escaped from the mêlée ran to bear the news to a neighboring village. The Missionary who was there hastened to the scene of the massacre expecting that there would be some soul to be won to Heaven. After a journey of two leagues, he found that he could go no further, for he had reached the shores of the great Lake. He heard the voices of some infidels, who called out to him to embark. "Hasten," they said to the Father; "perhaps thou wilt find some one still alive, who has not yet been baptized." In truth, God's Providence over his elect is adorable. They who had received holy Baptism, and who had confessed before their departure, lay dead on the spot. Only a girl eighteen years of age, a good Catechumen, was still alive, but in a body pierced by weapon-thrusts; she lay weltering in her blood, and her scalp had been torn from her head, for this is the spoil that the enemies usually carry away. The Father had barely time to baptize her,—as if that soul in a half-dead body had waited only for that grace of Baptism to soar away to Heaven.

God's Providence was no less lovable as regards those who were taken away captive; for the enemy were so hotly pursued that they were cut off after they had already gone eight or ten leagues out of the country. All the captives were recovered, without a single one of them having received a blow, or even having had his nails torn out, which is always the first of the caresses bestowed on prisoners of war. The chief of the enemies was captured, and another with him; the remainder fled, without having time to deal a single blow with a hatchet to kill the prisoners whom they were taking away. A good Christian woman, named Marthe Andionra who was being carried away as a captive, with her husband and two of her children, attributed this deliverance to the assistance of the Virgin,—to whom she prayed all the way, saying her rosary, which one of the enemy snatched from her, forbidding her to say her prayers. But he knew not that the heart speaks much more loudly than the tongue; he was the first to be captured, and she the first to be delivered.

A Christian who fell into the hands of the enemies was so cruelly treated that most of them had compassion on him. His recourse was wholly to God, to whom he exclaimed, at the height of his tortures: "My God, praise be to you for having called me to the Faith! Let my body be shattered by blows; those cruelties will not extend beyond my life; You will have pity on me, and I firmly believe that my soul will soon be with you in Heaven." Then, addressing an infidel who was being tortured with him, he said to him: "My comrade, I have more compassion on thee than on myself, for after these misfortunes I fear an eternal misfortune for thee, and a fire less pitiful than those that torment us. If thou wish me to baptize thee, and if with all thy heart thou pray God to have pity on thee after thy death, he will have mercy on thee." When the enemies heard that discourse, they cut off his hand; they separated him from his companion, and redoubled his tortures; but they could not draw any other word from him except what manifested truly Christian courage: "Your torments will cease," he said, "and will end with my life; after that, I shall no longer be your captive. I adore a God who will one day restore my hand that you have cut off, and this body that is all shattered by your cruelties."

A young Christian girl, aged fourteen or fifteen years, had been taken a captive to Sonnontouan; when she reached that place, she heard them speak of putting her to death. Fear inspired her with courage, and God guided her innocence to extricate her from that peril. She found means to escape, and fled into the brushwood, four or five hundred paces from the village. All the people took the field to search for her, night and day. They passed quite close to the spot where she lay hidden, and she was frequently on the point of showing herself, thinking that she was discovered, when God, whose will it was to save her, led elsewhere the steps of those who were going straight toward her, and gave her sufficient courage to remain hidden there for three whole days, without eating or drinking. On the third night, she came forth tremblingly from her refuge, and started in the direction of the Neutral Nation, without knowing exactly whither she was going. After journeying for three days, and fording a

river, she met four men, who asked her whither she was going. She told them of her misfortune, and said that she had escaped from death. Two of those men were foes, who talked of taking her back into captivity,—that is, to certain death. The two others, who belonged to the Neutral Nation, pitied the poor innocent child, and took her cause in hand,—saying that, as she had crossed to that side of the river, she was in their country, in a land of peace, and no longer in the power of the enemy. God knows with what confidence she commended herself to him. Finally, the two men of the Neutral Nation gained the point over the two enemies. For more than six days she had eaten nothing, and yet she felt neither hungry nor weary. They gave her something wherewith to break her fast, to enable her to reach the villages of the Neutral Nation, where she was safe; she continued her journey, and arrived here on Easter Sunday. Her father, a good Christian named Antoine Otiationnety, and her other relatives received her from the hands of God, as a child risen from the dead....

JR, 33:103 [**Pagan Hurons resist the idea of baptizing Iroquois prisoners.*]

The fortune of war is not always all on the same side. If our Hurons have suffered losses, they have also had their victories, in which Heaven has gained more than they; for most of the Hiroquois whom they have captured at various times, and who have been burned as usual, have found the way to Heaven in the midst of the flames, and their salvation at the hour of death. But it must be admitted that we never obtain any of those Baptisms without unparalleled contests and resistance,—not so much on the part of those whose Baptism is sought, as from the infidel Hurons, who hardly permit us to procure eternal happiness for those whom they look upon solely with the eye of an enemy. Were we not assisted on such occasions by the fervor of our Christians, we would not be strong enough to attain our end; but their zeal and their charity are more powerful in procuring that blessing for their enemies than is the hatred of the infidels in wishing them evil.

JR, 33:117 [**Peace negotiations between the Hurons and Onondagas.*]

The Onnontaeronns [**Onondagas*], the most warlike of the five nations that are hostile to our Hurons, have made considerable advance in a treaty of peace with them. You shall know how it all happened.

At the beginning of the year 1647, a band of Onnontaeronns who appeared on our frontiers were pursued by a troop of Huron warriors, who were victorious; the chief of the enemies was killed on the spot, others were taken prisoners, and the remainder put to flight.

These prisoners of war were burned, as usual, with the exception of the most important of them all, named Annenraes, whose life was spared. I shall merely say, in passing, that one of those who was destined to the flames, seized with a horror of the cruelties that awaited him cast himself headlong into a great kettle of boiling water, to shorten his tortures with his life.

At the beginning of the Spring, Annenraes, whose life had been spared,

was privately informed that some individuals who were angry because he was allowed to live, wished to kill him. He communicated to a friend the idea that he conceived, in consequence of this, of escaping, and returning to his own country. When this was reported to some Captains, the principal chiefs of the council, they deemed it advisable to aid him in his design,—hoping that this man, who had great authority at Onnontaté, might render them a good service. They equipped him, gave him some presents, and made him start at night, *incognito*.

When that man had passed Lake Saint Louys, which separates us from the enemies, he came upon three hundred Onnontaeronnons. They were making canoes, for the purpose of crossing that Lake, intending to avenge his death; and, to that end, they were to join other bands amounting to eight hundred men, of both Sonnontoueronnons [*Senecas] and Ouionenronnons [*Cayugas], who were also on the war-path.

At this meeting, which was quite unexpected for the Onnontaeronnons, Annenraes, who was looked upon as a man risen from the dead, so bore himself that the three hundred Onnontaeronnons gave up their plans of war, and entertained thoughts of peace. The result was that, when they had returned to Onnontaté and had held a council there, they sent an embassy to the Hurons, with presents, to commence negotiations for peace.

The head of the embassy was one Soionés, a Huron by birth, but who had become so naturalized among the enemies for many years that no Hiroquois had committed more massacres in these countries, nor had struck more evil blows than he. This Soioné brought with him three other Hurons, who had been captives for a short time at Onnontaté, and who have remained with us. They arrived at the Village of Saint Ignace on the ninth of July.

On receiving this news, the country was greatly divided. Those among the Hurons whom we call the Nation of the Bear feared the enemy, even with his presents. The Villages nearest the enemy hoped that peace would be successfully established because they most desired it,—but the Arendaenronnons, more than any other Nation, because they were led to hope that a number of their people, who were captives at Onnontaté, would be given up to them.

After many councils, it was finally deemed expedient, in order to see more clearly into the matter, to send an embassy to Onnontaté in return. A Christian Captain, named Jean Baptiste Atironta, was the head of it, and four other Hurons went with him. They started from here on the first of August, and carried reciprocal presents in response to those of the Onnontaeronnons. For these presents the Hurons use furs, which are of great value in the enemies' country; while the Onnontaeronnons use collars of Porcelain beads.

After a twenty days' journey, Jean Baptiste Atironta arrived at Onnontaté; the enemies' Ambassador returned with him. Our embassy was received with great manifestations of joy; and for the space of a month, while he was in that place, there was nothing but holding of councils. After that, the Onnontaeronnons resolved to send back with Jean Baptiste Atironta a second

embassy the head of which was an Onnontaeronnon Captain named Scandaouati, aged sixty years; and with him were two other Onnontaeronnons. With these, they sent back fifteen Huron captives, keeping as a hostage one of those who had accompanied Jean Baptiste.

They reached here on the twenty-third of October, after having taken thirty days on their return journey from Onnontaté; for, although it is distant only about ten days' journey, nevertheless they are frequently obliged to halt,—either to make canoes for crossing the Rivers and Lake Saint Louys; or on account of bad weather and storms; or even for the purpose of killing game, on which they subsist while on the road.

In addition to the captives brought back by Jean Baptiste, he was loaded with seven great Porcelain collars each of which consisted of three or four thousand beads (these are the pearls and, as it were, the diamonds of the country). These collars were new presents from the Onnontaeronnons to strengthen the peace, with the message that the country might also hope for the deliverance of a hundred other Hurons, who remained in captivity.

What is said to have induced the Onnontaeronnons to entertain these thoughts of peace is, in the first place, the joy they felt because the life of Annenraés had been spared; in the second place, their fear that the Annieronnon Hiroquois [*Mohawks], who become insolent in their victories, and who make themselves unbearable even to their allies, may become too much so and, in time, may tyrannize over them if the Hurons, relieved from a portion of their wars, do not unite all their forces against them. In the third place, the Andastoeronnons, tribes allied to our Hurons, contribute in great measure, it is said, toward this matter,—either because the Onnontaeronnons fear to have them as enemies, or because they desire their alliance. We shall speak of this in the following Chapter.

The Onnontaeronnons behave, it is said, as if the matter were settled. The Ouionenronnons [*Cayugas] seem to have the same intentions, and for that object have already, to give assurance of their purpose, sent back one of the Hurons who were captive among them, with two collars of Porcelain beads, which they have presented to our Hurons. The Onneiochronnon nation also is reported to be not averse to peace. The Sonnontoueronnons [*Senecas] will not hear of it. The Annieronnons are still more averse to it, because, it is stated, they are jealous of what the Onnontaeronnons have done, and wish always to make themselves formidable. And it was the two last Nations by whom the Village of Saint Ignace was harassed at the end of last Winter.

At the beginning of January of the present year, 1648, our Hurons deemed it expedient to depute a new embassy to Onnontaté, consisting of six men, who set out for that purpose with one of the three Onnontaeronnons who had come hither; the two others remained as hostages, and especially Scandaouati, the chief Onnontaeronnon Ambassador. But, since then, we have heard that our Ambassadors fell into the hands of the hundred Annieronnon Hiroquois who came as far as our borders and that thus they were killed on the way, except

the Onnontaeronnon who was returning, and two of our men, who escaped and continued on their way to Onnontaté.

That is not all. At the beginning of the month of April, Scandaouati, the Onnontaeronnon Ambassador who had remained here as hostage, disappeared, and our Hurons thought that he had escaped; but after some days his Corpse was found in the middle of a wood, not far from the Village where he resided. The poor man had killed himself by cutting his throat with a knife, after having prepared a sort of bed made of fir-branches, on which he was found stretched out.

At this spectacle, his companion was sent for, that he might witness all that had occurred and see that the Hurons had had nothing to do with the murder. "In fact," he said to them, "I suspected that he would do such a deed; what caused his despair is the shame that he felt at seeing the Sonnontoueronmons and the Annieronmons come and massacre your people on your very frontiers. For, although they are your enemies, they are our allies; and they ought to have shown us this much respect that, as we had come here on an embassy, they should have waited to strike an evil blow until after our return, when our lives would have been safe. He has considered it too great a contempt for his person, and that shame has caused him to sink into desperate thoughts. And, doubtless, that is what he meant to say to our third companion, who has gone back with your Ambassadors, when, on his departure, he told him to notify those of our Nation that if, during these negotiations for peace and while he was here, any evil blow were struck, the shame of it would cause his death. He added that he was not a dead dog, to be abandoned; and that he well deserved that the eyes of the whole earth should be fixed on him, and that it should remain quiet while his life would be in danger." Such is the extent to which our Savages pique themselves upon a point of honor. We shall await the issue of all these matters and time will enable us to see more clearly into them.

JR, 33:129 [**The Hurons seek an alliance with the Susquehannocks.*]

Andastoé is a country beyond the Neutral Nation, distant from the Huron country about one hundred and fifty leagues in a straight line to the Southeast, a quarter South, from the Huron country,—that is, Southward, a little toward the East; but the distance that has to be traveled to reach there is nearly two hundred leagues, owing to detours in the route. Those people speak the Huron language, and have always been the allies of our Hurons. They are very warlike, and in a single village they count thirteen hundred men capable of bearing arms.

At the beginning of last year, 1647, two men of that Nation came here, deputed by their Captains to tell our Hurons that, if they lost courage and felt too weak to contend against their enemies, they should inform them, and send an Embassy to Andastoé for that object. The Hurons did not miss this opportunity. Charles Ondaaiondiont, an excellent Christian of long standing, was deputed as the head of that embassy; and he was accompanied by four other

Christians, and by four infidels. They left here on the thirteenth of April, and reached Andastoé only at the beginning of June.

The harangue delivered by Charles Ondaaiondiont on his arrival was not long. He told them that they came from the Land of Souls, where war and the terror of the enemies had desolated everything; where the country was covered only with blood; where the cabins were filled only with corpses; and that they themselves had only enough life remaining to come to ask their friends to have pity on a country that was drawing near its end. After that, he displayed the most valuable rarities of this land, which the Hurons had brought as presents for them; and they said that in these was the voice of their expiring country.

The reply of the Andastoeronnon Captains was, in the first place, to deplore the calamities of a country that had suffered so great losses; then they added that tears and regrets for the past were not the remedy for those evils, but that the course of those misfortunes must be arrested as soon as possible.

After a number of councils, they deputed Ambassadors to the Enemies of our Hurons, to beg them to lay down their arms, and to think of a lasting peace, which would not hinder the trade of all these countries with one another.

The Andastoeronnons who were deputed to the Hiroquois had not yet returned to Andastoé on the fifteenth of August; nevertheless, Charles Ondaaiondiont was anxious to depart, that he might bring to this country, before winter, information of the decision reached by the Andastoeronnons in the matter. He therefore left one of his companions at Andastoé, to be a witness of all that should occur, and returned with the remainder of his suite, arriving here only on the fifth of October.

The Sonnontoueronnons—who, early in the Spring, had received information of this embassy of our Hurons—lay in wait for them on their return; but Charles suspected this, and avoided their ambushes by making a wide circuit through the woods by devious paths, and by crossing almost inaccessible mountains; this compelled him on his return to perform in forty days, with inconceivable fatigue, a journey that had occupied him ten days, in going from the Neutral Nation to Andastoé.

We have not yet had any news from the Huron who remained behind at Andastoé when Charles left; but we are certain that the Andastoeronnon Ambassadors reached the enemies' country; for Jean Baptiste Atironta—who was at Onnontaé at the end of the Summer, in connection with the treaty of peace of which we spoke in the foregoing Chapter—had positive news of it, and even saw the presents that were sent from Andastoé for that purpose. For all these peoples have no voice, except it be accompanied by presents; these serve as contracts, and as public proofs, which are handed down to posterity, and attest what has been done in any matter.

The design of the Andastoeronnons is, it is said, to bring about peace between our Hurons and the Onneiochronnons [**Oneidas*], the Onnontaeronnons [**Onondagas*], and the Ouionenronnons [**Cayugas*],—and even, if possible, with the Sonnontoueronnons [**Senecas*]; also to renew the

war that they waged a few years ago with the Annieronnonns [*Mohawks], if these refuse to enter into the same treaty of peace.

When Charles Ondaiaondiont was at Andastoé, he went to see the Europeans, their allies, who are at a distance of three days' journey from that place. They received him with much kindness. Charles did not fail to tell them that he was a Christian, and requested them to take him to their Church, that he might perform his devotions; for he thought that it was like those in our French settlements. They replied that they had no place set apart for their prayers. The good Christian observed some acts of levity that were not very modest, on the part of some young men, toward two or three Savage women who had come from Andastoé; he took occasion to speak, with zeal, of their indifference to their salvation and to reproach them because they thought only of the fur trade, and not of instructing the Savages with whom they are allied.

The Captain of that settlement apologized to him for it; he complained that he was not obeyed by his people, as regards purity of morals; and he asked him a thousand questions respecting the condition of this Church, the manner in which we live here among the Savages, and the means that we take to convert them to the Faith. He was astonished to see a Savage who not only was not ashamed to preach aloud what he knew of our mysteries, but who was master of them, and spoke of them with sentiments worthy of a truly Christian heart. And the best of it is that his life has everywhere been beyond reproach, and that, amid a thousand temptations to sin, he manifested his Faith by his works,—as we have learned from the other Christians who accompanied him on the journey, and even from the infidels.

At the same time, a vessel arrived which had passed by New Holland, whose people are allies of the Annieronnon Hiroquois; they are distant seven days' journey from Andastoé. Charles learned from them of the death of Father Jogues, who had been killed by the Hiroquois in the previous Autumn. Moreover, he was given two letters to bring to us, and a printed paper that they tore out of a Book. He lost one of those letters on the way; we have never been able to make out the other, except that it is dated, in Latin, *ex Novâ Sueciâ*, "from New Sweden." The printed page seems to us to contain some prayers in the Dutch language.

We think that the people of that European settlement, who are allies of the Andastoeronnonns, are mostly Dutch and English, or, rather, a collection of various nations who for some special reasons have placed themselves under the protection of the King of Sweden, and have called that country New Sweden. We had formerly thought that it was a part of Virginia. Their Interpreter told Charles that he was French by birth.

JR, 33:163 [**The actions of Huron Christians in Iroquois captivity.*]

In the defeat of the Christians of the village of Saint Ignace, which I mentioned in the fourth Chapter, when those who were taken captive were bound and ordered to march away, they said their prayers all together. Late at night,

when the difficulties of the journey through the snow, and the severity of the cold, compelled the enemies who conducted them to halt and to kindle a fire, the youngest of these good Christians—who was at the same time the most notable among them, because he was a Captain, named Nicolas Annenharisonk—spoke to a woman who was also a captive, and said aloud to her: “Dost thou remember, my sister, that we are Christians? Dost thou remember God?” “Sometimes,” she said. “This is the moment when we must be Christians,” he added; “let us be careful not to forget our hopes in Heaven, at a time when there is nothing more to hope for in this world. God will be with us in the midst of our misfortunes. As for me,” he said, “I wish to think of nothing but him, and I will not cease to pray to him even after my eyes have been put out, and while I am dying in the midst of fire and flames. Now, my brothers, let us commence to say our prayers.” He began, and all followed him with greater peace and fervor than they had ever felt. The enemies gazed upon so novel a proceeding with astonishment, but I have no doubt that the Angels looked upon it with loving eyes.

The Christian woman to whom the captive young Captain had spoken was delivered from captivity on the following day. For he who had captured her was an Onnontaeronnon [*Onondaga], who had been here as a hostage on account of the peace that is being negotiated with the Onnontaeronnons; and, as he was among our Hurons on that hunting expedition, he was one of the first taken by the Sonnontoueronnons [*Senecas]. They recognized him, and did him no harm; they even compelled him to follow them, and to take part in their victory, and thus it happened that, on this occasion, that Onnontaeronnon had effected her capture. However, he desired to return on the following day, and told the Sonnontoueronnons that they might kill him if they liked, but that he could not make up his mind to follow them. He said that he would be ashamed to reappear in his own country, because the business in connection with the peace, which had brought him among the Hurons, would not permit him to do anything else but die with them, rather than appear to have behaved as an enemy. The Sonnontoueronnons therefore allowed him to return, and to take with him that good Christian woman who was his captive. She consoled us by relating the conversations of those poor people in their affliction.

JR, 33:225 [**The Huron god of war.*]

To speak truly, all the nations of these countries have received from their ancestors no knowledge of a God; and, before we set foot here, all that was related about the creation of the world consisted of nothing but myths. Nevertheless, though they were barbarians, there remained in their hearts a secret idea of the Divinity and of a first Principle, the author of all things, whom they invoked without knowing him. In the forests and during the chase, on the waters, and when in danger of shipwreck, they name him *Aireskouy Soutanditeur* and call him to their aid. In war, and in the midst of their battles, they give him the name of *Ondoutaeté* and believe that he alone awards the victory.

Father Paul Ragueneau. 1649. Letter of Father Paul Ragueneau to the Very Reverend Father Vincent Caraffa, General of the Society of Jesus, at Rome. From the Residence of Sainte Marie, among the Hurons, New France, March 1, 1649.

JR, 33:253 [**The dire situation in Huronia, ca. 1648–1649, and the death of Fr. Antoine Daniel.*]

Truly, we are so threatened by the hostile rage of our savage enemies that, unless we wish our enterprise and ourselves to perish in an hour,—and, indeed, that the faith, now widely spread in these lands, should be utterly destroyed,—it was quite necessary for us to seek the protection of these men, who devote themselves to both domestic duties and farm work, and also to building fortifications, and to military service. For since, until late years, our abode, which we call the Residence of Ste. Marie, was surrounded on every side by the numerous villages of our friends, the Hurons, we feared more for them than for ourselves from hostile attack: so during that time, however small our number, we lived in safety, without anxiety. But now, far different is the aspect of our affairs and of this whole region; for so crushed are our Hurons by disasters, that, their outposts being taken and laid waste with fire and sword, most of them have been forced to change their abodes, and retreat elsewhere; hence it has come to pass that at last we are devoid of the protection of others, and now we, stationed at the front, must defend ourselves with our own strength, our own courage, and our own numbers.

This our dwelling—or shall I say our fort?—of Sainte Marie, the French who are with us defend, while our Fathers sally forth, far and wide, scattered among the villages of the Hurons, and through the Algonquin tribes far distant from us,—each one watching over his own mission, and intent only upon the ministry of the word, leaving all temporal cares to those who remain at home....

But one thing—the fear of war and the rage of foes—seems able to overthrow the happy state of this infant Church, and stay the advance of Christianity; for it grows yearly, and it is clear that no help can come to us save from God alone. The latest disaster that befell our Hurons—in July of last year, 1648—was the severest of all. Many of them had made ready to visit our French people in the direction of Quebec, to trade; other tasks had drawn some away from their villages; while many had undertaken a hostile expedition in another direction; when suddenly the enemy came upon them, stormed two villages, rushed into them, and set them on fire. With their wonted cruelty they dragged into captivity mothers with their children, and showed no mercy to any age.

Of these villages, one was called Saint Joseph; this was one of our principal missions, where a church had been built, where the people had been instructed in Christian rites, and where the faith had taken deep root. In charge of this Church was Father Antoine Daniel, a man of great courage and

endurance, whose gentle kindness was conspicuous among his great virtues. He had hardly finished the usual mass after sunrise, and the Christians, who had assembled in considerable numbers, had not yet left the sacred house, when, at the war-cry of the enemy, in haste and alarm they seized their weapons. Some rush into the fight, others flee headlong; everywhere is terror, everywhere lamentation. Antoine hastened wherever he saw the danger most threatening, and bravely encouraged his people,—inspiring not only the Christians with Christian strength, but many unbelievers with faith. He was heard to speak of contempt for death, and of the joys of Paradise, with such ardor of soul that he seemed already to enjoy its bliss. Indeed, many sought baptism; and so great was the number that he could not attend to each one separately, but was forced to dip his handkerchief in the water and baptize by sprinkling the multitude who thronged around him. Meantime, there was no cessation in the ferocious attack of the enemy, and everywhere resounded the noise of muskets. Many fell around him who received at the same instant the life-giving water of baptism, and the stroke of death. When he saw that his people had fled, he himself, intent upon the gain of souls,—mindful of the safety of others, but forgetful of his own,—hurried into the cabins to baptize the sick, the aged, and children, and filled them with his own zeal. At last, he betook himself to the church, whither the hope of eternal glory had brought many Christians, and the fear of hell-fire many catechumens. Never were there more earnest prayers, never stronger proofs of true faith and real penitence. To these he gives new life by baptism, those he releases from the bonds of sin; he sets all on fire with divine love. Almost his only words were: “Brothers, to-day we shall be in Paradise: believe this, hope this, that God may forever love you.”

Already the foe had scaled the rampart, and throughout the village the torch had been applied, and the cabins were burning. The victors are informed that there is rich plunder, easy to get, if they will hasten to the church; that there numbers of old people, and women, and a band of children, are gathered. Thither they hurry with discordant shouts, after their manner. The Christians see the enemy approaching. Antoine bids them flee wherever escape is yet possible. That he may delay the enemy, and, like a good shepherd, aid the escape of his flock, he blocks the way of the armed men and breaks their onset; a single man against the foe, but verily filled with divine strength, he, who during all his life had been as the gentlest dove, was brave as a Lion while he met death. Truly, I might apply to him that saying of Jeremias: “He hath forsaken his covert as the Lion, for the land is laid waste because of the wrath of the dove, and because of the fierce anger of the Lord.” At last he fell, mortally wounded by a musket-shot; and, pierced with arrows, he yielded to God the blessed life which he laid down for his flock, as a good Shepherd, calling upon the name of Jesus. Savagely enraged against his lifeless body, hardly one of the enemy was there who did not add a new wound to his corpse: until at length, the church having been set on fire, his naked body cast into the midst

of the flames was so completely consumed that not even a bone was left: indeed, he could not have found a more glorious funeral pyre.

In thus delaying the enemy, he was serviceable to his escaping flock even after his death, Many reached places of safety; others the victors overtook, especially mothers,—at every step delayed by the babes at their breasts, or by those whose childish years—as yet unaccustomed to prudent fear—betrayed their biding-places.

Father Jacques Buteux. 1649. Letter of Father Jacques Buteux to the Very Reverend Father Vincent Caraffa, General of the Society of Jesus. Three Rivers, Sept. 21, 1649.

JR, 34:163 [**The state of the defenses at Three Rivers and concern about an Iroquois attack.*]

He who consoles the lowly has consoled us through Your Paternity's letter, in which you promise relief to us,—not only those workmen from France whom we have already received, but also what we hope for in the way of masses from the Fathers of the society; if ever we have needed these, we need them most at this time, when we are involved in manifest peril of our safety. For indeed we are likely to undergo the same tortures and afflictions (Unless God avert them) which our Fathers among the Hurons have undergone, as will be evident to Your Paternity from their own letters. For here at Three rivers, where we take charge of the French as well as of the savages, there are no defenses except of wood; no walls except palings, which easily catch fire; there is no house except of bark or thatch; and in these we live, with no defense against barbarian attacks and fires.

Journal of the Jesuit Fathers. 1649.

JR, 34:53 [**Three Iroquois captives escape. A Frenchman is captured.*]

On the 17th [*of May], we left for 3 rivers. We arrived there the next day, and, two Days later, three Captive yroquois fled. We started on the 29th for Montreal, where, on the 30th, a poor french locksmith was captured.

JR, 34:55 [**Fourteen Algonquins are captured by Iroquois; Seven Iroquois are killed by Petite Nation Algonquins.*]

We started thence [*from Montreal] on the 11th [*of June], and arrived the next day at 3 rivers, where we learned of the capture of 14 Algonquains by the yroquois, above the 2nd sault from 3 rivers.

A little later, arrived the great boat from montreal, which brought the Savages and their peltry,—Algonquain savages, I mean, who had gone to trade with the petite nation. 3 of these having been surprised by fire catching in some powder that they had, one or two had died; and a 3rd had remained on the spot, very sick. They brought news that 7 Yroquois had been killed by those of the petite nation.

JR, 34:57 [**The French rebuke the Abenakis.*]

On the 16th and 17th [**of July*], the Abnakiois arrived, to the number of 30; they are notified that they are not to come again, and that their goods will be plundered if they return.

JR, 34:57 [**The French hear news of the Huron's destruction.*]

On the 20th [**of July*] at night, arrived the sad news of the destruction of the Hurons, *and of the martyrdom of 3 fathers.*

JR, 34:59 [**Some Hurons arrive at Three Rivers; some French soldiers leave for Huron country.*]

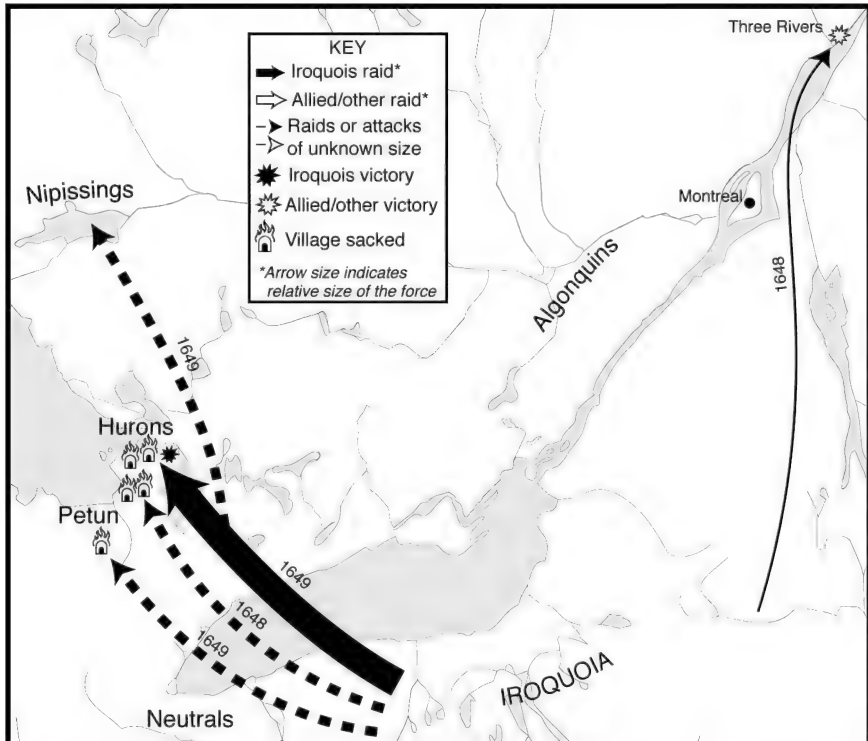
On the 7th [**of August*], news of the arrival of 20 Hurons at 3 rivers; and then, on the 12th, departure of the soldiers, and of Domestics for the Hurons,—Tourmente, Huron, Oliveau, and raison.

Father Paul Ragueneau. 1650. Relation of what occurred in the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus among the Hurons, a country of New France, in the years 1648 and 1649. From the House of Sainte Marie among the Hurons, May 1, 1649.

JR, 34:87 [**The Iroquois destroy two Huron Villages, and Fr. Antoine Daniel is killed ca. Summer 1648.*]

Last Summer, in the past year, 1648, the Iroquois, enemies of the Hurons, took from them two frontier villages, from which most of the defenders had gone forth,—some for the chase, and others for purposes of war, in which they could meet no success. These two frontier places composed the Mission which we named for St. Joseph; the principal of these villages contained about 400 families, where the Faith had long sustained itself with luster, and where the Christians were increasing in number, and still more in holiness, through the indefatigable labors of Father Antoine Daniel, one of the earliest Missionaries in these regions.

Hardly had the Father ended Mass, and the Christians—who, according to their custom, had filled the Church after the rising of the Sun—were still continuing their devotions there, when the cry arose, “To arms! and repel the enemy!”—who, having come unexpectedly, had made his approaches by night. Some hasten to the combat, others to flight: there is naught but alarm and terror everywhere. The Father, among the first to rush where he sees the danger greatest, encourages his people to a brave defense; and—as if he had seen Paradise open for the Christians, and Hell on the point of swallowing up all the Infidels—he speaks to them in a tone so animated with the spirit which was possessing him, that, having made a breach in hearts which till then had been most rebellious, he gave them a Christian heart. The number of these proved to be so great that, unable to cope with it by baptizing them one after the other, he was constrained to dip his handkerchief in the water (which was



Map 5. The destruction of the Hurons, 1648–1649. In desperate need of supplies, 250 Hurons descended to the French in 1648 and assisted in the destruction of an Iroquois war party near Three Rivers. Back in Huronia, however, the Iroquois invaded and burned two Huron villages. The next year, an Iroquois army some 1,200 strong swept into Huronia, burning two more towns and defeating a large relief force. This succession of disasters caused the remaining Hurons to abandon their villages and take flight.

all that necessity then offered him), in order to shed abroad as quickly as possible this grace on those poor Savages, who cried mercy to him,—using the manner of baptizing which is called “by aspersion.”

Meanwhile, the enemy continued his attacks more furiously than ever; and, without doubt, it was a great blessing for the salvation of some that, at the moment of their death, Baptism had given them the life of the soul, and put them in possession of an immortal life.

When the Father saw that the Iroquois were becoming masters of the place, he,—instead of taking flight with those who were inviting him to escape in their company,—forgetting himself, remembered some old men and sick people, whom he had long ago prepared for Baptism. He goes through the cabins, and proceeds to fill them with his zeal,—the Infidels themselves presenting their children in crowds, in order to make Christians of them.

Meanwhile the enemy, already victorious, had set everything on fire, and the blood of even the women and children irritated their fury. The Father,

wishing to die in his Church, finds it full of Christians, and of Catechumens who ask him for Baptism. It was indeed at that time that their faith animated their prayers, and that their hearts could not belie their tongues. He baptizes some, gives absolution to others, and consoles them all with the sweetest hope of the Saints,—having hardly other words on his lips than these: “My Brothers, to-day we shall be in Heaven.”

The enemy was warned that the Christians had betaken themselves, in very great number, into the Church, and that it was the easiest and the richest prey that he could have hoped for; he hastens thither, with barbarous howls and stunning yells. At the noise of these approaches, “Flee, my Brothers,” said the Father to his new Christians, “and bear with you your faith even to the last sigh. As for me” (he added), “I must face death here, as long as I shall see here any soul to be gained for Heaven; and, dying here to save you, my life is no longer anything to me; we shall see one another again in Heaven.” At the same time, he goes out in the direction whence come the enemy, who stop in astonishment to see one man alone come to meet them, and even recoil backward, as if he bore upon his face the terrible and frightful appearance of a whole company. Finally,—having come to their senses a little, and being astonished at themselves,—they incite one another; they surround him on all sides, and cover him with arrows, until, having inflicted upon him a mortal wound from an arquebus shot,—which pierced him through and through, in the very middle of his breast,—he fell. Pronouncing the name of Jesus, he blessedly yielded up his soul to God,—truly as a good Pastor, who exposes both his soul and his life for the salvation of his flock.

It was then that those Barbarians rushed upon him with as much rage as if he alone had been the object of their hatred. They strip him naked, they exercise upon him a thousand indignities; and there was hardly any one who did not try to assume the glory of having given him the final blow, even on seeing him dead.

The fire meanwhile was consuming the cabins; and when it had spread as far as the Church, the Father was cast into it, at the height of the flames, which soon made of him a whole burnt-offering. Be this as it may, he could not have been more gloriously consumed than in the fires and lights of a *Chapelle ardente*.

While the enemy delayed around the Pastor of that Church, his poor scattered flock had at least more leisure to escape; and many, in fact, betook themselves to a place of safety,—indebted for their lives to the death of their father. The others could not escape promptly enough,—especially some poor distressed mothers, who, succumbed beneath the burden of three or four children; or who, having attempted to hide themselves in the depth of the forest, saw themselves discovered there through the innocent cries of an age which betrays itself, calling upon itself the misfortune which it most fears.

It was fourteen years during which this good Father had been working in this Mission of the Hurons....

On the 4th day of July, at the very time when the enemy appeared, he had just left the altar, and was again preaching to those good Neophytes about the joys of Paradise, and the happiness of those who die in the service of God. These were his last discourses,—being nearer to death than he thought; but God was conducting him thither with as much blessedness as if he had had some assurance of it.

He is the first of our Society who has died in this Mission of the Hurons. He was a native of Dieppe, being born of very honest and worthy parents. He seemed to have been born only for the salvation of these Peoples, and had no stronger desire than to die for them. We hope that in Heaven all this country will have in him a powerful intercessor before God....

A part of those who had escaped from the capture and burning of that Mission of Saint Joseph came to take refuge near our house of Sainte Marie. The number of those who had there been killed or taken captive was probably about seven hundred souls, mostly women and children; the number of those who escaped was much greater....

JR, 34:107 [**A Huron warrior custom and conflict with Christianity.*]

Here is an act of zeal which has appeared to me considerable, in an old man aged nearly eighty years, who can have no warmth but that which the Faith gives him. It happened at a public recreation, where the custom of the country is, that the warriors, entering into a kind of martial fury, are permitted to burst open and break in the doors of the cabins,—as they would do while giving assault, and attacking some hostile place. A certain Infidel, a man of great credit for making a bold stroke,—and, as is supposed, in order to avenge himself, under a specious pretext, for some refusal which the Christians had given him in some matter wherein they feared sin,—undertook to break open the door of the Church, and to fell a tree, at the top of which was hung the bell which rang as a signal for Masses and for public Prayers. In order to deal his blow with more assurance, this Infidel went about, entering the cabins, and singing, in a tone animated with fury, that his dream had commanded him to strike down the Frenchmen's bell. This means that, according to the customs of this country, it would have been an unheard-of crime to oppose in the least degree the fulfillment of a dream proclaimed so openly. A good old Christian, hearing these threats, had recourse to our Lord, and, adoring him, offered him his life, rather than to permit an insolence which, he judged, would be to the reproach of Christianity. After having offered his prayer, hearing the voice of the Infidel,—who was advancing, hatchet in hand, on the point of dealing his blow,—he puts himself in between. "A blow from the hatchet," he said, "will better fall on my head than on a house consecrated to the honor of God." The Infidel is quite astonished. "No, no," said the Christian, "I openly profess that, as regards my death, I do not wish that any justice be exacted for it; neither the public, nor the man who should kill me, will be in trouble about that. But I cannot be a witness of such profanation to the holiness of a house where God

is adored; nor can I consent that the voice be brought low which summons us to invoke him ” (thus he named the Church bell). The Infidel—who, according to the custom of these Countries, ought rather to have let himself be slain than to stop his own blow—found himself so surprised by this kind of opposition, which he had never expected, that he became colder than marble,—both admiring the zeal of that good old man, and wondering at himself for having met with resistance, at once so earnest in its purpose and so gentle, through a working which indeed had nothing of Nature about it.

JR, 34:123 [**The Iroquois sack the Huron villages of St. Ignace and St. Louis.*]

The 16th day of March in the present year, 1649, marked the beginning of our misfortunes,—if, however, that be a misfortune which no doubt has been the salvation of many of God’s elect.

The Iroquois, enemies of the Hurons, to the number of about a thousand men, well furnished with weapons,—and mostly with firearms, which they obtain from the Dutch, their allies,—arrived by night at the frontier of this country, without our having had any knowledge of their approach; although they had started from their country in the Autumn, hunting in the forests throughout the Winter, and had made over the snow nearly two hundred leagues of a very difficult road, in order to come and surprise us. They reconnoitered by night the condition of the first place upon which they had designs,—which was surrounded with a stockade of pine-trees, from fifteen to sixteen feet in height, and with a deep ditch, wherewith nature had strongly fortified this place on three sides,—there remaining only a little space which was weaker than the others.

It was at that point that the enemy made a breach at daybreak, but so secretly and promptly that he was master of the place before people had put themselves on the defensive,—all being then in a deep sleep, and not having leisure to reconnoiter their situation. Thus this village was taken, almost without striking a blow, there having been only ten Iroquois killed. Part of the Hurons—men, women, and children—were massacred then and there; the others were made captives, and reserved for cruelties more terrible than death.

Three men alone escaped, almost naked, across the snows; they bore the alarm and terror to another and neighboring village, about a league distant. This first village was the one which we called Saint Ignace, which had been abandoned by most of its people at the beginning of the Winter,—the most apprehensive and most clear-sighted having withdrawn from it, foreboding the danger; thus the loss of it was not so considerable, and amounted only to about four hundred souls.

The enemy does not stop there; he follows up his victory, and before Sunrise he appears in arms to attack the village of Saint Louys, which was fortified with a fairly good stockade. Most of the women, and the children, had just gone from it, upon hearing the news which had arrived regarding the approach of the Iroquois. The people of most courage, about eighty persons, being resolved to defend themselves well, repulse with courage the first and

the second assault, having killed among the enemy some thirty of their most venturesome men, besides many wounded. But, finally, number has the advantage,—the Iroquois having undermined with blows of their hatchets the palisade of stakes, and having made a passage for themselves through considerable breaches.

Toward nine o'clock in the morning, we perceived from our house at Sainte Marie the fire which was consuming the cabins of that village, where the enemy, having entered victoriously, had reduced everything to desolation,—casting into the midst of the flames the old men, the sick, the children who had not been able to escape, and all those who, being too severely wounded, could not have followed them into captivity. At the sight of those flames, and by the color of the smoke which issued from them, we understood sufficiently what was happening,—this village of Saint Louys not being farther distant from us than one league. Two Christians, who escaped from the fire, arrived almost at the same time, and gave us assurance of it.

In this village of Saint Louys were at that time two of our Fathers,—Father Jean de Brebeuf and Father Gabriel Lallement, who had charge of five closely neighboring villages; these formed but one of the eleven Missions of which we have spoken above; we named it the Mission of St. Ignace. Some Christians had begged the Fathers to preserve their lives for the glory of God,—which would have been as easy for them as for the more than 500 persons who went away at the first alarm, and had abundant leisure to reach a place of security; but their zeal could not permit them, and the salvation of their flock was dearer to them than love for their own lives. They employed all the moments of that time, as the most precious which they had ever had in the world; and, during the heat of the combat, their hearts were only fire for the salvation of souls. One was at the breach, baptizing the Catechumens; the other, giving absolution to the Neophytes,—both animating the Christians to die in the sentiments of piety, with which they consoled them in their miseries. Accordingly, never was their faith, or the love which they had for their good Fathers and Pastors, more lively.

An Infidel, seeing affairs in a desperate condition, spoke of taking to flight; a Christian, named Estienne Annaotaha, the most esteemed in the country for his courage and his exploits over the enemy, would never allow it. "What!" he said, "could we ever abandon these two good Fathers, who for us have exposed their lives? The love which they have had for our salvation will be the cause of their death; there is no longer time for them to flee across the snows. Let us then die with them, and we shall go in company to Heaven."...

All this band of Christians fell, mostly alive, into the hands of the enemy; and with them, our two Fathers, the Pastors of that Church. They were not killed on the spot; God was reserving them for much nobler crowns, of which we will speak hereafter.

The Iroquois having dealt their blow, and wholly reduced to fire the village of Saint Louys, retraced their steps into that of Saint Ignace, where they had

left a good garrison, that it might be for them a sure retreat in case of misfortune, and that the victuals which they had found there might serve them as refreshments and provisions for their return.

On the evening of the same day, they sent scouts to reconnoiter the condition of our house at Sainte Marie; their report having been made in the Council of war, the decision was adopted to come and attack us the next morning,—promising themselves a victory which would be more glorious to them than all the successes of their arms in the past. We were in a good state of defense, and saw not one of our Frenchmen who was not resolved to sell his life very dear, and to die in a cause which—being for the interests of the Faith, and the maintenance of Christianity in these countries—was more the cause of God than ours; moreover, our greatest confidence was in him.

Meanwhile, a part of the Hurons, who are called Atinniaonten (that is to say, the nation of those who wear a Bear on their coat of arms), having armed in haste, were at hand the next morning, the seventeenth of March, about three hundred warriors,—who, while awaiting a more powerful help, secreted themselves in the ways of approach, intending to surprise some portion of the enemy.

About two hundred Iroquois having detached themselves from their main body, in order to get the start and proceed to the attack of our house, encountered some advance-guards of that Huron troop. The latter straightway took flight after some skirmishing, and were eagerly pursued until within sight of our fort,—many having been killed while they were in disorder in the midst of the snows. But the more courageous of the Hurons, having stood firm against those who joined combat with them, had some advantage on their side, and constrained the Iroquois to take refuge within the palisades of the village of Saint Louys,—which had not been burned, but only the cabins. These Iroquois were forced into that palisade, and about thirty of them were taken captives.

The main body of the enemy, having heard of the defeat of their men, came to attack our people in the very midst of their victory. Our men were the choicest Christians of the village of la Conception, and some others of the village of la Magdelaine. Their courage was not depressed, although they were only about one hundred and fifty. They proceed to prayers, and sustain the assault of a place which, having been so recently captured and recaptured, was no longer adequate for defense. The shock was furious on both sides,—our people having made many sallies, notwithstanding their small number, and having often constrained the enemy to give way. But,—the combat having continued quite far into the night,—as not more than a score of Christians, mostly wounded, were left, the victory remained wholly in the hands of the Infidels. It had, however, cost them very dear, as their Chief had been seriously wounded, and they had lost nearly a hundred men on the spot, of their best and most courageous.

All night our French were in arms, waiting to see at our gates this victorious enemy. We redoubled our devotions, in which were our strongest hopes,

since our help could only come from Heaven. Seeing ourselves on the eve of the feast of the glorious Saint Joseph, the Patron of this country, we felt ourselves constrained to have recourse to a Protector so powerful. We made a vow to say, every month, each a Mass in his honor, during the space of a whole year, for those who should be Priests. And all, as many as there were people here, joined to this, by vow, sundry Penances, to the end of preparing us more holily for the accomplishment of the will of God concerning us, whether for life or for death; for we all regarded ourselves as so many victims consecrated to Our Lord, who must await from his hand the hour when they should be sacrificed for his glory, without undertaking to delay or to wish to hasten the moments thereof.

The whole day passed in a profound silence on both sides,—the country being in terror and in the expectation of some new misfortune. On the nineteenth, the day of the great Saint Joseph, a sudden panic fell upon the hostile camp,—some withdrawing in disorder, and others thinking only of flight. Their Captains were constrained to yield to the terror which had seized them; they precipitated their retreat, driving forth in haste a part of their captives, who were burdened above their strength, like packhorses, with the spoils which the victorious were carrying off,—their captors reserving for some other occasion the matter of their death.

As for the other captives who were left to them, destined to die on the spot, they attached them to stakes fastened in the earth, which they had arranged in various cabins. To these, on leaving the village, they set fire on all sides,—taking pleasure, at their departure, in feasting upon the frightful cries which these poor victims uttered in the midst of those flames, where children were broiling beside their mothers; where a husband saw his wife roasting near him; where cruelty itself would have had compassion at a spectacle which had nothing human about it, except the innocence of those who were in torture, most of whom were Christians.

An old woman, escaped from the midst of that fire, bore the news of it to the village of Saint Michel, where there were about seven hundred men in arms, who charged upon the enemy; but, not having been able to overtake him after two days' march, partly the want of provisions, partly the dread of combatting without advantage an enemy encouraged by his victories, and one who had mostly firearms, of which our Hurons have very few,—all these things obliged them to retrace their steps, without having done aught. They found upon the roads, from time to time, various captives, who—not having strength enough to follow the conqueror, who was precipitating his retreat—had had their heads split by a blow of the hatchet; others remained, half burned, at a post.

JR, 34:139 [**The torture and deaths of Fr. Jean de Brebeuf and Fr. Gabriel Lalemant, March 16, 1649.*]

As early as the next morning, when we had assurance of the departure of the enemy,—having had, before that, certain news, through some escaped cap-

tives, of the deaths of Father Jean de Brebeuf and of Father Gabriel Lallement,—we sent one of our Fathers and seven other Frenchmen to seek their bodies at the place of their torture. They found there a spectacle of horror,—the remains of cruelty itself: or rather the relics of the love of God, which alone triumphs in the death of Martyrs....

As soon as they were taken captive, they were stripped naked, and some of their nails were torn out; and the welcome which they received upon entering the village of St. Ignace was a hailstorm of blows with sticks upon their shoulders, their loins, their legs, their breasts, their bellies, and their faces,—there being no part of their bodies which did not then endure its torment.

Father Jean de Brebeuf, overwhelmed under the burden of these blows, did not on that account lose care for his flock; seeing himself surrounded with Christians whom he had instructed, and who were in captivity with him, he said to them: “My children, let us lift our eyes to Heaven at the height of our afflictions; let us remember that God is the witness of our sufferings, and will soon be our exceeding great reward. Let us die in this faith; and let us hope from his goodness the fulfillment of his promises. I have more pity for you than for myself; but sustain with courage the few remaining torments. They will end with our lives; the glory which follows them will never have an end.” “Echon,” they said to him (this is the name which the Hurons gave the Father), “our spirits will be in Heaven when our bodies shall be suffering on earth. Pray to God for us, that he may show us mercy; we will invoke him even until death.”

Some Huron Infidels—former captives of the Iroquois, naturalized among them, and former enemies of the Faith—were irritated by these words, and because our Fathers in their captivity had not their tongues captive. They cut off the hands of one, and pierce the other with sharp awls and iron points; they apply under their armpits and upon their loins hatchets heated red in the fire, and put a necklace of these about their necks in such a way that all the motions of their bodies gave them a new torture. For, if they attempted to lean forward, the red-hot hatchets which hung behind them burned the shoulders everywhere; and if they thought to avoid that pain, bending back a little, their stomachs and breasts experienced a similar torment; if they stood upright, without leaning to one side or the other, these glowing hatchets, touching them alike on all sides, were a double torture to them. They put about them belts of bark, filled with pitch and resin, to which they set fire, which scorched the whole of their bodies.

At the height of these torments, Father Gabriel Lallement lifted his eyes to Heaven, clasping his hands from time to time, and uttering sighs to God, whom he invoked to his aid. Father Jean de Brebeuf suffered like a rock, insensible to the fires and the flames, without uttering any cry, and keeping a profound silence, which astonished his executioners themselves: no doubt, his heart was then reposing in his God. Then, returning to himself, he preached to those Infidels, and still more to many good Christian captives, who had compassion on him.

Those butchers, indignant at his zeal, in order to hinder him from further speaking of God, girdled his mouth, cut off his nose, and tore off his lips; but his blood spoke much more loudly than his lips had done; and, his heart not being yet torn out, his tongue did not fail to render him service until the last sigh, for blessing God for these torments, and for animating the Christians more vigorously than he had ever done.

In derision of holy Baptism,—which these good Fathers had so charitably administered even at the breach, and in the hottest of the fight,—those wretches, enemies of the Faith, bethought themselves to baptize them with boiling water. Their bodies were entirely bathed with it, two or three times, and more, with biting gibes, which accompanied these torments. “We baptize thee,” said these wretches, “to the end that thou mayst be blessed in Heaven; for without proper Baptism one cannot be saved.” Others added, mocking, “We treat thee as a friend, since we shall be the cause of thy greatest happiness up in Heaven; thank us for so many good offices,—for, the more thou sufferest, the more thy God will reward thee.”

These were Infidel Hurons, former captives of the Iroquois, and, of old, enemies of the Faith,—who, having previously had sufficient instruction for their salvation, impiously abused it,—in reality, for the glory of the Fathers; but it is much to be feared that it was also for their own misfortune.

The more these torments were augmented, the more the Fathers entreated God that their sins should not be the cause of the reprobation of these poor blind ones, whom they pardoned with all their heart. It is surely now that they say in repose, *Transivimus per ignem et aquam, et eduxisti nos in refrigerium*.

When they were fastened, to the post where they suffered these torments, and where they were to die, they knelt down, they embraced it with joy, and kissed it piously as the object of their desires and their love, and as a sure and final pledge of their salvation. They were there some time in prayers, and longer than those butchers were willing to permit them. They put out Father Gabriel Lallement’s eyes and applied burning coals in the hollows of the same.

Their tortures were not of the same duration. Father Jean de Brebeuf was at the height of his torments at about three o’clock on the same day of the capture, the 16th day of March, and rendered up his soul about four o’clock in the evening. Father Gabriel Lallement endured longer, from six o’clock in the evening until about nine o’clock the next morning, the seventeenth of March.

Before their death, both their hearts were torn out, by means of an opening above the breast: and those Barbarians inhumanly feasted thereon, drinking their blood quite warm, which they drew from its source with sacrilegious hands. While still quite full of life, pieces of flesh were removed from their thighs, from the calves of the legs, and from their arms,—which those executioners placed on coals to roast, and ate in their sight.

They had slashed their bodies in various parts; and, in order to increase the feeling of pain, they had thrust into these wounds red-hot hatchets. Father Jean de Brebeuf had had the skin which covered his skull torn away; they had

cut off his feet and torn the flesh from his thighs, even to the bone, and had split, with the blow of a hatchet, one of his jaws in two.

Father Gabriel Lallement had received a hatchet-blow on the left ear, which they had driven into his brain, which appeared exposed; we saw no part of his body, from the feet even to the head, which had not been broiled, and in which he had not been burned alive,—even the eyes, into which those impious ones had thrust burning coals.

They had broiled their tongues, repeatedly putting into their mouths flaming brands, and burning pieces of bark,—not willing that they should invoke, in dying, him for whom they were suffering, and who could never die in their hearts. I have learned all this from persons worthy of credence, who have seen it, and reported it to me personally, and who were then captives with them,—but who, having been reserved to be put to death at another time, found means to escape.

JR, 34:197 [**The aftermath of the Iroquois attacks on the Hurons.*]

In consequence of the losses incurred, a part of the country of the Hurons is seen to be in desolation; fifteen villages have been abandoned, the people of each scattering where they could,—in the woods and forests, on the lakes and rivers, and among the Islands most unknown to the enemy. Others have taken refuge in the neighboring Nations, more capable of sustaining the stress of war. In less than fifteen days, our House of Sainte Marie has seen itself stripped bare on every side, and the only one which remained standing in these places of terror, most exposed to the incursions of the enemy,—those who had left their former dwellings having set fire to these themselves, fearing lest they should serve as retreat and fortresses to the Iroquois.

What increases the public misery is, that famine has been prevalent this year in all these regions, more than it had been seen in fifty years,—most of the people not having wherewith to live, and being constrained either to eat acorns, or else to go and seek in the woods some wild roots. With these they sustain a wretched life,—still too happy not to have fallen into the hands of an enemy a thousand times more cruel than the wild beasts, and than all the famines in the world. Fishing supports some of them. But, after all, to whatever place we go, we see there nothing but crosses, present miseries, and fears of a greater evil,—death being, for most, the least of the evils that can befall them....

We have, nevertheless, tried to assist, out of our own poverty, a part of these poor Christians; and since those public miseries, which began not a year ago, we have received in the hospice of this House of Sainte Marie more than six thousand, by actual count; and every day the number increases, as well as their miseries...

This house of Sainte Marie, where we have been until now, was at the most advantageous location that we could have chosen for this purpose, wherever we might have been. But, affairs being in the condition in which we see them now, it would be but rashness in us to dwell in a forsaken place, whence

the Hurons had retired, and where the Algonquins were unable to have further trade; not one would come to see us there, unless the Enemies, who would discharge upon us alone the whole weight of their hostility. Consequently, we are resolved to follow our flock, and to flee with the fleeing, since we do not live here for ourselves, but for the salvation of souls, and for the conversion of these Peoples.

But the Huron villages, which have become scattered, have taken various routes in their flight,—some having fled to the mountains where dwell those whom we call the Tobacco Nation, where three of our Fathers were cultivating, this last winter, three separate Missions; others having taken their stand on an Island which we name St. Joseph Island, where we began, nearly a year ago, a new Mission; others, finally, having the intention of going into the more distant Islands of our great Lake or fresh-water Sea. We will follow the latter, and we will try to establish our principal dwelling, and the center of our Missions, in an Island which we call Sainte Marie Island, which the Hurons call Ekaentoton. It is this Island of which I spoke in the second Chapter, in which I said that we began last Autumn a new Mission, among the Algonquin peoples which inhabit it, and which is about sixty leagues distant from us.

This Island, it has seemed to us must be a more suitable abode, for our purpose, because in that place we shall be better able than in any other to occupy ourselves with the conversion of the Hurons and of the Algonquins; for we shall approach the Eskiaeronnon, Aoechisaeronon, and Aoeatsioaenronnon Algonquins and countless other allied peoples, continually proceeding Westward, and removing ourselves from the Iroquois our Enemies....

Since the above writing, most of the Huron villages which had become scattered have conceived the desire to reunite in the Island of St. Joseph; and twelve of the most considerable Captains have come to entreat us, in the name of all this poor desolate People, that we should have pity on their misery. They said that, without us, they saw themselves the prey of the enemy; that, with us, they esteemed themselves too strong not to defend themselves with courage; that we must have compassion on their widows, and on the poor Christian children; that those who remained Infidels were all resolved to embrace our Faith; and that we would make that Island an Island of Christians...

Our design is, therefore, to transfer the entire body of our forces, and this house of sainte Marie, to the Island of St. Joseph, which will be at once the center of our missions, and the bulwark of these countries.

Father Joseph Chaumonot. 1649. Letter to Father Hierosme Lalemant.

JR, 34:215 [**The state of the Hurons in June 1649.*]

All my poor Christians of la Conception, except 3 or 4, have been killed or taken captive by the Iroquois; and the house of sainte Marie has been destroyed, although more quietly than I had persuaded myself it would be, long before, in my meditations....

I have been for a month at Ahwendoe, on the Island of St. Joseph, where most of our poor Hurons have taken refuge; it is here that I see a part of the miseries which war and famine have caused to this poor desolate people. Their ordinary food is now nothing but acorns, or a certain bitter root which they name otsa; and yet, fortunate is he who can have any of these. Those who have none, live partly on garlic baked under the ashes, or cooked in water, without other sauce; and partly on smoked fish, wherewith they season the clear water which they drink, as they formerly did their sagamite. There are found still poorer ones than all that,—who have neither corn, nor acorns, nor garlic, nor fish, and are poor sick people who cannot seek their living. Add to this poverty that they must work to clear new forests, make cabins, and erect palisades, in order to secure themselves in the coming year from famine and war; indeed, seeing them, you might conclude that these are poor corpses unearthed. I would that I could represent, to all the persons having affection for our Hurons, the pitiful state to which they are reduced; certainly they could not contain themselves from sobbing, and shedding warm tears....

The most benign Jesus was touched with compassion at the sight of a single widow, whose son they were carrying to the grave; how would it be possible that these imitators of Jesus Christ should not be moved to pity at the sight of the hundreds and hundreds of widows,—whose children not only, but almost all their kindred, have been either outrageously killed, or taken captive, and then inhumanly burned, cooked, torn, and devoured by the enemy? Those who touch me still more are the poor widows and orphans of la Conception, which was the Village commonly named by the Hurons “the Believing Village,”—and that with reason, for there were very few infidels left.... This was the last act that our Christians accomplished in profession of their Faith; for, three days later, the Iroquois killed them, having taken away only six of them as prisoners,—all the rest having bravely fought, even to death, for the defense of their native country. I have been told that Charles Ondaiaiondiont, seeing that the enemy was overwhelming by dint of numbers, knelt to pray to God; and that, a very little later, he was killed by an arquebus shot. Acowendoutie, of Arentet, baptized over there, was found, after his death, with his hands clasped; he was one of the Hurons who recovered the body of Father de Noue, with his hands clasped, and, no doubt, he desired to imitate him.

Father Paul Ragueneau. 1650. Letter of Father Paul Ragueneau to the Very Reverend Father General, Vincent Caraffa. From the Residence of Sainte Marie, in the Island of Saint Joseph, among the Hurons In New France. March 13, 1650.

JR, 35:19 [*Fr. Charles Garnier and Fr. Noel Chabanel are killed. Famine forces the Hurons to eat corpses.]

Your Paternity has learned from my last letter of the precious death, or rather martyrdom, of our Fathers,—Father Antoine Daniel, Father Jean de

Brebeuf, and Father Gabriel Lallement,—whom the savage Iroquois cruelly snatched from this growing Church, slaying each of these pastors with his Christian flock, as he watched over his own.

Toward the close of this same past year, 1649, two other Fathers suffered a like death, at their posts,—Father Charles Garnier, an apostolic man, who certainly was born for the salvation of those peoples, and to whose complete holiness nothing was lacking; and his companion, Father Noel Chabanel, who had come to us from the Province of Toulouse. One of these was murdered by the hand of an enemy, on the seventh day of December, in the middle of the village, which the victorious Iroquois had raided and laid waste with fire and arms. The other was slain only the next day, a day sacred to the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin. It is uncertain by whose hand he fell, whether that of an enemy, or, more probably, that of a treacherous apostate,—who may have murdered the Father as he wandered, a fugitive, through the trackless forest, that he might rob the priest, poor as he was, of even his clothes, shoes, and torn hat.

But of these matters I will write more fully at another time. For, in truth, our Hurons are distressed not only by war, but by a deadly famine and a contagious plague; all are miserably perishing together. Everywhere, corpses have been dug out of the graves; and, now carried away by hunger, the people have repeatedly offered, as food, those who were lately the dear pledges of love,—not only brothers to brothers, but even children to their mothers, and the parents to their own children....

JR, 35:25 [**The mission of Sainte Marie is burned and the Jesuits follow the Huron refugees to St. Joseph Island.*]

For the future, the Lord will provide; *sufficit enim diei malitia sua*. Nevertheless, there are two sources of possible destruction to this mission, which we greatly dread,—first, the hostile Iroquois; second, the failure of provisions; and it is not clear how these dangers may be encountered. Our Hurons, last year, were forced not only to leave their homes and their fortified villages, but even to forsake their fields, because they were harassed by warfare, and crushed by unceasing disaster. We, the Shepherds, followed our fleeing flock, and we too have left our dwelling-place,—I might call it our delight,—the residence of Sainte Marie, and the fields we had tilled, which promised a rich harvest. Nay, more, we even applied the torch to the work of our own hands, lest the sacred House should furnish shelter to our impious enemy: and thus in a single day, and almost in a moment, we saw consumed our work of nearly ten years, which had given us the hope that we could produce the necessities of life, and thus maintain ourselves in this country without aid from France. But God has willed otherwise; our home is now laid waste, and our Penates forsaken; we have been compelled to journey elsewhere, and, in the land of our exile, to seek a new place of banishment.

Within sight of the mainland, about twenty miles from that first site of Sainte Marie, is an Island surrounded by a vast lake (which might better be

called a sea). There the fugitive Hurons checked their flight,—at least most of them; there also we must abide; there, where lately were the dens of wild beasts, we were obliged to build new homes; there the forest, never touched by the axe since the creation, had to be cleared away; there, finally, not only we, but the savages, had to construct fortifications, a task pertaining to war. This was our occupation, this our unceasing effort,—winter and summer alike,—that we might at last render ourselves safe, in this respect, and quite prepared to receive the common enemy. We surrounded our position, not merely with a wooden palisade, as hitherto had been the custom, but with a closely-built stone wall, as difficult to scale as it is easy of defense,—which defies the enemy's torch, or a battering-ram, or any engine of war which the Iroquois can employ.

Journal of the Jesuit Fathers. 1650.

JR, 35:33 [**Rumors of Iroquois incursions, February 1650.*]

Upon the news of iroquois tracks, there was some excitement at Quebec, and a Council for precautions against this misfortune.

JR, 35:41 [**News of Iroquois ambushes near Quebec, May 1650.*]

On the 9th [**of May, 1650*], at evening, our brother Jaques ratel arrived from 3 rivers. They brought word of the capture of an iroquois, who was telling much news.

On the 11th, we left for 3 rivers, after having heard of the first massacres—of two men—and plunder by the iroquois in these districts, committed on that very Day, about 4 o'clock in the morning, at the settlement of Jaques Maheu. We came back to Quebec the next day, the 12th, on account of the bad weather; we left again on the 14th, and arrived at 3 rivers on the 19th, after having sojourned 4 Days at Cap a l'arbre. We were 3,—father bressany, father Andre richar, and I....

During our sojourn at 3 rivers, there happened, 1st, the murder of Petit's man on our lands at beauport, and the burial of his son Joseph. That occurred on the 13th; and, a little before, two savages were killed toward the river of Champlain, and two others wounded. Finally, came the news of the defeat of the Algonquain warriors, and the loss, by shipwreck, of the good Charles and of 12 others, coming back from Tadousac.

JR, 35:47 [**A Huron, believed to be a spy, is executed.*]

On the 15th [**of June 1650*], at evening, arrived a Huron from 3 rivers, named Skandahietsi, who said that he was sent by the iroquois with [porcelain] collars to make *peace* with the french, and that the collars were hidden at the little river near 3 rivers,—adding that he had hidden them for fear that the Algonquains should perceive them. He contradicted himself in several points, when questioned; in consequence, he was put in prison, and we sent

for the Algonquains and Hurons, in order to know what was to be done in such a case, *He was judged worthy of death; he was accordingly baptized* on the 20th, and named louys, without as yet knowing whether he were to live or to die. The next day, the 21st, he was led to the Carcan by the executioner and the sergeant, and left to the will of the Hurons and Algonquains. A Huron, named henheonsa, gave him two blows with a Hatchet on his head, and killed him on the spot. He was buried by Madame the governor's wife and Madame de Monceaux; and another Huron, named Outarahon, made a long harangue to Justify the affair, and to guarantee that his nation would thoroughly approve all that was done.

JR, 35:51 [*The Iroquois attack some Frenchmen at Three Rivers.]

On the 10th [*of August 1650] arrived the news of the capture or massacre of 9 frenchmen, at 3 rivers, by the Yroquois.

On the 12th, men started from Quebec to give assistance....

On the 22nd arrived the news of the death Death of robert le coq, and of the wounding of several others by the yroquois near 3 rivers....He was killed on the 20th.

JR, 35:55 [*The Hurons depart for war.]

On the 15th [*of October 1650] the Hurons departed for the war.

JR, 35:59 [*Seven Hurons are captured by the Mohawks near Montreal.]

On the 22nd [*of November 1650], The bark which had been sent to Montreal to carry thither the eels, etc., not having been able to ascend above three Rivers, returned here to Quebec; lake St. Pierre was beginning to freeze, and the wind was not favorable for this voyage. This bark brought news of the capture of 7 Hurons of the band of Honda'kont, by the Annie'ronnons, who had only three canoes, and were only 17 or 18 in number. These captured Hurons were Atieronhonk, Otrawahe, Etio'ton, Otrihore, Saowendoiak, Tehonande'ton, and [blank space]. They were captured in sight of Montreal, and of ten Huron canoes, which took flight.

Father Paul Ragueneau. 1651. Relation of What Occurred in the Mission of the Fathers of the Society of Jesus, among the Hurons, and in the lower countries of New France, from the Summer of the year 1649, to the Summer of the year 1650. From Kebec, September 1st, 1650.

JR, 35:75 [*The desolation of the Hurons.]

It is no longer from the country of the Hurons that I send to your Reverence the Relation of what has happened therein. The poor infant Church—which was seen, a year ago, bathed in its own blood, trodden down by the cruelty of the Iroquois, the enemies of God's name and of the Faith—has since then undergone yet greater sufferings. The larger number of our

good Neophytes, with some of their Pastors, have followed through fire and flame the steps of their predecessors, and now bear them company in Heaven. A terrible famine, prevalent everywhere, has wrought desolation. We count over three thousand baptized during the last year; but the dead outnumber those who survive the ruin of their native Land. Reduced thus to extremity, we found ourselves at last compelled to relinquish a position that was no longer tenable, that we might, at least, save those who remained. It was on the tenth day of last June that we took our departure from this land of Promise, which was to us a Paradise, and in which death would have been to us a thousand times more sweet than life will be in any place where we could dwell. But we must follow God, and must love his leadings, however opposed they may seem to our wishes, our holiest hopes, or the tenderest longings of our hearts. In a word, we have come down to Kebec, together with some Christian families of the poor Savages who have followed us in our retreat,—and with whom, if it please Our Lord to bless their purposes and ours, we shall endeavor, under cover of our French fort, to form a Huron Colony.

JR, 35:79 [**Details of the dissolution of the Hurons and the flight to the Island of St. Joseph.*]

In consequence of the bloody victories obtained by the Iroquois over our Hurons at the commencement of the Spring of last year, 1649, and of the more than inhuman acts of barbarity practiced toward their prisoners of war, and the cruel torments pitilessly inflicted on Father Jean de Brebeuf and Father Gabriel Lallemant, Pastors of this truly suffering Church,—terror having fallen upon the neighboring villages, which were dreading a similar misfortune,—all the inhabitants dispersed. These poor, distressed people forsook their lands, houses, and villages, and all that in the world was dearest to them, in order to escape the cruelty of an enemy whom they feared more than a thousand deaths, and more than all that remained before their eyes,—calculated as that was to strike terror into hearts already wretched. Many, no longer expecting humanity from man, flung themselves into the deepest recesses of the forest, where, though it were with the wild beasts, they might find peace. Others took refuge upon some frightful rocks that lay in the midst of a great Lake nearly four hundred leagues in circumference,—choosing rather to find death in the waters, or from the cliffs, than by the fires of the Iroquois. A goodly number having cast in their lot with the people of the Neutral Nation, and with those living on the Mountain heights, whom we call the Tobacco Nation, the most prominent of those who remained invited us to join them, rather than to flee so far away,—trusting that God would espouse their cause when it should have become our own, and would be mindful of their protection, provided they took care to serve him. With this in view, they promised us that they would all become Christians, and be true to the faith till the death came which they saw prepared on every side for their destruction....

It was between five and six o'clock, on the evening of the fourteenth of

June, that a part of our number embarked in a small vessel we had built. I, in company with most of the others, trusted myself to some logs, fifty or sixty feet in length, which we had felled in the woods, and dragged into the water, binding all together, in order to fashion for ourselves a sort of raft that should float on that faithless element,—just as, in former days, we had seen in France floating timbers transported down the streams. We voyaged all night upon our great Lake, by dint of arms and oars; and, the weather being favorable, we landed without mishap, after a few days, upon an island, where the Hurons were awaiting us, and which was the spot we had fixed upon for a general reunion, that we might make of it a Christian island. God, doubtless, led us on this journey: for, even while we coasted along those deserted lands, the enemy was in the field, and on the following day delivered his blow upon some Christian families whom he surprised, during their sleep, along the road which we had followed; some were massacred upon the spot, others led away captive.

The Hurons who were awaiting us on that Island called the Island of St. Joseph, had sown there some Indian corn; but the Summer drouths had been so excessive that they lost hope of their harvest, unless Heaven should afford them some favoring showers. On our arrival, they besought us to obtain this favor for them; and our prayers were granted that very day, although previously there had been no appearance of rain.

These grand forests, which, since the Creation of the world, had not been felled by the hand of any man, received us as guests; while the ground furnished to us, without digging, the stone and cement we needed for fortifying ourselves against our enemies. In consequence, thank God, we found ourselves very well protected, having built a small fort according to military rules, which, therefore, could be easily defended, and would fear neither the fire, the undermining, nor the escalade of the Iroquois.

Moreover, we set to work to fortify the village of the Hurons, which was adjacent to our place of abode. We erected for them bastions, which defended its approaches,—intending to put at their disposal the strength, the arms, and the courage of our Frenchmen. These would most willingly have hazarded their lives in a defense so reasonable and so Christian,—the village being truly Christian, and the foundation of the Christian church that is dispersed throughout these regions.

JR, 35:91 [**The Iroquois harass the Huron refugees at St. Joseph Island.*]

The War had already made its ravages, not only in the devastation which occurred in the preceding Winter, but in the number of massacres which happened all through the Summer, on the mainland in the vicinity of this Island; poverty compelled numbers of families to go thither, to seek death as much as life, in the open country given over to the fury of the enemy. But, that nothing might be lacking in the miseries of an afflicted people, all the days and nights of Winter were but nights of horror, passed in constant fear and expectation of a hostile party of Iroquois, of whom tidings had been received; these (it was

said) were to come to us to sweep this Island, and to exterminate, with us, the remnants of a nation drawing to its end....

JR, 35:97 [**The Hurons are in constant fear of Iroquois attack.*]

All Winter, having employed the day, some of us in the care of souls, others in works of charity, the night afforded some respite to our labors,—as much, at least, as was needed to prevent our succumbing to the fatigues of the day; but not as much as nature herself would have taken with a guileless pleasure. For, to say the truth, our sleep was but a half-sleep: whatever the cold, whatever the snow, whatever winds might blow, sentinels kept watch all night long, exposed to every severity of weather in the never-ending rounds which formed their duty; the others, who during this time were taking their allotment of repose, were the while under arms, as if awaiting battle.

JR, 35:107 [**The Iroquois attack the Petun, destroying the town of St. Jean. Fr. Charles Garnier is killed.*]

In the Mountains, the people of which we name the Tobacco Nation, we have had, for some years past, two Missions; in each were two of our Fathers. The one nearest to the enemy was that which bore the name of Saint Jean; its principal village, called by the same name, contained about five or six hundred families. It was a field watered by the sweat of one of the most excellent Missionaries who had dwelt in these regions, Father Charles Garnier,—who was also to water it with his blood, since there both he and his flock have met death, he himself leading them even unto Paradise. The day approaching in which God would make a Church triumphant of that which, up to that time, had always been in warfare, and which could bear the name of a Church truly suffering, we received intelligence of it, toward the close of the month of November, from two Christian Hurons, escaped from a band of about three hundred Iroquois, who told us that the enemy was still irresolute as to what measures he would take,—whether against the Tobacco Nation, or against the Island on which we were. Thereupon, we kept ourselves in a state of defense, and detained our Hurons, who had purposed taking the field to meet that enemy. At the same time, we caused the tidings to be speedily conveyed to the people of the Tobacco Nation, who received it with joy, regarding that hostile band as already conquered, and as occasion for their triumph. They resolutely awaited them for some days; then, wearying because victory was so slowly coming to them, they desired to go to meet it,—at least, the inhabitants of the village of Saint Jean, men of enterprise and valor. They hastened their attack, fearing lest the Iroquois should escape them, and desiring to surprise the latter while they were still on the road. They set out on the fifth day of the month of December, directing their route toward the place where the enemy was expected. But the latter, having taken a roundabout way, was not met; and, to crown our misfortunes, the enemy, as they approached the village, seized upon a man and woman who had just come out of it. They learned from these two

captives the condition of the place, and ascertained that it was destitute of the better part of its people. Losing no time, they quickened their pace that they might lay waste everything, opportunity so greatly favoring them.

It was on the seventh day of the month of last December, in the year 1649, toward three o'clock in the afternoon, that this band of Iroquois appeared at the gates of the village, spreading immediate dismay, and striking terror into all those poor people,—bereft of their strength, and finding themselves vanquished, when they thought to be themselves the conquerors. Some took to flight; others were slain on the spot. To many, the flames, which were already consuming some of their cabins, gave the first intelligence of the disaster. Many were taken prisoners; but the victorious enemy, fearing the return of the warriors who had gone to meet them, hastened their retreat so precipitately, that they put to death all the old men and children, and all whom they deemed unable to keep up with them in their flight. It was a scene of incredible cruelty. The enemy snatched from a Mother her infants, that they might be thrown into the fire; other children beheld their Mothers beaten to death at their feet, or groaning in the flames,—permission, in either case, being denied them to show the least compassion. It was a crime to shed a tear, these barbarians demanding that their prisoners should go into captivity as if they were marching to their triumph. A poor Christian Mother, who wept for the death of her infant, was killed on the spot, because she still loved, and could not stifle soon enough her Natural feelings.

Father Charles Garnier was, at that time, the only one of our Fathers in that Mission. When the enemy appeared, he was just then occupied with instructing the people in the cabins which he was visiting. At the noise of the alarm, he went out, going straight to the Church, where he found some Christians. "We are dead men, my brothers," he said to them. "Pray to God, and flee by whatever way you may be able to escape. Bear about with you your faith through what of life remains; and may death find you with God in mind." He gave them his blessing, then left hurriedly, to go to the help of souls. A prey to despair, not one dreamed of defense. Several found a favorable exit for their flight; they implored the Father to flee with them, but the bonds of Charity restrained him. All unmindful of himself, he thought only of the salvation of his neighbor. Borne on by his zeal, he hastened everywhere,—either to give absolution to the Christians whom he met, or to seek, in the burning cabins, the children, the sick, or the catechumens, over whom, in the midst of the flames, he poured the waters of Holy Baptism, his own heart burning with no other fire than the love of God.

It was while thus engaged in Holy work that he was encountered by the death which he had looked in the face without fearing it, or receding from it a single step. A bullet from a musket struck him, penetrating a little below the breast; another, from the same volley, tore open his stomach, lodging in the thigh, and bringing him to the ground. His courage, however, was unabated. The barbarian who had fired the shot stripped him of his cassock, and left him, weltering in his blood, to pursue the other fugitives.

This good Father, a very short time after, was seen to clasp his hands, offering some prayer; then, looking about him, he perceived, at a distance of ten or twelve paces, a poor dying Man,—who, like himself, had received the stroke of death, but had still some remains of life. Love of God, and zeal for Souls, were even stronger than death. Murmuring a few words of prayer, he struggled to his knees, and, rising with difficulty, dragged himself as best he might toward the sufferer, in order to assist him in dying well. He had made but three or four steps, when he fell again, somewhat heavily. Raising himself for the second time, he got, once more, upon his knees and strove to continue on his way; but his body, drained of its blood, which was flowing in abundance from his wounds, had not the strength of his courage. For the third time he fell, having proceeded but five or six steps. Further than this, we have not been able to ascertain what he accomplished,—the good Christian woman who faithfully related all this to us having seen no more of him, being herself overtaken by an Iroquois, who struck her on the head with a war-hatchet, felling her upon the spot, though she afterward escaped. The Father, shortly after, received from a hatchet two blows upon the temples, one on either side, which penetrated to the brain. To him it was the recompense for all past services, the richest he had hoped for from God's goodness. His body was stripped, and left, entirely naked, where it lay,

Two of our Fathers, who were in the nearest neighboring Mission, received a remnant of these poor fugitive Christians, who arrived all out of breath, many of them all covered with their own blood. The night was one of continual alarm, owing to the fear, which had seized all, of a similar misfortune. Toward the break of day, it was ascertained from certain spies that the enemy had retired. The two Fathers at once set out, that they might themselves look upon a spectacle most sad indeed, but nevertheless acceptable to God. They found only dead bodies heaped together, and the remains of poor Christians,—some who were almost consumed in the pitiable remains of the still burning village; others deluged with their own blood; and a few who yet showed some signs of life, but were all covered with wounds,—looking only for death, and blessing God in their wretchedness. At length, in the midst of that desolated village, they descried the body they had come to seek; but so little cognizable was it, being completely covered with its blood, and the ashes of the fire, that they passed it by. Some Christian Savages, however, recognized their Father, who had died for love of them. They buried him in the same spot on which their Church had stood, although there remained no longer any vestige of it, the fire having consumed all....

Dread lest the enemy, having made but a show of departure, might retrace his steps, constrained all that escort of love to set out again that same day, and, without losing time, to return, as speedily as possible, to the place whence they had departed,—without food or drink; by roads difficult of passage; and at a most fatiguing season, as the snow had already covered the ground.

Two days after the taking and burning of the village, its inhabitants

returned,—who, having discovered the change of plan which had led the enemy to take another route, had had their suspicions of the misfortune that had happened. But now they beheld it with their own eyes; and at the sight of the ashes, and the dead bodies of their relatives, their wives, and their children, they maintained for half the day a profound silence,—seated, after the manner of savages, upon the ground, without lifting, their eyes, or uttering even a sigh,—like marble statues, without speech, without sight, and without motion. For it is thus that the Savages mourn,—at least, the men and the warriors,—tears, cries, and lamentations befitting, so they say, the women.

JR, 35:147 [**Fr. Noël Chabanel is killed by either an apostate Huron or the Iroquois.*]

Here is the sixth victim whom God has taken to himself from those of our Society whom he had called to this Mission of the Hurons,—there having been, as yet, not one of us who has died there without shedding his blood, and consummating the sacrifice in its entirety.

Father Noel Chabanel was the Missionary companion of Father Charles Garnier; and when the village of saint Jean was taken by the Iroquois, there were but two days in which they were separated, in accordance with the orders which they had received,—our Fathers and I having thought it wiser not to keep two Missionaries exposed to danger; considering, besides, that the famine in that quarter was so severe that sufficient food for both could not be obtained. But it was not God's will that, having lived and been yoked together in the same Mission, they should be separated in death.

This good Father, then, returning whither obedience recalled him, had passed through the Mission of saint Mathias, where were two other of our Fathers, and had left them on the morning of the seventh day of December. Having traveled six long leagues over a most difficult road, he found himself overtaken by night in the thick of the forest, being in the company of seven or eight Christian Hurons. His men were resting, and asleep; he only was watching, and in prayer. Toward midnight, he heard a noise, accompanied with cries,—partly of a victorious hostile force who occupied that road; partly, also, of captives, taken that very day in the village of saint Jean, who were singing, as was their custom, their war-song. On hearing the noise, the Father awoke his men, who fled at once into the forest, and eventually saved themselves,—scattering, some here, some there; and taking their route toward the very place from which the enemy had come out, though a little at one side of it.

These Christians, escaped from the peril, arrived at the Tobacco Nation, and reported that the Father had gone some little way with them, intending to follow them; but that, becoming exhausted, he had fallen on his knees, saying to them, "It matters not that I die; this life is a very small consideration; of the blessedness of Paradise, the Iroquois can never rob me."

At daybreak, the Father, having altered his route, desirous of coming to the Island where we were, found himself checked at the bank of a river, which

crossed his path. A Huron reported the circumstance, adding that he had passed him, in his canoe, on this side of the stream; and that, to render his flight more easy, the Father had disburdened himself of his hat, and of a bag that contained his writings; also of a blanket, which our Missionaries use as robe and cloak, as mattress and cushion, for a bed, and for every other convenience,—even for a dwelling-place, when in the open country, and when they have, for the time, no other shelter. Since then, we have been unable to learn any other news of the Father.

Of the manner of his death we are uncertain,—whether he may have fallen into the hands of the enemies, who actually slew on the same road some thirty persons; or that, having missed his way in the forest, he may have died there, partly from hunger, partly from cold, at the foot of some tree at which weakness had obliged him to halt. But, after all, it seems to us most probable that he was murdered by that Huron,—once a Christian, but since an Apostate,—the last to see him, and who, to enjoy the possessions of the Father, would have killed him, and thrown his body into the River. Had we been inclined to pursue this matter further, I feel sure that we would have discovered proofs sufficient to convict this murderer; but, in such general misery, we judged it wiser to smother our suspicions; and we closed our own eyes to what we were well pleased was not evident. It is enough for us that God's purposes should have been served.

JR, 35:165 [**Pagans among the Petun blame their plight on the Jesuits and threaten them with death.*]

Some infidel Captains, exasperated at the progress the Faith was making, and believing that it alone caused the ruin of the countries that are becoming Christianized, circulated a calumny against us in the hope of stirring up the natives and inciting them to take revenge. For this purpose, the most eminent among them assembled in a village belonging to this Mission (it was the village of saint Mathieu, from which our Fathers were then absent); and in this seditious council it was boldly announced that a certain Huron, lately escaped from the hands of the Iroquois nearest to Kebec, had seen there some large Porcelain collars, sent by Onnontio (the name which the Hurons give to Monsieur our Governor). It was stated that this Onnontio,—wishing to turn aside the weapons of the Iroquois, fearing lest they should make a dash upon the French at Montreal, Three Rivers, and Kebec,—had sent these presents and these Porcelain collars into the enemy's country, in order to induce them to transport an armed force into the Huron territory; and that he had promised them that the French who were there should betray the Hurons and the Algonquins, by pretending to go bravely in their defense,—but that, in fact, when the fighting took place they were to kill no one, having received from him secret orders to load their firearms with powder only, without bullet or shot.

In the train of this calumny they painted us blacker than our robes, raised a cry of "Traitors, and treachery!" and talked only of massacring us; while the

firebrands of the sedition noisily declared that they must kill the first Frenchman they should meet.

Indeed, descrying from a distance our two Missionaries,—who were shaping their course, a very few days after, to this village in their district where the council was held,—there were shouts of “Murder them!” “Kill them!” Then, rushing to the gates by which they would enter, they greeted them with cries and hootings, similar to those with which they receive prisoners of war who are doomed to the flames. Our Fathers went in as usual, with calm faces; for they who fear God have no fear of his creatures, and they who have no other desire than to die in his service do not quail in such emergencies. The rioters conferred together, to decide which of them should raise the hatchet against those two innocent victims. They cast upon them nothing but furious looks, and their hearts thirsted only for blood. But God stayed their hands, for that time; and the two good Fathers passed through the crowd of impious wretches, without receiving any hurt. Many who were not in the conspiracy, but who could not have been ignorant of what had been publicly determined, said one to another, “Are not these they who were to be massacred? How, then, have they passed through the midst of enemies ready for murder? These have risen up from the throng to kill them; and yet not one has dealt the blow which so many had pledged themselves to strike.”...

The village of St. Jean had not as yet been taken and laid waste by the Iroquois when that sedition occurred, but this event took place a very few days afterward; and we have reason for believing that the death of Father Noël Chabanel was simply an outcome of the conspiracy. Notice particularly, that the Huron upon whom fell the suspicion of murder committed on the person of that Father was of the village of St. Mathieu; and that a trustworthy person told us that he had heard, from the man’s own lips, his boast that he was the murderer; that he had rid the world of that common carrion of a Frenchman, and had thrown his body into the river, after braining him at his feet. Be that as it may, it is not a small advantage, to those who live in these parts, to know and see that their lives are at the mercy of every one; and that they may expect death as much at the hands of those very persons whom they recognize as friends, as from an Iroquois enemy.

JR, 35:171 [**The Iroquois take Pierre Outouré captive, then release him.*]

A poor but excellent Christian of this Mission had fallen into the hands of enemies, and expected nothing less than the fire for his torture. In his necessity he had recourse to God. “My God,” he said, “I believe with all my heart that you alone are master of our lives; if you choose, I shall be able to prove from to-day that my faith will have delivered me from the death which, without your succor, I can in no way escape.” Strange circumstance! That poor man, at that very hour, was delivered from his captivity,—the Iroquois who had just taken him prisoner having suffered him, without knowing why, to go at large. This Christian was called Pierre Outouré.

JR, 35:179 [**The Iroquois attack Algonquian-speaking tribes near Lake Huron.*]

This Mission [**of the Holy Ghost*] was established for the Nations speaking the Algonquin tongue, who have—as little as the fish, by taking which they subsist—no certain abode along the coasts of the great Lake, where they dwell sometimes in one place, sometimes in another, conformably to the different seasons of the year; or according as fears of the Iroquois compel them to move farther away from the peril which every day threatens them....

It was time that God should give to them the spirit of faith; for, when Springtime came, bands of Iroquois, coming from a distance of two hundred leagues, surprised a party of these good Neophytes in a place where they deemed their lives perfectly secure; dragged them into Captivity, men, women, and children,—not sparing even the young, but committing them to the flames with a cruelty beyond conception.

JR, 35:183 [**The Iroquois attack the Huron refugees at St. Joseph Island, ca. Spring 1650. Three hundred Huron convert families abandon the Island and set out for Quebec.*]

We had passed all the Winter in the extremities of a famine which prevailed over all these regions, and everywhere carried off large numbers of Christians, never ceasing to extend its ravages, and casting despair on every side. Hunger is an inexorable tyrant,—one who never says, “It is enough;” who never grants a truce; who devours all that is given him; and, should we fail to pay him, repays himself in human blood, and rends our bowels,—ourselves without the power to escape his rage, or to flee from his sight, all blind though he be. But, when the Spring came, the Iroquois were still more cruel to us, and it is they who have indeed blasted all our hopes. It is they who have transformed into an abode of horror—into a land of blood and carnage, into a theater of cruelty, and into a sepulchre of bodies stripped of their flesh by the exhaustions of a long famine—a country of plenty, a land of Holiness, a place no longer barbarous, since the blood shed for love of it had made all its people Christians.

Our poor famished Hurons were compelled to part from us at the commencement of the month of March, to go in search of acorns on the summits of the mountains, which were divesting themselves of their snow; or to repair to certain fishing-grounds in places more open to the Southern Sun, where the ice melted sooner. They hoped to find, in those remote places, some little alleviation from the famine, which was rendering their existence a living death,—as it were, an enemy domiciliated, shut up in their own houses, who had made himself master of the situation,—and all this, while in dread of a death still more cruel, and of falling into the fire and flame of the Iroquois, who were continually seeking their lives. Before going away, they confessed, redoubling their devotions in proportion as their miseries increased. Many received holy communion as preparation for death. Never was their faith more lively, and

never did the hope of Paradise appear to them more sweet than in this despair, this surrender of their lives. They split up into bands, so that, if some fell into the hands of the enemy, others might escape....

Our poor starvelings were just beginning to enjoy the benefit of their fishery, which they found abundant enough; but their joy was to savor more of Heaven than of earth. On the day of the Annunciation, the twenty-fifth of March, a war-party of Iroquois—who had marched over nearly two hundred leagues of country, across ice and snow, crossing mountains and forests full of terrors—surprised, one nightfall, our Christians' camp, and perpetrated in it a cruel butchery. It seemed as if Heaven directed their every step, and as if they had an Angel for guide; for they divided their forces so successfully as to discover, in less than two days, every party of our Christians, who had scattered hither and thither. These were separated by six, seven, or eight leagues,—one hundred in one place, fifty in another; there were even some solitary families who had strayed into less well-known places, and away from all beaten track. Strange circumstance! of all that scattered people, but a single man escaped, who came to bring to us the news,—even as, in days of old, it happened to that prodigy of Patience for whom there survived, in his losses, but one sad messenger, who hastened breathlessly to apprise him of his calamity, and thus render it more poignant.

My pen can no longer express the fury of the Iroquois in these encounters; it shrinks from the repeated portrayal of such scenes of cruelty,—to which our eyes cannot become familiarized any more than our feelings, which are never dulled to the violence of all these torments which rage suggests. Our sole consolation is this, that these horrible inflictions end with our lives; and that God will crown them with a happiness that has no end.

Since then, misfortunes have crowded upon us. Hardly had the Christians who remained in the village of Saint Joseph enjoyed a few days' respite, to raise their hopes after so terrible a blow as that which had stricken them down, than their fear of the flames, and of the cruelty of the Iroquois, revived. But an evil which they regarded only as remote seemed less terrible than the immediate pangs of an insupportable famine, which was already inclining them to the very rejections of nature, and causing them to devour rotting carrion. The Mother felt no horror in satiating her raging hunger on the body of her own child; nor did the children spare the body of their Father.

Hunger, it is said, drives the wolves from the woods; our starving Hurons were likewise compelled to leave a village where only horror abounded. This was toward the end of Lent. Alas! these poor Christians would have been only too happy had they had anything from which to fast, as even acorns and water. On Easter day, we had a general communion for them. The next day, they parted from us, leaving in our care all their little property,—the greater number publicly declaring that they made us their heirs, perceiving clearly that their death was not far away, and that they carried it within.

Indeed, but a few days had slipped by when news reached us of the mis-

fortune we had anticipated. That poor scattered band fell into the snares of our enemies, the Iroquois. Some were slain on the spot; others dragged away captive; women and children were burned; some few escaped from the midst of the flames, which struck dismay and terror into every heart.

Eight days afterward, a similar misfortune assailed yet another band. Whithersoever they go, massacres await them. Famine follows them everywhere, in which they meet an enemy more cruel than cruelty itself; and to fill up the measure of misery without hope, they learned that two powerful war-parties were on the way, who were coming to exterminate them; that the first designed to make havoc of their fields, to pluck up their Indian corn, and to lay waste the country: while the second party was to cut down everything that might have escaped the fury of the first. Despair reigns everywhere.

At the height of these alarms, two old Captains came to see me privately, and addressed me thus: "My brother," they said to me, "thine eyes deceive thee when thou lookest on us; thou believest that thou seest living men, while we are but specters, the souls of the departed. The ground thou treadest on is about to open under us, to swallow us up, together with thyself, that we may be in the place where we ought to be, among the dead. It is needful that thou shouldst know, my brother, that this night, in council, we have resolved upon leaving this Island. The greater number intend to take refuge within the forest, and live alone; and as no one in the world will know where they are, the enemy cannot have knowledge of them. Some reckon on withdrawing six long days' journey hence; others take their route toward the people of Andastoeé, allies of new Sweden; others speak boldly of taking their wives and children, and throwing themselves into the arms of the enemy,—among whom they have a great number of relatives who wish for them, and counsel them to make their escape as soon as possible from a desolated country, if they do not wish to perish beneath its ruins. My brother," they added, "what wilt thou do alone in this Island, when all will have forsaken thee? Hast thou come here to cultivate the land? Wilt thou instruct the trees? These Lakes, and these Rivers, have they ears to listen to thy teaching? Couldst thou follow all this multitude which is about to disperse? The greater number will meet their death where they hope to find life. Even couldst thou have a hundred bodies, to be present in a hundred places, it would not suffice; and thou wouldst be a burden to them, and they would hold thee in abhorrence. Famine will track their every step, and war will hunt them down.

"My brother, take courage," added these Captains. "Thou alone canst bestow upon us life, if thou wilt strike a daring blow. Choose a place where thou mayst be able to reassemble us, and prevent this dispersion. Cast thine eyes toward Quebec, and transport thither the remnants of this ruined nation. Do not wait until famine and war have slain the last of us. Thou bearest us in thy hands and thy heart, More than ten thousand have been snatched away by death. If thou delay longer, not one will remain, and then thou wouldst know the regret of not having saved those whom thou couldst have withdrawn from

danger, and who disclosed to thee the means. If thou listen to our wishes, we will build a Church under shelter of the fort at Kebec. There, our faith will not die out; and the examples of the Algonquins and of the French will hold us to our duty. Their charity will alleviate, in part, our miseries; and, at the least, we shall sometimes find there a morsel of bread for our little ones, who, to sustain life, have for so long lived on acorns, and bitter roots. After all, if we must die with them, death there would be to us far easier than in the midst of forests, where no one would assist us to die well; and where, we fear, our faith would in time become enfeebled, whatever resolution we had to prize it more than our lives."

Having listened to the discourse of these Captains, I made a report of it to our Fathers. The matter was too important to settle in a few days. We redoubled our devotions; we consulted together, but still more with God. We offered prayers during forty hours, that we might discover his holy will. We discussed this matter fifteen, sixteen, even twenty times. It seemed to us more and more clear that God had spoken to us by the lips of these Captains; for the truth was apparent to us that the entire Huron country was but a land of horror and a region of massacres. Wherever we cast our eyes, we saw convincing proof that famine on the one hand, and War on the other, were completing the extermination of the few Christians who remained: but if we could conduct them to the shelter of a French fort at Montreal, three Rivers, or Quebec, it would be, we thought, their only place of refuge; that there, the assistance which we could render them would be more effectual, and their faith would be more assured; and, in fine, that there God would be more glorified.

So generally was this the opinion of our Fathers, that I could not withstand it,—being moreover well assured that their hearts were so entirely wedded to the crosses and sufferings which they cherished in this blessed Mission, that nothing in the world would induce them to tear themselves from these, save the one motive of the greater glory of God.

Meanwhile, the enemy continued their massacres without pause; the famine went on depopulating us: unless we hurried our retreat, we would save few Christians. The resolve being deliberately taken, its execution must be speedy, for fear that the Iroquois, hearing the news of it, might lay a snare for us, to bar our way.

It was not without tears that we left a country which possessed our hearts and engaged our hopes; and which, even now reddened with the glorious blood of our brethren, promised us a like happiness, and opened to us the way to Heaven, and the gate of Paradise. But yet! self must be forgotten, and God left for God's sake,—I mean, that he is worthy of being served for himself alone, without regard to our interests, were they the most Holy that we could have in the world.

Amid these regrets, the thought was consoling that we were to take away with us poor Christian families numbering about three hundred souls,—sad remains of a nation formerly so numerous, which calamities have assailed at

a time when they were most faithful to God. Heaven had there its elect,—in depopulating the earth, it has peopled itself with our spoils; and it suffices to content us in our losses to see that those who remain with us, although they have lost their goods, their relatives, their country, have not lost their faith. A year ago, more than three thousand persons had received Holy Baptism: what more holy wish could we have formed for them, than that they should take with them into Heaven their baptismal innocence? God granted them that grace sooner than they expected: could we rightly complain that he had hurried his favors upon them?—considering that we would have deemed ourselves only too blest, had we died in their company, so as to enjoy the same happiness.

By roads which covered a distance of about three hundred leagues we marched, upon our guard as in an enemy's country,—there not being any spot where the Iroquois is not to be feared, and where we did not see traces of his cruelty, or signs of his treachery. On one side we surveyed districts which, not ten years ago, I reckoned to contain eight or ten thousand men. For all that, there remains, not one of them. Going on beyond, we coasted along shores but lately reddened with the blood of our Christians. On another side you might have seen the trail, quite recent, of those who, had been taken captive. A little farther on, were but the shells of cabins abandoned to the fury of the enemy,—those who had dwelt in them having fled into the forest, and condemned themselves to a life which is but perpetual banishment. The Nipissirien people, who speak the Algonquin tongue, had quite lately been massacred at their lake,—forty leagues in circumference, which formerly I had seen inhabited in almost the entire length of its coast; but which, now, is nothing but a solitude. One day's journey this side of the lake, we found a fortress, in which the Iroquois had passed the Winter, coming to hunt men; a few leagues thence, we met with still another. All along, we marched over the very steps of our most cruel enemies.

Midway in our journey, we had an alarm that was thrilling enough. A band of about forty Frenchmen, and a few Hurons, who had wintered at Kebec, and who were ascending this great river, noticed the tracks of some of our scouts, which they took to be those of the enemy. At the same time, our vanguard had also noticed the footprints of those who had just discovered us. Both having retraced their steps, each side prepared itself for battle; but on drawing near, our fears were soon changed into joy.

These Frenchmen whom we met had effected, but a very few days ago, the capture of some Iroquois, who had intended to surprise them, and who would have dealt a blow as successful as daring, had they withdrawn quickly enough after their first volley. They were but ten Iroquois, who had wintered about sixty leagues above Three Rivers,—where they were living by hunting, and awaiting, in the Spring, some band, of either Frenchmen or Hurons who might pass that way. These enemies, having descried toward evening the smoke from the fires of our Frenchmen, who had camped about a league's dis-

tance from their place of ambush, came by night to reconnoiter them. Indeed, they were bold enough, ten though they were, to attack sixty. It is true that they crept in under favor of a dark night, and were so lucky in the choice of their route, that the sentinels failed to perceive them until they were already within the camp, and had discharged their death-blows on the first persons they encountered in their path, every one being asleep.

It seems as if death sought only good Christians, and the pillars of our Huron Church. They killed seven of these before meeting opposition,—among others, a Captain named Jean Baptiste Atironta,—of whom we have often spoken in our preceding Relations,—who, having wintered in Kebec that last season, had edified all by the purity of his life, and his virtuous example.

Father Bressany, who was bringing back to us this band,—with which he had gone down from the Huron country, toward the end of the preceding Summer,—awaking at the noise made by these murderers, saw, stretched near him, his companions who had already received the death-blow. He cried, “To arms!”—and at the same time received three arrow-wounds in the head, which covered him with blood. Our men rushed to the rescue. Six Iroquois were slain on the spot; two were taken prisoners; the last two, powerless to do more, took to their heels, and saved themselves by flight. Such are our enemies; they are upon you when you believe them to be two hundred leagues away, and at the same moment vanish from your sight, if, having dealt their blow, they purpose a retreat. The company which had met us, having been apprised of the overthrow of the whole Huron nation, determined to retrace their steps; so we pursued our way. Alas, that those wretched Iroquois should have caused such desolation in all these regions! When I ascended the great River, only thirteen years ago, I had seen it bordered with large numbers of people of the Algonquin tongue, who knew no God. These, in the midst of their unbelief, looked upon themselves as the Gods of the earth, for the reason that nothing was lacking to them in the richness of their fisheries, their hunting-grounds, and the traffic which they carried on with allied nations; add to which, they were the terror of their enemies. Since they have embraced the faith, and adored the Cross of Jesus Christ, he has given them, as their lot, a portion of that Cross,—verily a heavy one, having made them a prey to miseries, torments, and cruel deaths; in a word, they are a people wiped off from the face of the earth. Our sole consolation is that, having died Christians, they have entered on the heritage of true children of God.

After about fifty days of a most distressing journey in which many wrecks befell us,—several of us having fallen over frightful precipices, and into yawning gulfs, from which God, contrary to our expectations, withdrew us with a hand of love,—at length we arrived at Kebec, on the twenty-eighth day of July.

JR, 35:211 [**The Iroquois attack French settlements near Quebec and skirmish with French soldiers.*]

But the famine is not the evil which is most to be feared. There is the terror of the Iroquois, who are threatening all these regions; who everywhere make their barbarity felt; who are venting their rage, more and more fiercely, not only against the remnants of the Algonquins and Hurons, but are directing now the weight of their fury against our French settlements.

Only a very few days ago, another band of some twenty-five or thirty Iroquois had the extreme audacity to attack, in open day, near Three Rivers, more than sixty of our people, who had gone in quest of them. These miscreants lay, waist-deep, in the mud and marshes, and hidden by the rushes, whence they discharged their firearms, and where they could not be approached. Finding themselves too much pressed, they took to flight, and embarked in their canoes. Our people cannot always march together; many remain in the rear. The Iroquois, seeing them disunited, turned face, and fought against those who were the most advanced. Perceiving the forces reunited, they again took to flight in good order, and, after a while, returned again to the combat. In a word, they are Proteuses, who change their appearance every moment; and it should not be supposed that they lack either generalship or courage.

We lost, in this encounter, some of our best Soldiers; others were grievously wounded. The Iroquois, finding themselves too hotly pressed, effected a retreat, with an order which indicated nothing of the savage; moreover, their commander, the most prominent among these enemies of the faith, was a Hollander,—or, rather, an execrable issue of sin, the monstrous offspring of a Dutch Heretic Father and a Pagan woman....

We expect, before Winter, three hundred Christian Hurons, who are to come to swell our new Colony. Six hundred of the Neutral Nation have sent us word that they are coming, next Summer, to solicit from us arms and help, being now in open war with the Iroquois. Meanwhile, measures must be taken to strike at that enemy of the faith, and to find means of carrying the war into their own country. One successful year would be enough; and, after an effort worthy of the zeal that so many saintly Souls possess for the conversion of the Savages, this handful of people, who only live to destroy the works of God, would be exterminated.

JR, 35:217 [**A Huron betrays his Algonquin comrades, who are then captured by the Iroquois.*]

A band of Christians from saint Joseph having joined, this Spring, some Savages of Three Rivers, and a few Hurons,—with the design, as they say, of cutting off the feet of some of their enemies, so as to prevent these from coming to disturb them at their prayers—encountered an Iroquois on the way, whom they made prisoner. Some of them being willing to content themselves with that prey, their Chief, named Jean Outagwainou,—a tall and powerful

man, a very good Christian, and exceedingly valiant,—replied that they ought to push on to the Hiroquois villages, and endeavor to surprise some one of them. They pressed forward, therefore, stealthily, sending out an Algonquin and a Huron, to ascertain if the enemy were in the field. The Huron encountered a band of Iroquois, and, finding that he was perceived, assumed a friendly guise, and, to save his own life, was guilty of most horrible cowardice and treachery. “How lucky that I have met you!” said he to the Iroquois; “for a long time, my brothers, I have been seeking you.” They asked him where he was going, and he replied, “I am going to my country, to seek out my relatives and friends. The country of the Hurons is no longer where it was,—you have transported it into your own: it is there that I was going, to join my relatives and compatriots, who are now but one people with yourselves: I have escaped from the phantoms of a people who are no more.” “Art thou journeying by this way, all alone?” they asked him. “No,” replied he; “I took the opportunity of coming with a band of Algonquins, who are now seeking you. I have wandered away from them, from time to time, in order to meet some people of the country to which I am going, that I may deliver myself into their hands.” The Iroquois, trembling with joy at this news, gathered themselves together; and, proceeding under the guidance of that Judas, surprised our poor Algonquins, who—trusting too much to their spies, or their Uncoverers, as they call them—were not expecting a salute of arquebuses, which put them to rout. Many lost their lives; some saved themselves, under cover of the forest; a large number were bound, to become the quarry of those curs. Our Christian Captain fought with a heroism that astonished the very enemy. The judgments of God are unfathomable.

The traitor, having dwelt some time with the Iroquois, had actually the hardihood to return to the French and Algonquins, in order to plot, as it was believed, another treason, the former having succeeded so well without being discovered. But God, who is just, will not permit that an action so black should be long hidden. The Algonquins, who returned from that defeat more dead than alive, having made known to their friends their suspicions of the Huron, he was questioned on the circumstance. He seemed to waver; they pressed him to tell the truth. At length, he avowed his crime,—frankly confessing that love of life and fear of death had impelled him to that wretched act of perfidy.

Monsieur the Governor caused him to be apprehended; and, after having been convicted of so foul a treachery, he was condemned to death, and delivered into the hands of his own people for execution. They bethought themselves first of the salvation of his soul: then they fastened him to the pillory erected in front of the French fort, where a Huron drew near, armed with a hatchet, who said to him: “Thou deservest death, for having betrayed our friends and our allies.” “It is true,” replied the culprit; “kill me.” The Huron then dealt upon his head a blow with the hatchet, which did not finish him; repeating it three or four times, he was put to death. Such was the reward of treachery. But let us say a few words respecting our poor Christians who were

led away to the country of fire and flames. We know as yet but little of the matter; but that little is very remarkable.

Two Huron captives, escaped from the hands of the Iroquois, having been witnesses of the horrible torments which they made these poor victims suffer, have filled us with both grief and joy. They tell us that these good Neophytes chanted the praises of God in the midst of the flames; that it seemed as if Heaven, toward which they cast unceasingly their eyes, had afforded them more satisfaction and delight than the fire had caused them pain and anguish. But they extol, above all, one named Joseph Onaharé; some of them say that he deserved the martyr's palm, for indeed he suffered for Jesus Christ; and let us see how.

That Young man had, for some time past, looked upon the Iroquois as nothing more than enemies of the faith and destroyers of the Christian Religion. He carried arms against them with the object only of preserving the Church in which he had been born in Jesus Christ; he had made the resolution to suffer and die with constancy for his cause. For this reason, finding himself a prisoner, and bound, he rendered Christ a thousand praises; thanked him for having bestowed on him the faith and Baptism; prayed loudly, in the face of all his enemies; and imparted courage to his comrades, exhorting them to suffer the torments which had been prepared for them as children of God, to whom Heaven was open. The Iroquois forbade him to pray to God, or to encourage his people. He looked upon them with a steadfast countenance; he saw them armed with iron, fire, flame, knives, and red-hot hatchets. But he laughed at them and their tortures; he continued in prayer, which so enraged the barbarians that they determined to torture him in some new way, if he did not cease to invoke his God. They put him to martyrdom for three days and three nights, and were never able to make him cease from singing the praises of his Lord and master. They uttered to him, in mockery, the reproach of the Jews against the Son of God: "Ask help from him whom thou invokest; tell him to come and deliver thee." But this Young man, despising their fury, thanked God for the grace he had given him to suffer as a Christian, and not as a common Savage. In short, he paid him honor to the last breath; and those who looked on at these great sufferings, said that they did not know which of the two appeared to them the more astonishing,—the violence and intensity of the torments, or the constancy and magnanimity of the Sufferer. While this last Chapter was on the press a letter was brought, by the latest vessel that had come from those countries, to a Father who had lately returned thence, couched in these terms:

"Here is news concerning your poor Joseph. A Young Huron, his great friend, having been made a prisoner with him,—but whose life was spared by the Iroquois, who had given him full liberty within their Villages,—made his escape, and reported to us what follows. 'Unsuspected by the Iroquois, who had granted me life, I found means to mount the scaffold on which they were torturing Joseph Onaharé, and talked with him a little while. He said these

words to me: "If ever, my dear friend, thou returnest to the country of the Algonquins, assure them that the Iroquois, with all their tortures, have not succeeded in stifling the prayer on my lips, nor the faith in my heart. Tell them that I died gladly, in the hope of going very soon to Heaven." Indeed,' added the Young Huron, 'he did not cease to pray, and to praise God, amid tortures that lasted three whole days; and, as this great troop of Butchers tormented him the more, because he prayed, he, instead of desisting from his prayers, redoubled them, often lifting his eyes to Heaven,—the spectacle filling me with grief, and drawing tears from my eyes. He asked me if I felt sad at his happiness. "Do not unnerve me by thy tears," he said to me; "for I assure thee that although I suffer much in my body, my soul is not at all sad; it would certainly be for a mere nothing if I were afflicted,—I, who am so near the house of him who made all things." "See," says the Father from whom we received the letter, "what has been recently told us concerning that young man who was so dear to you."...

This noble Champion was a native of a petty Algonquin nation, not far distant from the country of the Hurons.

JR, 35:229 [**Christianity causes dissention within a war party.*]

A year before his death,—having gone on the war-path with a band of Algonquins, the chief of which was not baptized,—as they drew near to the country of their enemies, their Captain wished to consult the Demon, to ascertain from him what route they should take in order to meet with success in their venture. Our Joseph opposed this, saying that the Law of Jesus Christ did not allow of any communication with wicked spirits; but as he was not the most influential, the Tabernacle was erected; the Sorcerer—or rather, the Juggler—entered it, shook it, and made it tremble after a strange fashion. His invocations he performed in such a manner, that the Demon,—or rather, the charlatan himself,—changing his voice, and addressing the Christian, said to him in a threatening tone: "Whence comes it that thou art not willing that I should be consulted? Thou attest the part of the bold, and thou art but an arrogant man." All trembled at that voice. The Christian, quite undismayed, replied: "Thou wishest to put fear into my soul: I fear neither thee, nor thy threats, nor the Iroquois; I fear and honor him who made all things. He is my Master, and thine; thou hast only as much power as he grants thee." "It is I," said the Demon, "who created all things." "Thou art an impostor," replied our Joseph; "show me thy power; I defy thee. Thou wouldst unsettle me; but thou wilt only waste thy trouble." The Demon, abashed, remained silent; our Christian, however, received what seemed like a blow upon his side, which for three days impeded his breathing, every movement causing suffering. This surprised, but did not deject him; for he said in his heart, "It matters not; though I were to die, I will never yield to the Manitou." At length, being earnestly commended to God, the trouble left him, as it had seized him, in an instant.

One of his comrades—perceiving that he did not give way, in spite of his sufferings—reproached him after this manner: “I repent of having undertaken this journey with thee; I would we were again in the cabins whence we came; I would never have left them in thy company, since thou attest not as others, and obeyest not our Captain.” “Ha! what then?” asked our Christian; “have we taken the field in order to consult the Demon? Did our relatives and allies tell us at our departure, ‘Go, and set up the Tabernacles, and revive the old superstitions that we have abandoned?’ Did they not charge us to cut off the arms and legs of our enemies, that we may be able to pray to God and be instructed in peace? We are seeking men, and not demons; in this I shall be obedient, and not in your juggleries.”

While thus contesting, they perceived two Iroquois; the battle of tongues was abandoned, and they started out like greyhounds from the leash. Our Joseph lifted his heart to God; and running, fast as lightning, soon outstripped his comrades. The Iroquois, seeing that they were pursued, threw their clothing on the ground, and fled from death more quickly than from the storm. But our Christian soldier, soon outrunning that one of the two who had the least breath, struck him sharply in the side with a javelin, and without stopping, continued to pursue this man’s companion; but, as the latter had too great a start, he failed to take him. Retracing his steps, he met the sorcerer, and said to him: “Well, did thy demon tell thee that thou wouldst be found among the last in the race? Had I been a woman, I might have been afraid of him; but I fear neither thee, nor him, nor all thy spells.”

JR, 36:21 [**The tale of an Iroquois during the years 1645–1650.*]

It seems very proper to say a word or two concerning the life of this Hiroquois, before speaking of his death. In the year 1645, a band of Hiroquois, on a foray along the great river Saint Lawrence, was espied by a small squad of our Savages, who, were on the way to hunt down their enemies, The Captain of our Algonquins, named Simon Pieskaret, who was the first to perceive these Hiroquois Adventurers, prepared for them so timely an ambuscade that he routed them. The Hiroquois of whom we are speaking, and a comrade of his, were made prisoners in the fight. Pieskaret took them both alive,—contrary to their custom, forbearing to mutilate them,—and presented them to Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagny, then Governor of all the country. As the Hurons had already given him a prisoner of the same nation, he wished to ascertain if, by means of these prisoners, the Hiroquois were amenable to a lasting treaty of peace,—so as to reunite all these nations, who tear one another in pieces, and prey upon one another after so strange a fashion. The result seemed very auspicious. One of the three prisoners was sent back to his own country with words, or rather presents, which invited that nation to peace. They sent two Ambassadors upon this matter, in that same year; and in the year following, 1646, peace was fully concluded, and our prisoners were released and sent back to their own country. The one with whom we are con-

cerned,—a man of intelligence, and of powerful build,—having seen the gifts which Monsieur the Governor had presented for his liberation, brought back with him a friendly feeling toward the French, and the desire to manifest his gratitude, declaring that he owed to them his life, as was true,—for if Monsieur the Chevalier de Montmagni had not interposed in the matter, the Algonquins would have burned him, and cut him in pieces.

The same year, 1646, which witnessed the birth of peace saw also its death. Father Isaac Jogues, having gone to the country of those Barbarians with a young Frenchman, was murdered there in the month of October. Our Hiroquois, seeing their intention to put him to death, opposed it. He gained nothing by that but a blow from a hatchet upon his arm, while placing it before the Father to protect him. This blow, received through charity, was perhaps the stroke of his predestination, for it may certainly be believed that this good Father obtained from our Lord, in Heaven, the salvation of this man's soul, in return for his attempt to save the Father while in the body. The death of Father Jogues, and the rupture of the peace, were concealed from the French and the Algonquins during the entire Winter; but in the Spring of the following year, 1647, the perfidy of the Hiroquois was exposed through the murder of a large number of our Christians, who were surprised by these traitors.

Our Hiroquois was not one of the party; he did not go with his fellow-countrymen to war, for he could not bring himself to fight against those who had spared his own life. But at length, having come in the year 1648, in order to hunt Beavers, quite near to the French settlement named Three rivers, and espying a shallop manned by some Frenchmen, he came forward upon the shore of the great river, shouting, calling, and signaling to them to come to him. The Frenchmen, seeing that he was alone, approached him, and received him into their boat. A Huron, taken in war, who had become as one of the Hiroquois, coming out of the forest, and seeing that they were carrying off his comrade, made signs that he would like to go with him; he was taken on board with the Hiroquois, and both were conducted to the Commandant at Three rivers. They had three other companions, who were seen some time afterward; our men made every effort to surprise them, but their distrust led them to slip away,—except one, of less strength than the rest, who, having been captured by an Algonquin, was put to death upon the spot.

The Huron who had become a Hiroquois, when questioned by our Interpreters, admitted very frankly that he had intended, when his Beaver-hunt was over, to pursue the Algonquins; and that he would have taken or killed any one of these, had he met him at advantage. Our Hiroquois affirmed, for himself, that since the moment when the French had spared his life, he had always carried about in his body a French heart; that he had opposed himself to those who killed Father Isaac Jogues; and that he had received on his own arm the first blow that was dealt at the good Father, of which he showed the scar. "I have always had it in my mind," said he, "to inform you of the treason of my fellow-countrymen; but I could not do so till now, when I have thrown myself

into your arms." His self-vindication was not accepted; his feet were shackled, as a traitor.

Some time after, two canoes, filled with Hyroquois, were discovered in the middle of the night on the great river. The sentinel having reported this to the Corporal, our Hyroquois was made to mount upon a bastion. Shouting at the top of his voice, his people replied, and they conversed together in the Hiroquois language; and, in the end, a shallop was sent off to the two canoes which brought back to the fort another Hiroquois. There were now two in the hands of the French, who gave the name of *berger* to him who had first come, to distinguish him from the others. He was sent, next day, to a band of his People who were under arms on the other side of the great river; thence he returned, accompanied by two others, who were placed in irons as well as their comrades. It is true that *berger* was freed from these fetters, as it was scarcely credible that, having enticed over the others, he would dare to make good his escape without them. During the following days, ever and anon, other bands of Hiroquois appeared. *Berger* played his part so well that two more of his fellow-countrymen came in, but only to be thrown into fetters. This proceeding caused astonishment; some attributed it to the love he bore toward the French; others regarded it as some secret treachery, which he purposed to make successful in due time. However that might be, these birds, weary of being so long caged, found means to fly away, despite their fetters and their guards. *Berger*, of whom we are speaking, alone remained among the French, the others having very adroitly escaped.

It was difficult to decide what should be done with the poor man. Some wished that he should be executed as a traitor; others said that, having surrendered himself to us in good faith, he should not be condemned to death on a mere suspicion of treachery. At length, it was decided that it would be best to send him to France,—for fear that, if he should come to make his escape, he might take away with him a too thorough knowledge of the country, and of the condition of the French and the Algonquins. Accordingly, he was placed in the care of a Father of our Society, who was going across on business connected with these new Churches.

They embarked at Kebek, on the last day of October in the past year, 1649. They entered the port of Havre de Grace on the 7th of December.

End Iroquois Wars I

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A:

DETAILED CHRONOLOGY 1533–1650

- 1533** – “Toudamans” attack a Stadaconan fort and kill 200 inhabitants—as related to Jacques Cartier by Donnacona, captain of the Stadaconans, in 1535. (Hakluyt, 125)
- 1534** – Cartier’s first voyage to the New World.
- 1535–36** – Cartier visits Stadacona and Hochelaga, towns occupied by Iroquoian-speaking peoples.
- 1541–42** – Cartier’s last voyage to the New World.
- 1542–43** – Sieur de Roberval’s colonization attempt fails. Embroiled in European wars and politics, serious French exploration of the Saint Lawrence valley is interrupted for nearly 60 years.
- 1543–1600** – Hochelaga and Stadacona are destroyed. The date of the destruction, identity of the attackers, and fate of the inhabitants of these villages is unknown.
- 1570(?)–1600(?)** – The Iroquois Confederacy is established.
- 1580(?)–1600(?)** – The Mohawks fight a draining war with the Susquehannocks and Algonquins. These Algonquins could be the Mahicans and/or the Adirondacks of Iroquois legend. (JR, 45:203)
- 1601** – French colony of Tadoussac founded on the St. Lawrence River.
- 1603** – March. Champlain lands at Tadoussac.
- 1605** – French colony of Port Royal established in Nova Scotia.
- 1607** – English found the Jamestown colony in Virginia.
- 1608** – July 3. Champlain founds Quebec on the St. Lawrence near the original site of Stadacona.
- 1609** – July. Champlain accompanies Huron and Algonquin war party, invades Iroquoia, and defeats a larger force of Iroquois. (Champlain, 2:199ff.)
– September. Sailing for the Dutch, Henry Hudson ascends the river that now bears his name and conducts trade near present-day Albany.
- 1610** – June. An Iroquois war party is defeated by a combined force of Hurons, Algonquins, and Montagnais, with French assistance. (Champlain, 2:232ff.)
– King Henry IV of France is assassinated. Louis XIII becomes King of France.
- 1611** – Jesuits arrive at Port Royal.
- 1613** – Port Royal is ransacked by Samuel Argall and his raiders from Virginia.
- 1614** – French are allied with the Montagnais, Souriquois, Etchemins, Algonquins, Hurons, and New England tribes. (JR, 2:207)
- 1614** – The Dutch found Fort Nassau near present-day Albany and initiate trade with the neighboring Mahicans and Mohawks.
- 1615** – October. Champlain and the Hurons besiege an enemy village probably belonging to the Onondaga. The siege fails and Champlain, though injured, is brought back safely to Huronia. (Champlain [Slafter], 3:109ff.)
– The Dutch accompany the Mohawks on a raid against the Susquehannocks.
- 1616** – Huron Nation of the Bear and the Algonquin Yroquets are at war over the disposition of an Iroquois prisoner. (Champlain [Slafter], 3:149)
- 1617** – The Dutch trading post at Fort Nassau is abandoned.
– The Mohawks and the Mahicans are at war.
- 1618** – Champlain rejects calls by his Huron and Algonquin allies for a new campaign against the Iroquois. (Champlain [Slafter], 3:205)
- 1618** – The Dutch broker a truce between the Mohawks and Mahicans.

- 1618** – The Thirty Years War begins in Europe.
- 1620** – First Pilgrims arrive on Cape Cod.
- 1620** or **1621** – Algonquins and Iroquois make peace (JR, 8:295, fn 29)
- 1621** – English settlers at Plymouth ally with the Wampanoags.
- 1624** – July. Peace is forged between the Mohawks and Champlain and the Indian allies of the French. (JR, 4:262, fn 26)
- King Louis XIII of France reaches his majority and Cardinal Richelieu becomes his chief minister.
 - The Dutch establish Fort Orange on the Hudson River and begin trading with the Mahicans.
 - The Mohawks and the Mahicans are at war.
- 1626** – A joint Dutch/Mahican war party is ambushed by the Mohawks. This defeat encourages the Dutch to remain neutral in the ongoing Mohawk-Mahican war.
- The Dutch purchase Manhattan Island and begin settlement.
 - The Susquehannocks are at war with the Delawares.
 - The Jesuits arrive at Quebec.
- 1627** – England and France at war.
- 1628** – The Mohawks defeat the Mahicans and push them east of the Hudson River. This allows the Mohawks free and easy access to the Dutch trading post at Fort Orange.
- English defeat the fleet of the Company of New France and take Port Royal. (JR, 10:43)
- 1629** – English Admiral David Kirke captures Quebec and plunders the colony, leaving it in ruins.
- Mohawks destroy the Montagnais village at Three Rivers.
- 1630** – Boston founded by English settlers.
- 1630** – The Susquehannocks force most of the Delawares east of the Delaware River and open trade with the Dutch in earnest.
- 1630** – Iroquois gain ascendancy over Algonquins thanks to Dutch firearms (JR, 5:289, fn. 52)
- 1632** – Treaty of St-Germain-en-Laye cedes New France back to the French.
- Iroquois raid as far as Quebec and Three Rivers. (Sagard, p. 261)
- 1633** – Champlain returns as governor of New France. French reinhabit Quebec and renew their alliance with Algonquins and Hurons. (JR, 5:203ff.)
- June. Thirty or forty Iroquois ambush and kill three Frenchmen.
- 1634** – Spring. A Huron war party of 500 is ambushed by an Iroquois party of 1,500 and defeated. Of the Hurons, 200 are killed and another 100 are taken prisoner. (JR, 7:213)
- July. French colony is founded at Three Rivers.
 - October. Peace is made among the Montagnais, Algonquins and Iroquois. (JR, 8:27)
- 1635** – August. The tentative peace between the Iroquois and Algonquins fails. The Iroquois destroy seven canoes of the Petite Nation of the Algonquins. (JR, 8:57)
- Peace is forged between the Hurons and the Seneca. (JR, 8:115)
 - December. Champlain dies.
- 1636** – Spring. Iroquois massacre 23 of the Algonquin Nation de l'Isle. Ambassadors of this nation attempt to forge an alliance with the Hurons, Bissiriniens, and the other Algonquin tribes, but are rebuffed. (JR, 10:73)
- 1636** – June. The Iroquois ambush a sleeping Huron war party, killing twelve and putting the rest to flight. (JR, 10:83)

- 1636** – July. The Montagnais petition the French for assistance against the Iroquois. The French are unable to help due to a severe shortage of manpower. (JR, 9:227)
- July. Intrigue causes fissures in the Algonquin/Montagnais/Huron alliance. Du Plessis offers gifts to heal the breach and an allied war party assembles and heads off. (JR, 9:249)
 - August. The allied war party returns from a successful raid, killing 28 Iroquois and taking five prisoners. (JR, 9:251)
 - Montmagny becomes Governor of New France. (JR, 8:217)
 - Disease strikes the Huron villages, taking a dreadful toll.
- 1637** – Spring. A combined Montagnais and Algonquin war party attempts to raid Iroquoia and is defeated. (JR, 12:153)
- Spring. The Montagnais seek a closer alliance with the French and build a protected village near the French fort at Three Rivers. (JR, 12:161ff.)
 - May. The English colonies of Connecticut and Massachusetts are at war with the Pequots.
 - June. Algonquins of the Iroquet nation do battle with a smaller force of Iroquois upon the water. They are victorious and return with 13 Iroquois prisoners. (JR, 12:181ff.)
 - August. About 500 Iroquois raid up to the St. Lawrence, ambushing Huron canoes and menacing the French settlements. (JR, 12:199ff.)
 - August. Ill fortune in war and losses to disease cause the Hurons to discuss killing the Jesuits or driving them from their villages. (JR, 15:37ff.)
 - The Jesuits establish a mission at Sillery.
- 1638** – Birth of the future King Louis XIV.
- Under the auspices of the Dutch, the Swedes set up a colony on the lower Delaware River. The Susquehannocks initiate trade with the Swedes.
 - The Wenros, one-time confederates of the Neutrals, decide to emigrate *en masse* to Huronia after the Neutrals withdraw their support over an unknown grievance. The Hurons accept them and escort them on their arduous journey. (JR, 17:27)
- 1639** – Smallpox strikes the Hurons. (JR, 19:89)
- Huron suspicions of the French are fed by English rumors claiming the Jesuits' goal was to destroy the world. (JR, 17:199ff.)
 - December. A war party of 300 Algonquins and Hurons is victorious over a group of 100 Iroquois. They kill 17 or 18 and bring the remainder back as prisoners to be tortured. (JR, 17:71)
- 1640** – March. Fr. Hierosme Lalemant requests more aid from France against the English and the Iroquois. (JR, 17:223)
- June. Huron Charles Sondatsaa converts to Christianity and is given an arquebus by Montmagny, the French governor. (JR, 20:213ff.)
 - Autumn. Iroquois raiders capture two Frenchmen. They do not abuse them in hopes that they might use them to make a separate peace with the French. (JR, 21:21ff.)
 - Fr. Vimont becomes superior of the residence at Quebec.
 - Mission to the Arendaronons, the easternmost Hurons, is begun by the Jesuits.
 - Frs. Brebeuf and Chaumonot fail to establish a mission among the Neutrals.
 - The Neutrals attack the Fire Nation, returning with 100 prisoners. (JR, 21:195)
- 1640** – Huron convert Joseph Chihouatenhoua is killed in an Iroquois ambush. (JR, 20:77)

- 1641** – April. An Iroquois war party of 500 sets out ostensibly to make peace with the French. Among their number are the two Frenchmen captured the previous autumn and 36 Mohawk arquebusiers. The two sides treat at Three Rivers, but the French are suspicious of the motives of the Iroquois who demand presents of arquebuses in exchange for peace. Fighting breaks out and the peace effort is scuttled. (JR, 21:43ff.)
- Autumn. A war party of 200 Iroquois raids deep into Algonquin territory and surprises several bands engaged in hunting, killing many and taking many prisoners. (JR, 22:247ff.)
 - The Neutrals again attack the Fire Nation, carrying off more than 170 prisoners. (JR, 21:195)
- 1642** – Cardinal Richelieu sends 30–40 soldiers to New France to help with defense.
- Spring. The Iroquois raid successfully against the Algonquin Iroquet nation. (JR, 22:269)
 - May. Sieur de Maisonneuve begins the construction of a fortified village on the island of Montreal. (JR, 22:211)
 - Summer. The Neutrals attack the Fire Nation and destroy a fortified town, killing many and taking 800 captives. (JR, 27:25)
 - Summer. Iroquois destroy a Huron frontier village. (JR, 26:175)
 - Summer. A large Huron army is defeated by a much smaller Iroquois force. (JR, 25:175ff.)
 - August 2. Twelve Huron canoes are ambushed and defeated by the Mohawks. Several Hurons are taken prisoner along with Jesuit Fr. Isaac Jogues and Rene Goupil. (JR, 22:269)
 - August 13. The French begin to build Fort Richelieu on the Richelieu River (or River of the Iroquois) in an attempt to block Iroquois raids into New France. (JR, 22:275)
 - August 20. A 300 strong Iroquois war party attacks the unfinished Fort Richelieu. Despite their resolution and ferocity, they are repulsed by the French defenders. One Frenchman is killed and several are wounded. (JR, 22:277ff.)
 - September 29. Rene Goupil is killed while in Mohawk captivity.
 - A small Algonquin war party made up of Christian converts and pagans surprise and defeat an Iroquois war party of similar size. (JR, 22:51ff.)
 - The Susquehannocks are at war with the English colonists in Maryland.
 - December. Cardinal Richelieu dies and is succeeded by Cardinal Mazarin.
- 1643–1650** – Civil war breaks out between rival French governors in Acadia.
- 1643** – February. The Dutch are at war with the Delaware.
- Spring. Algonquin war parties battle the Iroquois with mixed success. The captain Piescaret of the Algonquin Island Nation is given up as lost, but returns bearing an Iroquois head. (JR, 24:253ff.)
 - May. King Louis XIII dies and is succeeded by Louis XIV, then aged five.
 - May. Separating into small bands of 20 to 100, the Iroquois set ambushes along the length of the St. Lawrence, waylaying Huron canoes and ambushing Montagnais, Algonquins, and French indiscriminately. (JR, 24:271ff.)
 - June. A band of 40 well-armed Iroquois attack the settlement at Montreal capturing 13 canoes full of beaver skins, 23 Hurons and two Frenchmen, and killing several others.
 - August. A band of twelve Algonquins hunting in the vicinity of Fort Richelieu do battle with 20 Iroquois and are defeated. (JR, 24:291)

- 1643** – Autumn. Father Jogues escapes from Iroquois captivity with the help of the Dutch. (JR, 25:43)
- 1644** – March. A joint Dutch-English expedition destroys several Delaware villages in southern New York and on Long Island.
- March. Iroquois raiding and ambushes severely disrupt life in Huronia. Women are killed in the field daily and Huron war parties raised to deal with the invaders are defeated. (JR, 27:63)
 - April. Father Bressani and several Huron converts are captured by the Iroquois. (JR, 25:191)
 - Summer. A Huron war party of more than 100 heads to Iroquoia to lay ambushes, is met by 7–800 Iroquois, and disastrously defeated. (JR, 28:43)
 - Summer. The Hurons and Algonquins skirmish with the Iroquois in the vicinity of Fort Richelieu with mixed results.
 - Two bands of Hurons are captured by the Iroquois near Quebec. (JR, 28:43)
 - Three fleets of Huron canoes are attacked and captured by the Iroquois on the St. Lawrence. (JR, 28:43)
 - Iroquois raiding effectively closes St. Lawrence River trade and communication between Huron country and Quebec
 - Twenty-two French soldiers are sent to Huronia to help deal with the Iroquois menace. (JR, 27:89)
 - Autumn. Iroquois raid in the vicinity of Fort Richelieu, killing, injuring, and capturing several French and Hurons. (JR, 27:221ff.)
- 1645** – The Susquehannocks conclude a peace with the English in Maryland.
- Summer. Peace is concluded between the Dutch and the Delaware.
 - Summer. The Hurons trap an Iroquois war party in a fort in the woods, but Iroquois intrigue causes dissention in the Huron ranks and they are routed. (JR, 29:247)
 - September. After long negotiations, peace is forged between the Mohawks and the French, Algonquins, and Hurons. (JR, 27:79ff.)
- 1646** – Spring. Fr. Jogues returns to the Mohawks as an ambassador of the French. (JR, 29:47)
- August. The Oneidas attack the Island Nation Algonquins and defeat them but are then defeated in turn by the Iroquet or Hurons while returning home. (JR, 28:225; JR, 29:229)
 - October 18. Fr. Jogues is killed by the Mohawks. This breaks the peace, but the French do not hear of it for some time.
 - October. Louis d'Ailleboust becomes commandant of Montreal.
- 1647** – March. Mohawks launch a surprise attack and capture 100 Algonquins, killing many others and breaking the peace. Among them is the Algonquin captain Simon Pescaret who is assassinated. (JR, 30:235; 5:289, fn 52)
- Spring. The Onondagas appear on the Huron frontier but are defeated. One chief is killed, several others are captured, and the rest flee. (JR, 33:117)
 - Spring. The Hurons spare an important Onondaga chief and peace negotiations between the Hurons and Onondagas ensue. (JR, 33:119)
 - Spring. The Susquehannocks offer aid to the beleaguered Hurons. (JR, 30:253)
 - Spring. The French, Montagnais and Hurons skirmish with Iroquois raiders along the St. Lawrence. (JR, 31:171)
 - June. Fort Richelieu is abandoned. (JR, 30:181)

- 1647** – July 21. An Algonquin war party of the Petite Nation returns from a raid in Iroquoia with six scalps. (JR, 30:187)
- Summer. An Iroquois army ravages Huronia. (JR, 33:81)
 - Summer. A Seneca war party of 300 destroys a village of the Aondirronnons, a nation of the Neutral confederacy. (JR, 33:83)
 - October. Peace is concluded between the Onondaga and the Hurons and indications are given that the Cayuga and Oneida also wish to make peace with the Hurons. However, the Seneca and the Mohawks continue on the warpath against the Hurons.
 - The Eries are forced to move inland to escape their unknown enemy to the west. (JR, 33:63)
 - No Hurons descend to the French settlements this year. (JR, 30:195)
- 1648** – Winter. Arendaenronnon Hurons from the frontier village of St. Ignace are harassed by the Seneca and Mohawks. A Seneca war party surprises an Arendaenronnon hunting camp carrying off 24 and killing seven. A short time later, a Mohawk war party surprises about 300 Arendaenronnons who had returned to collect the dead, capturing 40. (JR, 33:83ff.)
- Spring. The Huron Arendaenronnons of St. Ignace are forced to abandon their villages and move to more populous regions within Huronia due to their proximity to the Iroquois and numerous defeats. (JR, 33:89)
 - In desperate need of hatchets and other French trade goods, 250 Hurons force their way up the St. Lawrence to the French settlements.
 - July. Iroquois launch a sudden raid and destroy the Huron frontier town of Teanaustayé (St. Joseph), killing and capturing 700 Hurons. Father Antoine Daniel is martyred. Another unnamed town is also sacked. (JR, 34:87)
 - July 17. A combined French and Huron force destroys an Iroquois war party near Three Rivers. (JR, 32:173ff.)
 - August. Montmagny is replaced as governor of New France by d'Ailleboust. (JR, 32:131)
 - September. The Huron trading fleet returns successfully to Huronia carrying 20 Frenchmen. (JR, 34:101)
 - Iroquois raids and ambushes again menace the settlements and trade routes along the St. Lawrence. (JR, 32:143ff.)
- 1649** – March 16. The Huron village of St. Ignace is attacked by 1,200 Iroquois while the defenders are asleep. Successfully destroying this village, they then proceed to attack the nearby village of St. Louis. Though more strongly defended, St. Louis is also captured and burned. Those who cannot be taken as prisoners are massacred, including Fathers Gabriel Lalemant and Jean de Brebeuf. (JR, 34:25ff.)
- March 17. The Huron Nation of the Bear rallies 300 warriors and defeats a contingent of the Iroquois army in Huronia, taking 30 captives. The main body of the Iroquois army returns to the scene and defeats the Hurons, though not without the loss of some 100 of their best men. (JR, 34:133ff.)
 - March 19. The Iroquois army withdraws from Huronia taking large amounts of captives and spoils with them. They also suffer some 200 casualties of their own. (JR, 34:135)
 - May. The Jesuits abandon and burn their fort at St. Marie to follow the Hurons who are scattering to escape the Iroquois. (JR, 34:225)
- 1649** – Reeling from multiple calamities, the Hurons abandon 15 villages and disperse far and wide, seeking aid from various neighboring tribes. This signals

- the end of the Huron confederacy as a cohesive military or political force. (JR, 34:197)
- June. The Iroquois capture 14 Algonquins near Three Rivers. At about the same time, the Algonquins of the Petite Nation kill seven Iroquois. (JR, 34:55)
 - June. D'Ailleboust belatedly sends about 60 Frenchmen and munitions to the Hurons to assist in their defense. (JR, 34:53)
 - August. The Jesuits follow the scattered remnants of the Huron nations to a refuge at St. Joseph Island. (JR, 34:213)
 - The Iroquois attack the Nipissings, destroying habitations along the banks of Lake Nipissing.
 - Autumn. The Hurons and Jesuits build fortified villages on St. Joseph Island. (JR, 35:25)
 - A terrible famine strikes the remnants of Huronia. (JR, 34:83)
 - December. The Iroquois attack the undefended Petun village of Etharita (St. Jean). Jesuit Fr. Charles Garnier is killed. (JR, 35:107ff.)
 - December. Jesuit Fr. Noël Chabanel is killed either by the Iroquois or an apostate Huron. (JR, 35:147ff.)
- 1650** – Winter. The Hurons at St. Joseph Island suffer horribly from famine and disease. (JR, 35:75)
- March. An Iroquois war party marches 200 leagues and massacres several hundred Hurons who are scattered about St. Joseph Island fishing. (JR, 35:183)
 - Spring–Summer. The Iroquois continue to stalk the refugee Hurons, attacking hunting parties, families, and anyone else caught outside the protection of the forts.
 - Spring. The Iroquois surprise and capture a party of Algonquins 200 leagues from Iroquoia. (JR, 35:179)
 - Spring. An Algonquin war party led by Christian convert Jean Outagwainou attempts to surprise some Iroquois villages while their men are off at war. They are betrayed by a Huron's intrigue and routed by an Iroquois war party. (JR, 35:217)
 - Late Spring. The Jesuits and 300 Huron families retreat from St. Joseph Island back through the devastated Huron Country to Quebec, reaching the French settlements in July. A colony is established for the refugee Hurons near Quebec. (JR, 35:183ff.)
 - Summer. The Iroquois raid in the neighborhood of Quebec with practical impunity, killing several Frenchmen.
 - Summer. A band of 25 or 30 Iroquois engages a party of 60 French soldiers. The Iroquois effect a fighting retreat, and inflict heavy casualties on the French. (JR, 35:211ff.)

APPENDIX B:

TRIBAL SYNONYMY

Abenakis – Abenakiouis – Abnaki – Wapanachki – Wabenakies: an Algonquian-speaking tribe of New Brunswick and Maine (JR, 12:274, fn 22). Closely related to the Micmacs and perhaps the same as the Etchemins. Later allies of the French. Enemies of the Iroquois in 1647 (see JR, 31:195).

Agniers/Agnierrhonons, see **Iroquois: Mohawks**

Agnongherronons, see **Iroquois: Mohawks**

Ahondihronons, see **Neutrals: Aondinronons**

Ahouenrochrhonons, see **Wenros**

Ahrendarrhonons, see **Hurons: Nation of the Rock**

Algonquins—The Algonquins proper as they were known to the French were primarily made up of the following tribal groupings:

Iroquet – Hiroquet – Hirocay – Iroquay – Yroquet – Onontchataronons (in Huron) – Ountchatarounongas: The name of both the tribe and its chief (see JR, 5:289, fn 52).

Outaoukotwemiweks – Kotahoutouemi (JR, 18:258, fn 14)

Island Nation – Nation de l'Isle – Island Algonquins – Kichesipiirini (in Huron) – Ehonkehronons (in Algonquian): Located around Allumettes Island in the Ottawa River (see JR, 5:291, fn 57).

Petite Nation – Ouescharini: Originally located on the northern tributaries of the Ottawa River (see JR, 5:291, fn 56).

Amikouas – Naiz Percez (Nez Perces) – Beaver tribe – Amiskou – Nation du Castor: An Algonquian-speaking southeastern Ojibwe nation situated on the north shore of Georgian Bay (see JR, 10:322, fn 6).

Andaste/Andastoerrhonons, see **Susquehannock**

Andatahouats, see **Ottawas**

Aniers, see **Iroquois: Mohawks**

Anniengehronnons, see **Iroquois: Mohawks**

Aondironon, see **Neutrals**

Aoueatsiouaenrrhonons, see **Nipissings**

Arendarhonons, see **Hurons: Nation of the Rock**

Armouchiquois – A catch-all name for the New England coastal tribes.

Askicouaneronons, see **Nipissings**

Assistaeronmons, see **Fire Nation**

Atignenongach, see **Hurons: Nation of the Cord**

Atiouandaronks, see **Neutrals**

Ataronchronmons, see **Hurons: Nation of the Bog**

Atiraguenrek, see **Neutrals**

Atirhangenrets, see **Neutrals**

Atiwandaronks, see **Neutrals**

Attignaouantans, see **Hurons: Nation of the Bear**

Attigeenongnahac, see **Hurons: Nation of the Cord**

Attiguenongha, see **Hurons: Nation of the Cord**

Attiniatoenten, see **Hurons: Nation of the Cord**

Attikameks – Attikamegues: An Algonquian-speaking tribe dwelling on the upper St. Maurice River. Closely related to the Montagnais and often at war with the Iroquois, by whom they were practically destroyed in 1661. (9:307, fn 20)

Attiwandarons, see **Neutrals**

Aweatsiwaenrrhonons, see **Winnebagoes**

Awenrehronons, see **Wenros**

Bissiriniens, see **Nipissings**

Carantouans: A poorly known tribe perhaps located between the Senecas and the Susquehannocks in northern Pennsylvania.

Cayugas, see **Iroquois**

Cheveux-Relevés, see **Ottawas**

Conestoga, see **Susquehannocks**

Conkhandeenrhonons: A poorly known Iroquoian-speaking tribe perhaps living on the northern shore of Lake Ontario (see JR, 8:302, fn 34).

Cree – Cri – Kiristinon – Cristinaux: An Algonquian speaking tribe from the interior of central Canada (JR, 18:259, fn 15).

Delawares – Loup: An Algonquian-speaking tribe inhabiting the Lower Hudson River, western Long Island and the entire Delaware River.

Eries – Nation of the Cat – Rhierrhonons – Riguehronons – Eriechronons – Errieronons – Erigas: An Iroquoian-speaking tribe or confederacy originally located on the southeastern shore of Lake Erie. Destroyed by the Iroquois in 1655–1656 (see JR, 8:302, fn 34; see also JR, 21:191 & 313, fn 11).

Eriniouai, see **Illinois**

Etchemins/Etheminqui, see **Abenakis**

Fire Nation – Assistaeronnons (in Huron) – Mascoutens: This term was used by the Iroquoian-speaking tribes to describe a tribe or group of Algonquian-speaking tribes originally from southern and western Michigan, northern Indiana and Illinois, and central and southeastern Wisconsin. Enemies of the Neutrals and the Ottawas (see JR, 5:279, fn 19; see also JR, 27:27). See also **Potawatomi**.

Gens Puants, see **Winnebagoes**

Goyogouins, see **Iroquois**: **Cayuga**

Hirocay/Hiroquet, see **Algonquin**: **Iroquet**

Hiroquois, see **Iroquois**

Hurons – Ochasteguis: A large, sedentary, Iroquoian-speaking confederacy located between Georgian Bay and Lake Simcoe in fifteen or more villages. Contact population approximately 30–40,000 (see JR, 16:225ff.). Destroyed and dispersed by the Iroquois in 1649–1650. See entry for **Wyandots**.

Nation of the Bear – Attignaouantans – The most important tribe of the Huron confederacy. Principle town was called Tequeunoikuaye (also named Quieuindohian, Ossossané, or La Rochelle (French) (see JR, 5:278, fn 17; see also JR, 5:292, fn 60).

Nation of the Cord – Attiguenongha – Atigenenongach – Attigeenongnahac – Attiniatoenten: A tribe of the Huron confederacy closely aligned with the Nation of the Bear (see JR, 8:294, fn 23).

Nation of the Rock – Nation de la Roche – Arendarhonons – Ahrendarrhonons – Renarhonons: Easternmost tribe of Hurons (see JR, 8:294, fn 24; see also 20:305, fn 1).

Nation of the Deer – Tohontahenrats: A Huron tribe whose principle town was called Scanonaenrat (see JR, 8:303, fn 38).

Nation of the Bog – Ataronchronons: A tribe of the Huron confederacy.

Illinois – Eriniouai – Irini: A collection of Algonquian-speaking tribes originally situated along the Illinois and Mississippi Rivers (see JR, 18:259, fn 17).

Irini, see **Illinois**

Iroquay/Iroquets, see **Algonquins**

Iroquois – Irocois – Hiroquois – Yroquois: The name for the confederacy of five sedentary tribes ranging across central New York. For original locations, see the contact map included with the to this volume.

Mohawks – Agnierrhonons – Agnongherronons – Anniengehronons – Agniers – Aniers – “the people of the flint” – Maquas (Dutch): Easternmost of the Iroquois tribes. Commonly engaged in war with their French and Indian neighbors throughout the 17th century. Principle town was Ossernenon (also called Osserininon, Agnié, Oneougiouré, Asserua, and later Cahniaga or Caughnawaga) (see JR, 8:300, fn 34).

Oneidas – Onoiochronons – Oneiouchronons – Oneiouts – Onneyouts: One of the “younger brothers” of the Iroquois confederacy located near Oneida Lake in central New York. Chief village named Ononjoté (see JR, 8:300, fn 34; see also JR, 27:275ff. and JR, 27:315, fn 23).

Onondagas – Onontaerrhonons – Onnontaes – Onnondaetonnons – Onnontagués – Onondáhka (in their own tongue): One of the most influential of the Iroquois nations. Originally situated in central New York between the Oneidas and Cayugas. Principle town and Iroquois capital was called Onnontagué (see JR, 8:299, fn 34).

Cayugas – Ouioenrhonons – Ouiogweronons – Oiogouins – Goyogouins: One of the “younger brothers” of the Iroquois confederacy. Located west of the Onondagas near Cayuga Lake. (see JR, 8:298, fn 34).

Senecas – Sonontoerrhonons – Santweronons – Entouhonorons (Champlain) – Sonnontouans – Tsonnontouans – Sinnekens (Dutch): the westernmost and also the largest of the five Iroquois tribes. (see JR, 8:293, fn 21). Their major town was called Sonontoen (also called Sonnontouan, Tsonnontouan, or Tegarnhies) (see JR, 8:302, fn 35).

Island Nation/Island Algonquins, see **Algonquins**

Kah-kwahs: A little-known Iroquoian speaking tribe possibly located between the Senecas and the Neutrals. May have been a subdivision of the Neutrals or the Eries (see JR, 8:302, fn 34).

Khionontaterrhonons, see **Petun**

Kichesipirini, see **Algonquins: Island Nation**

Kichkagoneiak, see **Ottawa**

Kiskakons, see **Ottawa**

Kotahoutouemi, see **Algonquins**

Loups, see **Mahicans**

Mahicans – Mahiganouetch – Maganathicois – Loups – Nation of the Wolves: An Algonquian-speaking tribe or confederacy of tribes ranging from Western Massachusetts to the Hudson River. Early trading partners of the Dutch and sometime enemies of the Mohawks (see JR, 18:259, fn 18).

Maquas, see **Iroquois: Mohawks**

Men of the Raised Hair, see **Ottawa**

Menomonees – Maroumine – An Algonquian speaking tribe originally situated near Green Bay (see JR, 18:259, fn 17).

Micmacs – Souriquois – Tarretines: An Algonquin-speaking group of tribes originally situated on the Gaspé peninsula, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick. Closely related to the Abenakis and often hostile to the Iroquois.

Minquas, see **Susquehannocks**

Mississauga – Oumisagai: An Algonquian-speaking, southeastern Ojibwe tribe situated around the northern Great Lakes (see JR, 18:259, fn 16).

Mohawks, see **Iroquois**

Mohegans/Mohicans, see **Pequots**

Montagnais – Montagnards: An Algonquian-speaking tribe mainly located in and around Tadoussac.

Bersiamites – Oumamiweks: A Montagnais tribe located on the northern tributaries of the St. Lawrence below Tadoussac (see JR, 18:257, fn 13).

Porcupine Nation – Kakouchac: A Montagnais tribe dwelling on the banks of Lake St. John (see JR, 14: 287, fn 13; see also JR, 31:251).

Nadouessi/Nadouessioux, see **Sioux**

Nahiganouetch, see **Mahicans**

Naiz Percez, see **Amikouas**

Nation de l'Isle, see **Algonquins: Island Nation**

Nation des Puans, see **Winnebagoes**

Nation of the Bear, see **Hurons**

Nation of the Bog, see **Hurons**

Nation of the Cat, see **Eries**

Nation of the Cord, see **Hurons**

Nation of the Rock/Nation de la Roche, see **Hurons**

Nation of the Sorcerers, see **Nipissings**

Nation of Stinkards, see **Winnebagoes**

Nation of Wolves, see **Mahicans**

Neutrals – Attiwandaronks – Attiandaronks – Attiwandarons – Atiraguenrek

– Atirhangenrets: An Iroquoian-speaking confederacy of tribes originally located west of the Niagara River. Destroyed by the Iroquois during the 1650s (see JR, 8:297, fn 34; see also JR, 8:304, fn 41; JR, 21:189; and JR, 21:313, fn 11).

Aondironons – Ahondihronons – Ondieronii: A tribe of the Neutrals located nearest the Hurons. Destroyed by the Senecas, 1648 (see JR, 18:259, fn 18)

Onguiahronons – Ongmarahronons – Niagagarega(?): The Niagara portion of the Neutrals (JR, 18:259, fn 18)

Nez Perces, see **Amikouas**

Nipissings – Nation of the Sorcerers – Bissiriniens – Askicouaneronons (in Huron): Tribe originally located at the lake of the same name north of Georgian Bay.

Attacked and displaced by the Iroquois in the early 1650s (see JR, 5:279, fn 18; see also JR, 21:239ff.).

Ochasteguis, see **Hurons**

Oiogouins, see **Iroquois: Cayuga**

Ondieronii, see **Neutrals: Aondironons**

Oneidas, see **Iroquois**

Oneiouts/Oneiouchronons, see **Iroquois: Oneidas**

Oneronons, see **Wenros**

Ongmarahronons, see **Neutrals**

Onguiahronons, see **Neutrals**

Onneyouts, see **Iroquois: Oneidas**

Onnondaetonnonns, see **Iroquois: Onondagas**

Onmontaes, see **Iroquois: Onondagas**

Onmontagués, see **Iroquois: Onondagas**

Onioichronons, see **Iroquois: Oneidas**

Onontchataronons, see **Algonquins: Iroquets**

Onondaga, see **Iroquois**

Onondáhka, see **Iroquois: Onondagas**

Onontaerrhonons, see **Iroquois: Onondagas**

Ottawa – Men of the Raised Hair – Cheveux-Relevés – Andatahouats (in Huron) – Kiskakons – Kichkagoneiak: A sedentary tribe living west of the Tobacco Nation (see JR, 14:284, fn 9; see also JR, 33:273, fn 6)

Ouendat, see **Hurons**

Ouescharini, see **Algonquins: Petite Nation**

Ouinipigou, see **Winnebagoes**

Ouioenrhonons, see **Iroquois: Cayuga**

Ouiogweronons, see **Iroquois: Cayuga**

Oumamiweks, see **Montagnais: Bersiamites**

Oumisagai, see **Mississauga**

Ountchatarounoungas, see **Algonquins: Iroquets**

Outaoukotwemiweks, see **Algonquins**

Pequots – Mohicans – Mohegans: an Algonquian-speaking tribe from the Connecticut area.

Petite Nation, see **Algonquins**

Porcupine Nation, see **Montagnais**

Potawatomis – Pououtouatami: An Algonquian-speaking tribe originally from the area of western Michigan. May have been a constituent of the Fire Nation (see JR, 18:259, fn 17; see also JR, 23:325, fn 7).

Petun – Tobacco Nation – Khionontaterrhonons – Tionnontates: An Iroquoian-speaking tribe originally situated to the west of the Hurons near Georgian Bay. Sometime allies and occasional enemies of the Hurons. Nearly annihilated by the Iroquois, 1649–1650 (see JR, 5:279, fn 18). See also **Wyandots**.

Renarhonons, see **Hurons: Nation of the Rock**

Rhierrhonons, see **Eries**

Riguehronons, see **Eries**

Santweronons, see **Iroquois: Seneca**

Seneca, see **Iroquois**

Sinnekens, see **Iroquois: Seneca**

Sioux – Nadouessi – Nadouessioux – Lakota: A catch-all term for plains tribes speaking Siouan languages.

Sonontoerrhonons, see **Iroquois: Seneca**

Sonnontouans, see **Iroquois: Seneca**

Sokokis – Socoquois—An Abenaki tribe from the Saco River. Occasional enemies of the Mohawks and the Algonquins at Sillery. (See JR, 24:311, fn 15).

Souriquois, see **Micmacs**

Susquehannocks – Andaste – Conestoga – Andastoerrhonons – Minquas (Dutch): An Iroquoian-speaking tribe or confederation from central and southern Pennsylvania. Allies of the Hurons and long-standing enemies of the Iroquois. Finally destroyed by the Iroquois in the mid-1670s (see JR, 8:301, fn 34).

Tarretines, see **Micmacs**

Tionnontates, see **Petun**

Tobacco Nation, see **Petun**

Tohontahenrats, see **Hurons: Nation of the Deer**

Tsonnontouans, see **Iroquois: Seneca**

Wabenakies, see **Abenakis**

Wapanachk, see **Abenakis**

Wendats, see **Wyandots**

Wenros – Wenrôhronons – Oneronons – Ahouenrochrhonons – Awenrherhonons: A small Iroquoian-speaking tribe originally located at the eastern end of Lake Erie

between the Neutrals and the Iroquois. Sometime confederate of the Neutrals, later of the Hurons (JR, 8:302, fn 34).

Winnebagoes – Gens Puants – Nation des Puans – Nation of Stinkards – Ouinipigou (in Algonquian) – Aweatsiwaenrrhonons (Huron): A Siouan-speaking tribe inhabiting the Fox River valley and the shores of Green Bay (see JR, 15:247, fn 7).

Wyandots – Wendats: An amalgam tribe probably constituted of the remnants of the Petun and the Hurons after their dispersal by the Iroquois in 1649–1650.

Iroquet, see **Algonquin: Iroquet**

Iroquois, see **Iroquois**

APPENDIX C:

SELECTED BIOGRAPHIES

**Supplemented with entries from
Arthur E. Jones' Catalogue (JR, 71:120)**

Aënon (al. Anons, Aenon); A Huron chief and early convert to Christianity. Friend of the French and of Fr. Brébeuf in particular; Accused falsely of murdering Etienne Brulé; died at Three Rivers, August 6, 1637.

Ahatsistari, Eustache (al. Ahatsiscari); A Huron war chief of the Nation of the Cord and convert to Christianity; Born about the beginning of the 17th century; baptized at Easter 1642; renowned as the greatest Huron warrior, engaging in many battles with the Iroquois; captured by the Mohawks along with Fr. Jogues on August 2, 1642; tortured and killed in Mohawk country several weeks later.

Ailleboust, Louis d' (al. Aillebourts, Alibour, Aliboust, Alleboust, Alliboust, Allibout); Montreal proprietor and governor of New France; arrived in Canada in 1643; succeeded Montmagny as governor in August 1648; during his term, the missions in Huronia were destroyed and the Iroquois raided the St. Lawrence valley with increasing frequency; was replaced by Lauson in October 1651; retired to Montreal to farm; died 1660.

Amantacha (al. Louis de Sainte-Foi); A Huron interpreter. Sent to France in 1626 as a boy and baptized; returned to Canada and was of service to the English during their occupation of Quebec 1629–1632; he was part of a large Huron war party defeated by the Iroquois in July 1634 during which he was captured and tortured but escaped; reported dead in 1637, most likely following capture by the Iroquois.

Biard, Fr. Pierre; Jesuit; Province of Lyons. Born at Grenoble in 1567 (al. 1568, 1575); entered the Order, June 3, 1583 (al. 1590); arrived at Canso, May 5, and at Port Royal, May 22, 1611; made prisoner at St- Sauveur in 1613, and reached France in May, 1614; died at Avignon, Nov. 19, 1622.

Brébeuf, Fr. Jean de (al. Echon); Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Condé-sur-Vire, Calvados (then part of the diocese of Bayeux), March 25, 1593; entered the Order at Rouen, Nov. 8, 1617; arrived in Canada, June 19 (al. 15), 1625; tortured to death by the Iroquois, March 17, 1649, at St. Ignace village in Huronia.

Bressani, Fr. Francesco Gioseppe; Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Rome, May 6, 1612; entered the Order at Rome, Aug. 15, 1626; arrived in Canada in 1642; returned to France, Nov. 2, 1650; died at Florence, Sept. 9, 1672.

Brulé, Etienne (al. Brusle); French interpreter, explorer, and scout. Born toward the end of the 16th century; arrived at the St. Lawrence Valley in 1608 with Champlain; lived among the Hurons learning their language and adopting their customs; dispatched by Champlain and the Hurons to the Carantoùans seeking aid for their expedition of 1615 against the Entouhonorons; captured and tortured, possibly by the Iroquois; escaped but achieves a “scandalous” reputation as a womanizer among the Hurons; is killed in Huronia in 1632.

Buteux, Fr. Jacques; Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Abbeville, Apr. 11, 1600; entered the Order at Rouen, Oct. 20, (al. 2), 1620; arrived in Canada, June 24, 1634; killed by the Iroquois, on the St. Maurice River, north of Three Rivers, May 10, 1652.

Caën, Emery de; Huguenot merchant and naval captain. Born at Dieppe, France; captured by the English with Quebec in 1629; became provisional governor of New France when it was handed back to France by the English in 1632; surrendered authority to Champlain upon the latter’s return to Canada in 1633; ruined and left New France when the colony was closed to Huguenots.

Chabanel, Fr. Noël; Jesuit; Province of Toulouse. Born in the diocese of Mende, Feb. 2, 1613; entered the Order at Toulouse, Feb. 9, 1630; arrived in Canada, Aug. 15, 1643. Killed by the Iroquois or an apostate Huron near the mouth of the Nottawasaga River, Ont., Dec. 8, 1649.

Champlain, Samuel de (Champellain, Champlain); explorer and first governor of New France. Born at Brouage in Saintonge, France; date is unknown but probably between 1567 and 1570; appointed commandant in New France, October 15, 1612; captured by the English, July 20, 1629; reappointed governor of New France and returns, May, 1633; died at Quebec, December 25, 1635.

Chaumonot, Fr. Pierre-Joseph-Marie (al. Chaumonnot, Calvonotti); Jesuit; Province of Rome. Born at Châtillon-sur-Seine, Côte-d’Or, March 9, 1611; entered the Order at Rome, May 18, 1632; arrived at Quebec, Aug. 1, 1639; died at Quebec, Feb. 21, 1693.

Chihwatenhwa, Joseph (al. Chihouatenhoua); Huron chief of the Bear Nation and convert to Christianity. Born ca. early 17th century; converted to Christianity under the auspices of Fr. Brébeuf in August 1637; aided the Jesuit fathers in evangelizing the Hurons and is taught to read and write by them; killed in his fields by an Iroquois ambush in 1640.

Coûture, Guillaume (al. Cousture); Native of Rouen; arrived in Canada probably in 1641; an interpreter and one-time Jesuit *donné*; captured in August 1642 by the Iroquois along with a party of Hurons and Fr. Jogues; endured torture and a captivity of two years among the Iroquois but was returned to Three Rivers; remained in New France and became a land owner, militia captain, ambassador, and judge; died 1702.

Daniel, Fr. Antoine; Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Dieppe, May 27, 1601 (al. 1598); entered the Order at Rouen, Oct. 1, 1621; arrived at Cape Breton in 1632; at Quebec, June 24, 1633; slain by the Iroquois at Teanaostaë, near Hillsdale, Simcoe Co., Ont., July 4, 1648.

Druilletes, Fr. Gabriel (al. Druillettes); Jesuit; Province of Toulouse. Born at Gurat or Garat, Charante, diocese of Limoges, Sept. 29, 1610 (al. Beaulieu, Corrèze, in 1613), (al. 1593); entered the Order at Toulouse, July 27, 1629; arrived in Canada, Aug. 15, 1643; carried out an unsuccessful mission to Boston seeking aid from the New England colonies against the Iroquois; died at Quebec, Apr. 8, 1681.

Duplessis-Bochart, Guillaume Guillemot (al. Duplessis-Querbedo); lieutenant of Emery de Caen and later admiral of the fleet under Champlain; involved in settling disputes between the Indians; helped found Three Rivers in 1634; appointed governor of Three Rivers in 1651; killed while attempting to repel an Iroquois attack at Three Rivers, August 19, 1652.

Etinechkawat, Jean Baptiste (al. Etinechkaouat, Etinechkwat); A Montagnais chief at Sillery and Christian convert; close ally of the French and frequent combatant of the Iroquois; son captured and burned by the Iroquois May 13, 1652.

Garnier, Fr. Charles; Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Paris, May 25 (al. 26), 1605 (al. 1606); entered the Order at Paris, Sept. 5, 1624; arrived at Quebec, June 11, 1636; killed by the Iroquois at the Petun village of St. Jean (otherwise Etharita), not far from Osprey, Grey Co., Ont., Dec. 7, 1649.

Goupil, Mr. René; Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Angers; entered the Order in August, 1640 (took his first vows in August, 1642); arrived in Canada in 1640; captured by the Mohawks with Father Jogues and a party of Hurons on August 2, 1642; killed by the Mohawks near Auriesville, N.Y., Sept. 29, 1642.

Jogues, Fr. Isaac; Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Orleans, Jan. 10, 1607; entered the Order at Paris, Oct. 24, 1624; arrived at Quebec, July 2; at Miscou, about June 3, 1636; captured by the Mohawks on August 2, 1642; is tortured but spared and eventually escapes with the aid of the Dutch; returns to Mohawk country as an ambassador but is killed at Ossernenon, near Auriesville, N.Y., Oct. 18, 1646.

Lalemant, Fr. Gabriel, nephew of Charles and Jérôme; Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Paris, Oct. 10 (al. 30), 1610; entered the Order at Paris, March 24, 1630; arrived in Canada, Sept. 20, 1646; tortured to death by the Iroquois, March 17, 1649, at St-Ignace of the Hurons, about half-way between Coldwater and Vasey, Simcoe Co., Ont.

Lalemant, Fr. Jérôme (al. Hierosme), brother of Charles and uncle of Gabriel; Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Paris, Apr. 27, 1593; entered

the Order at Paris, Oct. 20 (al. 2), 1610 (al. 1609); arrived in Canada, June 25, 1638; died at Quebec, Jan. 26, 1673.

Le Jeune, Fr. Paul; Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Châlons-sur-Marne (al. Vitry, Marne) in July, 1591; entered the Order at Rouen, Sept. 22, 1613; arrived at Tadousac in March, at Quebec July 5, 1632; returned to France, Oct. 30, 1649; died at Paris, Aug. 7, 1664.

Le Mercier, Fr. François; Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Paris, Oct. 4, 1604; entered the Order at Paris, Oct. 19, 1620 (al. 1622, 1623); arrived in Canada, July 20, 1635; returned to France in 1673; died in the Island of Martinique, June 12, 1690 (al. Oct. 16, 1692).

Lescarbot, Marc; lawyer, historian, and writer. Born at Vervins, France, ca. 1570. Arrived in Port-Royal in Acadia in 1606 and returned to France in 1607; published *History of New France* in 1609; died ca. 1629.

de Maisonneuve, Paul de Chomedey; Founder of Ville-Marie on the Island of Montreal. Born in Champagne, France in the early 17th century; decided to come to New France after reading the Jesuit Relations; landed at Montreal May 17, 1642; successfully defends the colony against 200 Iroquois in 1644 with just 30 men; fortified Ville-Marie and encouraged colonization during his long career which ended in 1665 when he returned to France; died in Paris, September 9, 1683.

Ménard, Fr. Rene; Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Paris, March 2 (al. Sept. 7), 1605 (al. 1604); entered the Order, Sept. 5 (al. 7, Nov. 7), 1642; arrived at Tadousac, June 30, at Quebec, July 8, 1640. Perished in the primitive wilderness of northeastern Wisconsin, in 1661, about Aug. 15.

de Montmagny, Charles Huault; second governor of New France. Born toward the end of the 16th century; Chevalier of the military order of St. John of Jerusalem (the Knights of Malta); became governor of New France in 1636 following Champlain's death; frequent opponent of the Iroquois; built Fort Richelieu at the mouth of the Richelieu River to check Iroquois raids into New France; called Onontio ("the great mountain") by the Indians—an appellation which was later used for all governors of New France; recalled to France in 1647. Died in the Antilles sometime after 1651.

Negabamat, Noël (al. Tekwerimat); long-lived chief of the Montagnais near Sillery. Converted to Christianity and was baptized ca. 1639; contracted smallpox in 1639, but survived; frequent combatant of the Iroquois and was also involved in peace negotiations; accompanied Fr. Druilletes on his unsuccessful mission to Boston in 1651; died 1666.

Nouë, Fr. Anne de; Jesuit; Province of France. Born in the diocese of Rheims, Aug. 7, 1587 (al. 1579); entered the Order at Paris, Sept. 20 (al. 28), 1612; arrived at Quebec, July 14, 1626; frozen to death while crossing on the ice

from Three Rivers to Sorel, Feb. 1 or 2, 1646, his body being found near Isle Platte, about 6 miles above Sorel, and taken to Three Rivers for burial.

Pieskaret, Simon (al. Piescaret, Piescars, Dieskaret); an Algonquin chief of the Island nation; baptized a Christian in ca. 1640; an implacable enemy of the Iroquois and often at war with them; made peace with the Iroquois as part of the general peace of 1645 but was treacherously murdered by an Iroquois war party in 1647.

Ragueneau, Fr. Paul; Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Paris, March 18, 1608 (al. 1605, 1607); entered the Order at Paris, Aug. 21, 1626; arrived in Canada, June 28, 1636 (al. 1638); returned to France, Aug. 12, 1662; died at Paris, Sept. 3, 1680.

Sagard-Theodat, Fr. Gabriel; Recollect lay brother. Born in France at the end of the 16th century; sent to New France in 1623 in the company of Nicholas Viel and lived among the Hurons long enough to acquire extensive knowledge of their language and customs; recalled to France after 1624; published *The Long Voyage to the Country of the Hurons* (1632) and *History of Canada* (1636) among other works; died near the end of the 17th century.

Sondatsaa, Charles (al. Tsondatsaa); a Huron convert; baptized at Quebec in 1641 with Montmagny as his sponsor and is granted an arquebus upon his conversion; was part of a Huron party attacked by the Mohawks on August 2, 1642 along with Fr. Jogues; escapes but his son and brother are killed and all his goods are lost; credited with convincing many other Hurons to convert to Christianity.

Tesswehat, Paul (al. Le Borgne, The One-Eyed, Andesson, Ondesson); a chief of the Algonquins of the Island Nation. The name “Le Borgne” or “The One-Eyed” was applied by the French for many years to the head chief of the Island Nation; Paul Tesswehat likely became chief sometime in the late 1630s; described as arrogant and malicious by the Jesuits, but came to Montreal to receive baptism—and an arquebus—in March 1643; likely died before 1646.

Vimont, Fr. Barthélemy; Jesuit; Province of France. Born at Lisieux, Jan. 1 (al. 17), 1594; entered the Order at Rouen, Nov. 1 (al. 13, 15, 22), 1613 (al. Nov. 16, 1614); arrived at Ste-Anne, Cape Breton, Aug. 24, 1629; returned to France, Oct. 22, 1659; died at Vannes, July 13, 1667.

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